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THE

WORKS

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WILLIAM H. SEWARD

EDITED BY

GEORGE E. BAKER

"Nature and Laws would be in an ill case, if Slavery should find what to say for itself, and Liberty be mute: and if tyrants should find men to plead for them, and they that can waste and vanquish tyrants, should not be able to find advocates." MILTON.

IN FIVE VOLUMES

VOL. III.

NEW EDITION

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PREFACE TO VOLUME III.

The first volume of these Works contains a Biographical Memoir of Mr. Seward, his Speeches and Debates in the Senate of New York, his Speeches and Debates in the Senate of the United States, and his Forensic Arguments.

The second volume comprises all his State Papers—Messages, Official Correspondence, and Pardon Papers.

The contents of the present volume have been classified under the following heads, viz.: Orations and Discourses, Occasional Speeches and Addresses, Executive Speeches, Political Writings, General Correspondence, and Speeches in the Senate of the United States, continued from Vol. I.

The Orations and Discourses on various subjects, with which the volume commences, embrace the more elaborate productions of Mr. Seward, including his Eulogies on Lafayette, O'Connell, John Quincy Adams, Daniel Webster, and Henry Clay.

The Occasional Speeches and Addresses, which follow, have been selected, not with reference to their literary or rhetorical merits chiefly, but, as has been remarked in another place, because they contain opinions and sentiments that are important in presenting a faithful record of Mr. Seward's public life.

During Governor Seward's administration, he had several official interviews with the chiefs of the few remaining Indian tribes

in this state. The speeches which were made on these occasions are presented in this volume under the title of Executive Speeches.

Under the head of Political Writings, will be found a number of Addresses written by Mr. Seward at different times, explaining the principles and action of the political party to which he was attached, and exposing the errors of the opposite party.

The General Correspondence which has been collected in this volume forms an interesting portion of its contents. This correspondence includes many private letters on important topics, relating to Politics, Internal Improvements, Slavery, and Education. These letters, of which many were written with no expectation of their being made public, afford additional proofs of the remarkable consistency of Mr. Seward's public and private life.

The Letters from Europe have been selected from a series which appeared in the "Albany Evening Journal" of 1834. This series originally contained about seventy letters, all of them possessing more than ordinary interest; but the limits of this volume have obliged us to be content with a brief selection.

The Speeches in the Senate of the United States, in this volume, embrace the Speeches which Mr. Seward delivered in the Senate at the close of the XXXIId Congress. The larger portion of his speeches and debates in that body will be found in the first volume, which had gone to press before the delivery of those herewith presented.

The Engraving in this volume presents a view of the residence of Governor Seward at Auburn. It will be recognised by hosts of Mr. Seward's friends, as the abode of domestic comfort and genuine hospitality. Madame Pulszky, in her recent book of travels in America,* thus describes it:—

"We spent Saturday and Sunday at the pleasant home of Governor Seward. He was detained at Washington, but Mrs.

* "Sketches of American Society," by Francis and Theresa Pulszky, vol. ii., p. 209. Redfield: New York.

Seward has welcomed and entertained us with her own amiable cordiality.

"The mansion—furnished with comfortable simplicity—is adorned by the elegant neatness which pervades it in every room, in every corner. An ample and carefully-selected library, family portraits, with a striking likeness of John Quincy Adams, cover the walls. Nothing in this house is luxurious, nothing superfluous, but every want is provided for with good taste, and every object offers immediate use or presents interesting associations. The foliage of ancient trees shades our windows, and allures us to step down into the garden, whose fragrance fills the rooms. Well-kept arbors line the walls; the air is perfumed by Narcissuses, hyacinths, and syringas, around which cluster rich garlands of tulips and lovely Cupid-arrows. In these pleasant grounds we meet the members of the family who are now staying at Auburn: the little daughter of Mrs. Seward, and her nephew, to whom she has been a mother; his sweet young wife, and Mrs. Worden, Mrs. Seward's sister."

THE EDITOR.

WILLIAMSBURGH, L. I., *March* 16, 1853.

CONTENTS OF VOL. III.

ORATIONS AND DISCOURSES.

The True Greatness of our Country—Death of Lafayette—Death of O'Connell—Death of John Quincy Adams—Death of Henry Clay—Death of Daniel Webster—Death of David Berdan—Internal Improvements and Education—Education, Westfield, 1837—Ireland and Irishmen—Agriculture, Albany, 1842—Improvement of Farms and Farmers, Rutland, 1852.....PAGE 11

OCCASIONAL SPEECHES AND ADDRESSES.

The Union, Auburn, 1825—For Greece, Auburn, 1827—Patriotism, Syracuse, July 4, 1831—Typographical Society, Albany, 1839—Sunday School Celebration, Staten Island, 1839—To the Citizens of Ogdensburgh, 1839—To the Catholics of Ogdensburgh, 1839—To the Citizens of Steuben, 1839—To the Irishmen of Albany, 1840—Anniversary of the American Bible Society, 1839—Centennial, Cherry Valley 1840—St. Patrick's Dinner, 1842—Croton Celebration, 1842—John Quincy Adams, on his Visit to Auburn, 1843—Whig Meeting, Auburn, 1844—Election of 1844, Syracuse—Ireland and Native Americans, 1844—Whig Meeting, Yates County, 1844—St. Patrick's Dinner, 1846—Eulogy on John Quincy Adams, in Court, 1848—Horticultural Festival, Boston, 1848—Whig Meeting, Boston, 1848—Whig Meeting, Cleveland, Ohio, 1848—Cartmen's Meeting, New York, 1848—New York and Erie Railroad, 1837—New York and Erie Railroad, 1851..... 191

EXECUTIVE SPEECHES.

To Abraham Le Fort, an Onondaga Chief—To Moses Schuyler, an Oneida Chief—Completion of the Western Railroad of Massachusetts, Springfield, 1842..... 325

POLITICAL WRITINGS.

Address of a Republican Convention, 1824—Address of the Minority of the Legislature, 1831—Address of the Minority of the Legislature, 1834—Address of the Minority of the Legislature, 1844—The True Issue, 1838..... 335

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE.

POLITICAL LETTERS.—To Adonijah Moody—H. C. W.—General Harrison—Citizens of Albany—B. S.—Hon. Luther Bradish—John C. Clark—George R. Babcock—Whigs of Orleans—Benjamin Squire—Whigs of Michigan—Calvin Townsley—George Ashmun—Jarvis N. Lake—Washington Hunt—James Brooks—Chautauque Convention—Orleans Whig Convention—E. J. Fowle—James Watson Webb—James B. Taylor..... 375

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.—To Citizens of Tioga—Samuel P. Lyman—Edgar A. Barber —George Bliss—James Bowen—Pacific Railroad Convention..... 417

SLAVERY.—To William Jay and Gerrit Smith—John Sears—John Quincy Adams—Jabez D. Hammond—Austin Pray—Thomas Clarkson—Colored Citizens of New York—Colored Citizens of Albany—Gerrit Smith—Salmon P. Chase—National Intelligencer—Massachusetts Convention..... 426

THE M'LEOD CASE.—To Peter B. Porter—Thomas Ewing—Lovell G. Mickles—Eliphalet Nott, D.D.—John Quincy Adams..... 449

MISCELLANEOUS.—Holland Land Company, Citizens of Chautauque County—St. Nicholas Society, Robert H. Pruyn—Irish Testimonial, W. J. MacNeven—St. Andrew's Society, Albany—Adopted Citizens of Philadelphia, Stephen E. Rice—Extradition of Fugitives from Justice, H. W. Rogers—De Witt Clinton, Edward C. Delavan —State Credits, William Brown—Prison Discipline, Rev. John Lucky—Religious Liberty, John Dillon Smith—State Credits, William Brown—St. George's Society, B. H. Downing—Law Reform, Benjamin Cahoone—Cunard Steamers—Schools, William Palmer—Militia Duty, Samuel Parsons—Schools, Rev. John Hughes, D.D. —Seneca Indians, Jacob Harvey—Condolence, Louis Gaylord Clark—Schools, Benjamin Birdsall—Irish Repeal, Edmund S. Derry—Dickens's Notes, Henry L. Webb—Irishmen of Auburn—Ireland and Irishmen, James Maher—Barbecue at Cherry Valley, James Brackett—New York Prison Association—Kossuth, Citizens of Philadelphia, New York Bar, Printers of Pittsburgh..... 457

LETTERS FROM EUROPE.

I. Liverpool—II. Chester—III. Dublin—IV. Dublin, Robert Emmett—V. Belfast—VI. Glasgow, Moore, Watt—VII. Edinburgh, Slavery, Burns, Hume—VIII. York, London, Windsor—IX. Cobbett, Peel, O'Connell—X. Holland—XI. Arrival at Paris—XII. Paris, Chamber of Deputies, Louis Philippe—XIII. Lafayette at Paris—XIV. Lafayette at La Grange..... 508

SPEECHES IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

(CONTINUED FROM VOL. I.)

Continental Rights and Relations—Eulogy on Hon. A. H. Buell—Relations with Mexico and the Continental Railroad—Duty on Foreign Railroad Iron—Texas and her Creditors..... 603

See INDEX on page 675.

ORATIONS AND DISCOURSES.

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ORATIONS AND DISCOURSES.

THE TRUE GREATNESS OF OUR COUNTRY.

Patriotism is allied to philosophy, and inseparable from benevolence. A virtuous citizen is not satisfied with knowing that his country is great, and free, and happy; he desires to understand why it is so, what are the elements of its empire, how long they will endure, and what will be their perfect development; because he knows that his country and his race are immortal, and he feels assured that, although mortal himself, he shall not altogether perish.

We have the authority of Lord Bacon to the effect that "the true greatness of kingdoms and estates, and the means thereof, is an argument fit for great and mighty princes to have in their hands, to the end that neither by overmeasuring their forces they lose themselves in vain enterprises, nor, on the other side, by undervaluing them, they descend to fearful and pusillanimous counsels."

The same profound philosopher remarked that "the greatness of an estate in bulk and territory doth fall under measure, and the greatness of finances and revenue doth fall under computation. The population may appear by numbers, and the number and greatness of cities and towns by cards and maps. But yet

Note.—This discourse was delivered in Baltimore, on the 22d of December, 1848, before the "Young Catholic Friends' Society" of that city. The same discourse was also substantially delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Union College, and before the Literary Society of Amherst College, in 1844.—*Ed.*

there is not anything among civil affairs more subject to error than the right valuation and true judgment concerning the power and forces of an estate. * * * There are states great in territory, and yet not apt to command; and some that bear but a small dimension of stem, and yet apt to be the foundation of great monarchies."

Let us attempt to make such a valuation of "the power and forces" of our country; not merely to "blazon and amplify" a theme pleasing to national pride, but to obtain its necessary and useful instructions.

Comprehensive national greatness requires ample space, in a suitable region, a large population possessing mental activity and resolution, and a government well adapted to the character and condition of the people, and conducted with wisdom.

Our territory is a belt across the continent, approaching on either side the limit of the temperate zone. It is not broken into separate and distinct fragments, divided from each other by impassable mountain-barriers, by intervening states or provinces, or by seas subject to hostile intrusion; but it is one whole dominion, continuous, compact, and inseparable. We need scarcely say that its climate is salubrious, and that its land and waters are rich in stores for the supply of human wants in every stage and condition of social life. Nowhere does man find more abundantly than here the rocks of endless variety and the trees of numberless kinds with which he builds and adorns his dwellings, his defences, his temples, his roads, his wharves, and his ships; the plants and animals which supply him with subsistence and minister to his health, his comfort, and his pride; the minerals from which he forges his implements of peaceful toil and of mortal strife, and the precious metals by which, in the ever-enlarging circle of exchange, he compares the values of all appreciable things.

Long-branching rivers with deep channels, and broadly-expanding lakes with spacious bays, all connected or capable of connection, offer necessary and convenient facilities for free intercourse, mutual traffic, and public defence; and these natural bonds, multiplied by artificial ligaments — roads, canals, railroads, and telegraphs, continually extending and fastening upon every part of this comprehensive region — hold it together in union as indissoluble as it was inevitable.

The American continent, with its adjacent islands — a continent

extending southward beyond the equatorial line, and northward to the arctic circle — will, at no distant period, have on our Atlantic and Pacific coasts necessary and naturally reciprocating markets for the productions of all its various latitudes. The same markets, situated midway between the ancient continents, and very soon to be connected with direct highways which will supersede a costly and dangerous navigation, will invite equally, and with irresistible attraction on the one side, the commerce of Europe and Africa, and on the other that of the rising insular communities in the Southern ocean, as well as the trade of the populous regions of China and the eastern Indies. An intellectual and active people, holding a position so favorable and possessing resources so boundless, could not fail to secure the freedom of the seas, without which no nation in modern times can be great; while they would furnish a political alembic which, receiving the exhausted civilization of Asia and the ripening civilization of western Europe, and commingling them together after their long separation, would disclose the secret of the ultimate regeneration and reunion of human society throughout the world.

Population, not disturbed by arbitrary interference, increases and declines with the abundance and scarceness of subsistence; but abundance and scarceness depend not on the relative fertility of the earth only, but also on the comparative temperance and vigor of the cultivators. The soil of the eastern and middle states is less fruitful than that of most of the western regions. Indeed, only the intelligent hands of freemen could have tilled the rugged hillsides of New England, and drawn forth wealth from its oreless rocks and treacherous seas. The population of the United States, if it should expand on the same ratio to the square mile which is maintained in New England, would be one hundred and twenty-six millions. It may increase above twice that number, and yet be less dense than the population of Italy, or of France, or of Austria, or of Spain, or of the British islands. When we consider the certainty of immigration from Asia, in addition to the torrent pouring in from Europe, and the constant flow into the western states and territories from our eastern communities — and when we consider also the permanence of these several sources of increase — we have no room to doubt that it may be estimated for the future on the basis of calculation established by past experience. That basis demands a population of thirty mil-

lions in 1860, of fifty millions in 1880, of eighty millions in 1900, and of more than double that number in less than one hundred years.

The Americans are a homogeneous people, and must remain so; because, however widely they expand, they swell in one great and unbroken flood. All exotic elements are rapidly absorbed and completely assimilated. The remnants of the aboriginal and African tribes, seeming incapable of such assimilation, have hitherto, in different ways, affected and modified the force of the superior and controlling race. Without speculating on the ultimate destiny of either of those unfortunate classes, we may assume that the feeble resistance they offer to the aggrandizement of the Caucasian family is becoming less and less continually, and will finally altogether disappear. Most other empires were composed, not of one homogeneous people, but of various tribes, races, or nations; discordant in language, religion, habits, and laws; reduced, after long conflicts, into more or less perfect combination, but seldom into entire unity. How inconceivably great must have been the waste of mental activity and energy, not to speak of numbers and treasure, resulting from such conflicts! The American people, on the other hand, are practically one family. The Roman people, like the Americans, were liberal in naturalization. Like the Americans, they granted all the rights of citizenship to strangers, and not only to individuals, but to families, to cities, and sometimes to nations. The Romans also planted colonies, as we do, in contiguous territories. Hence it has been well said, in view of those customs of naturalization and colonization, that it seemed as if it was not the Romans that spread upon the world, but it was the world that spread upon the Romans.

But mere numbers, independently of moral elements, do not constitute strength; nor do population and resources combined. When Crœsus ostentatiously showed his treasures to Solon, the Athenian replied, "If any other come that hath better iron than you, he will be master of all this gold." The Spaniard proved this in the halls of Montezuma, and the Anglo-American has proved it against the effeminate descendant of the Castilian, in the very scene of his primary extortion.

The American people are free — not merely free, like a nation recently emancipated, but they always were free. Their political independence or nationality does indeed date from 1776; but

their political liberty began with the plantation of the colonies at Plymouth, at Jamestown, on the island of Manhattan, on the banks of the Delaware, and on the shores of the Chesapeake. All men know and admit that slavery and oppression debase and demoralize; but it is seldom duly considered that freedom elevates and invigorates in proportion to the extent and duration of its enjoyment. The American people inherit the discipline, the energy, and the resolution, of freemen. I dwell on their martial ability, not because they are or ought to be a warlike people, but because courage and fortitude are equally elements of greatness, whether pacific or belligerent, and because no inert or effeminate nation can enjoy peace or security. War, therefore, is occasionally necessary, and sometimes inevitable. In such cases it is "danger to avert a danger, a present inconvenience and suffering to prevent a foreseen future and a worse calamity. These are motives that belong to a being who, in his constitution, is at once adventurous and provident, circumspect and daring; whom his Creator has made of large discourse, looking before and after."*

The Divinity that presides over states "loves courage, but commands counsel." It requires that they should know

> "——— how war may, best upheld,
> Move by her two main nerves, iron and gold,
> In all her equipage."

It is, nevertheless, in social and civil life that the mental activity and resolution of our countrymen are fully illustrated. Freedom organizes all the great springs of action in the human system. Seventy years ago we were a nation without capital, without credit, with very indolent agriculture, without manufactures, and with a commerce struggling for life under restrictions which bound this whole continent and its islands in colonial vassalage to paternal states in Europe. We were without a navy, and without canals or roads, and were hemmed in between the forest and the ocean by savage tribes. Our schools gave scarcely more than rudimental education, and we were without libraries or literature, and without invention. It is not presumptuous to say that now we possess adequate capital, prosperous agriculture, and rising manufactures; that we have redeemed our country and most of the continent from colonial dependence; that we

* Burke.

enjoy a commerce second only to that of Britain, and a navy equal to any but hers; and that we have canals and railroads spread like network over all our populous territory; that the Indian tribes are our stipendiaries; and that we have a system of general education, with universities nobly endowed, charities vigorous and comprehensive, literature aspiring to excellence, and mechanical invention that has brought the world under grateful obligation.

The influence of freedom is manifested in the moral elevation, social order, and domestic virtues, of the people. The religion of the Redeemer of mankind has been left to perform its functions by purifying the motives and refining the affections, free from restraint and corruption by the civil power. Thus we have seen atheism rebuked and repelled by the reason to which it presumptuously appealed; law sustained without force; and woman restored to her just influence without the licentious aid of chivalry.

Our subject demands, not an exposition of our complex system of government, but only a consideration of its influence upon the national progress, and its own probable durability.

The successful establishment of a republican government, adapted to an expanded state, is itself a demonstration of national greatness. All history describes indefinite and perpetual aspirations of the wise and the good for the establishment of some durable system, in which the people should exercise sovereignty over themselves without turbulence or imbecility. At a period quite recent the failure of all kindred attempts had induced an acquiescence almost unbroken, though reluctant, in the belief that mankind were incompetent to self government, and a consequent reference of all authority exercised over them to the appointment of God. These principles drew after them a universal obligation of implicit obedience to arbitrary and even despotic power—and therefore allowed unlimited and unmitigated oppression. At length philosophy sought an escape from a theory so derogatory from the providence of the Creator, and so pernicious to the happiness of men, and attempted to substitute in its place the doctrine that government, whatever might be its form, had been originally founded in a contract between the supreme authority and its subjects, which contract contained mutual obligations, and was dissolved whenever the ruler transgressed the

conceded boundary of authority. This theory was unsatisfactory and insufficient, because it was easily shown that the contract assumed was purely imaginary, and of course that the supposed obligations were incapable of being defined. The American Revolution cut, at a blow, the Gordian knot, which science had found it impossible to unloose, and demonstrated to mankind that the only foundation of authority was the consent of the people, who had lawful right to subvert, modify, or change civil institutions, at their own pleasure.

It was well understood that the only true object of government was the happiness of the people, and that "its four pillars were religion, justice, counsel, and treasure;" but the possible establishment of those pillars in a republican structure still remained to be demonstrated. This was happily done by the institution of a democracy, based practically on the principles of universal toleration of conscience and universal suffrage, which is the perfection of political justice, because it is political equality. This democracy was made to act with counsel by means of the principle of representation; and the representatives in the various departments of the government were made more or less independent of popular control according to the danger of passion and prejudice. This system was established in each of the several states, clothed with powers adequate to the maintenance of order, the protection of personal liberty, life, and property, and the conduct of municipal affairs. The same system was distinctly embodied in a precisely similar federal structure comprehending all the states, relying on the self-renewing action, not of the states, but of the people, and limited in its powers to the management of foreign relations and others important to the general welfare. The institution of a judiciary in each state, to hold all the representative agencies within their prescribed spheres, and a supreme independent tribunal at the seat of the federal government, with appellate jurisdiction, enabling it to decide all conflicts between state and federal authority, completed this complex and extraordinary structure. Under its shade property has been safe, life secure, and liberty inviolable; social equality has continually increased, and national power has become firm, effective, and immovable. Such are the instructions which our country has given to the world in the philosophy of government. They are universally received, and they are more precious than any other

human knowledge not derived by immediate illumination from the Source of all light.

If, now, after imparting these sublime and beneficent instructions, this people could at once perish from the earth—leaving only their remembrance behind, as of a vision briefly but distinctly seen and then lost for ever—it may not be doubted that they would nevertheless be held in perpetual memory for excellent wisdom and unsurpassed magnanimity.

Th · institutions we enjoy have a tendency to strengthen their own deep foundation in the elements of national character and popular affection. The anxiety to save these institutions from serious danger or overthrow is the predominating motive of every citizen on every occasion of public action. He holds his own share of sovereignty by the same tenure which limits their existence, and he derives that sovereignty from the equality which they secure. That portion of sovereignty is almost infinitesimal; yet it is appreciated, because it is the safeguard of inestimable rights, a title to consideration, and an Appian-way for ambition.

Honor received begets self-respect; self-respect ambition; ambition animates resolution, quickens mental activity, and discerns the advantages which knowledge and virtue bring to their possessor. Arbitrary power procures the performance of duty only by the terror of penalties. Laws relying on that motive alone will be ineffectual, whether written in the statute-book in blood, or engraven in the rock by even an Almighty hand. A republic employs emulation; it offers wealth, power, and fame, and it distributes these rewards with impartiality and justice, in exact proportion to the intelligence of the people. Nor does such emulation endanger the public safety by encouraging faction. It is manifest that a republic could not endure in a society divided into unequal masses by aristocracy. But universal suffrage, exercised with wisdom and moderation, would be the most conservative of all institutions in a country where the dissemination of knowledge and of wealth should be nearly equal.

There is an opinion that our system is unfavorable to great national achievements, which results from the error of regarding the government as an unbalanced, pure democracy, veering with every breeze, and in danger of shipwreck from every storm. The United States of America are not a mere city, or a city with suburbs, easily subjected by machinations of intrigue, or cor-

rupted by largesses, or exposed to sudden and overwhelming convulsions; but they are a nation of many states confederated, affiliated, and even assimilated, but yet not absolutely centralized or consolidated. They are individual and distinct political states, possessing elements and attributes of sovereignty transcendant and inviolable. The ruling mass of citizens in each of these states, and of course the governing constituency in the whole nation, are an educated, rural population, possessing property, and dispersed widely, reflecting singly, and acting individually. The day on which the constitution of a state, or the administration of the Union, is changed by the popular decree, is often the most quiet and tranquil secular day in the whole calendar. The collected will of the majority is not executed without encountering a modifying resistance by minorities. The state least populous, in one stage of legislation, speaks in a voice as potential as that of the greatest. Above all, the division of sovereignty and the subdivision of legislation break the force of popular passion. Affairs merely local are conducted by agents appointed and acting within the proper districts. Matters of more grave moment, relating to the interests of the states, or the rights of citizens, are decided within the states by representatives chosen for that purpose; and only national interests engage the consideration or employ the action of the federal authorities. Each agent acts subject to checks and supervision, but not to interference by a foreign department, or to central control or popular dictation.

Beyond doubt, an arbitrary prince can execute a given enterprise with greater promptness, energy, and firmness, than a government so complex. Nevertheless, it must depend on accident whether the prince be wise and humane, or weak and wicked. Princes are prone to mistake their own interests or passions for the general welfare. "I am France," said the Bourbon king. There was no one in his councils to deny, no power in the state to chastise, the arrogant assumption. Wisdom needs to hear the voice of Truth, and can find it in republics only. The battle-fields of Europe, no less than the pyramids of Africa, bear witness to the ambition and the vanity of kings. The monuments of their beneficence are few and far between.

The energies and wealth of any state are easily overtasked, and no exhausted state is fit for enterprise, or can sustain warfare. The energy of one reign which we admire is sure to be followed

by a long season of inactivity — perhaps by ages of lethargy. Whatever may be the deficiency of the federal government in capacity for enterprise, it is not the only agency. There are the additional agencies of individuals, of corporations, and of states. If the federal authorities are slow to undertake achievements, they leave the other agencies free and strong. Congress has never committed, and is not like to commit, the great crime of princes — the consumption of the public wealth of future generations. On the contrary, we have seen the phenomenon of a government free from debt, returning superfluous treasures to the people, from whom they had been unnecessarily gathered.

Citizens thus virtually free from taxation, readily engage in public enterprises, either singly or in association; and the states in the same condition complete works which, while beneficial to themselves, are also important to the nation. All our railroads and canals are avenues of that internal trade and that postal communication, and are means of that national defence, which fall within the subjects of action properly belonging to the federal government. Moreover, that government contributes to such enterprises, indirectly, by military explorations, by nautical surveys, and by patronage. Thus it happens that more is achieved in this country, in proportion to its capital, than in any other; and more, perhaps, than would be accomplished if the federal government should undertake exclusively the responsibilities of improvement. There still remains, moreover, in the people the power, when they will, to oblige even that government to act directly and efficiently.

The embarrassments of some cities, corporations, and states, incurred in public enterprises, do not affect these conclusions. They, like all human agents, are liable to occasional errors and disappointments; but they can retrieve their errors and renew their resources more easily than subjects or governments in other countries. Our system is to be judged, not by its partial but its comprehensive results.

The question remains, whether a government so simple in principle, yet so complex in organization, and resting so much on consent, can endure the shocks to which it must be exposed.

It must be conceded that, not only the adaptation of the government to the condition of the people, but also their capacity to understand and appreciate that adaptation, have been fairly proved by its existence during sixty years — a period which em-

braces its projection amid doubt and perplexity, its organization and its consolidation in the midst of faction at home and of insidious and open hostility abroad, and its extension over double its original extent of territory, and over twice the first number of states, and a seven-fold increase of population. During the last fifty years of that period, there has been no armed and organized sedition, and within the last forty years the allegation of treason has been unknown.

The only danger now apprehended is that of a secession of one or more of the states. Since the expansion of the Union, and the increase of the number of its members, it is apparent that even a secession of one or more states would not now, as it might have done formerly, subvert the whole structure. It would still exist, yielding protection and dispensing prosperity to the members which should remain. The certainty of this result could not but exert a great influence, probably a controlling one, against a decision to separate by any discontented state.

Administration can not always be equally beneficent to all the states, even although it should be always equally just, which is not to be expected. A spirit sufficiently compromising has been always developed on the great question of finance, and the increasing wealth and strength of the various industrious classes of the country are diminishing the importance of that question. In regard to slavery, the only subject which gives rise to apprehension, whatever is vital to any state is guarded against interference by the other states, and even against federal interposition. There is not now, and there never has been, in any quarter, a disposition to trespass beyond the forbidden limits. Incidental questions have been discussed with heat and acrimony, because liberty of debate was obstructed or denied. Nevertheless they have been decided with various advantages to the conflicting parties, and they have acquiesced. It will be so hereafter, and eminently so, because, debate being free, it will be seen that Truth is effective when she employs the language of persuasion and of moderation, and that Error owes all her strength to physical resistance.

The question which will arise when any emergency shall come, will be, not merely whether there is cause for discontent, but whether it is expedient to secede. He who gives that dangerous counsel will have to show that a miserable local traffic, pent up within the borders of the dissenting state — a timid and hesitating

adventure on the seas, exposed to piracy and insult — domestic sedition, mocking and insulting authority that itself is seditious — and perpetual conflict, without naval force or formidable military power, with a great and encompassing nation — are better than an unchecked trade throughout the whole American territory — freedom of the seas under a flag that commands respect — peace, harmony, and social order, guarantied by irresistible power — and a common name and common destiny with the American people. If it were possible that any one state could act a part so infatuated, it is certain that she could draw no other in to share her self-destruction. Such alarms occur under circumstances less ominous now than heretofore. Assimilation of policy and interest increases; the relative greatness of the states diminishes, while that of the nation is aggrandized; local pride declines, and nationality grows and flourishes. Disunion is no longer a real terror, but is sinking into an antiquated superstition, haunting only minds which morbidly court the enervating spell.

We speak for only the period which lies within the scope of possible forecast. What may happen when cities and states on the Pacific coast shall emulate in wealth and power those now ripening on the Atlantic shores and in the valley of the Mississippi, and when population is expected to crowd upon subsistence, must be left to uncertain conjecture. Nevertheless, with our improved modes of communication, regions may be centralized which once were incapable of combination: the capacity of the earth must be adequate to the support of all her children, when science shall have instructed us fully how to win her utmost kindness, and when her fruits shall be distributed with the equity and justice which republican laws and customs must bring in the passage of years. Even in that far-off period, then, we can discern no cause why the motives of nationality should be weaker than now. But, if a separation shall then be necessary, let us hope that long habits of discipline and mutual affection may enable the American people to add another and final lesson on the excellence of republics — that of dividing without violence, and reconstructing without the loss of liberty.

Having thus surveyed the elements of our country's greatness, as the philosopher of England performed that duty for his own native land, we may employ his language in announcing the sublime result: —

"*Video solem Orientem in Occidente.* * * * None of the greatest monarchies, which, in the memory of the times, have risen in the habitable world, had so fair seeds and beginnings as hath this our estate and country, whatever the event shall be, which must depend on God's will and providence."

Behold here, then, the philosophy of all our studies on this grateful theme. We see only the rising of the sun of empire—only the fair seeds and beginnings of a great nation. Whether that glowing orb shall attain to a meridian height, or fall suddenly from its glorious sphere—whether those prolific seeds shall mature into autumnal ripeness, or shall perish yielding no harvest—depends on God's will and providence. But God's will and providence operate not by casualty or caprice, but by fixed and revealed laws. If we would secure the greatness set before us, we must find the way which those laws indicate, and keep within it. That way is new and all untried. We departed early—we departed at the beginning—from the beaten track of national ambition. Our lot was cast in an age of revolution—a revolution which was to bring all mankind from a state of servitude to the exercise of self-government—from under the tyranny of physical force to the gentle sway of opinion—from under subjection to matter to dominion over nature. It was ours to lead the way, to take up the cross of republicanism and bear it before the nations, to fight its earliest battles, to enjoy its earliest triumphs, to illustrate its purifying and elevating virtues, and by our courage and resolution, our moderation and our magnanimity, to cheer and sustain its future followers through the baptism of blood and the martyrdom of fire. A mission so noble and benevolent demands a generous and self-denying enthusiasm. Our greatness is to be won by beneficence without ambition. We are in danger of losing that holy zeal. We are surrounded by temptations. Our dwellings become palaces, and our villages are transformed, as if by magic, into great cities. Fugitives from famine and oppression and the sword crowd our shores, and proclaim to us that we alone are free, and great, and happy. Ambition for martial fame and the lust of conquest have entered the warm, living, youthful heart of the republic. Our empire enlarges. The castles of enemies fall before our advancing armies; the gates of cities open to receive them. The continent and its islands seem ready to fall within our grasp, and more than even fabulous

wealth opens under our feet. No public virtue can withstand, none ever encountered, such seductions as these. Our own virtue and moderation must be renewed and fortified under circumstances so new and peculiar.

Where shall we seek the influence adequate to a task so arduous as this? Shall we invoke the press and the desk? They only reflect the actual condition of the public morals, and can not change them. Shall we resort to the executive authority? The time has passed when it could compose and modify the political elements around it. Shall we go to the senate? Conspiracies, seditions, and corruptions, in all free countries, have begun there. Where, then, shall we go, to find an agency that can uphold and renovate declining public virtue? Where should we go, but there, where all republican virtue begins and must end — where the Promethean fire is ever to be rekindled, until it shall finally expire — where motives are formed and passions disciplined? To the domestic fireside and humble school, where the American citizen is trained? Instruct him there, that it will not be enough that he can claim for his country Lacedæmonian heroism, or even the Italian's boast —

"*Terra potens atque ubere glebæ*" —

but that more than Spartan valor and more than Roman magnificence is required of her. Go, then, ye laborers in a noble cause, gather the young Catholic and the young Protestant alike into the nursery of freedom; and teach them there that, although religion has many and different shrines on which may be made the offering of a "broken spirit," which God will not despise; yet that their country has appointed only one altar and one sacrifice for all her sons, and that ambition and avarice must be slain on that altar, for it is consecrated to HUMANITY.

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LAFAYETTE.

The Declaration of Independence, at a crisis when the public mind had not yet been prepared for it, and while great solicitude prevailed even within the walls of Congress, as to the ability of the colonies to maintain it, was an act not less profoundly wise than it was confessedly bold and hazardous. Before that act the organization of armies to resist invasion and tyranny, was a levying of war against the acknowledged government of the country, and although it was regarded as necessary, and, therefore, justifiable, it was, nevertheless, treason and rebellion. Under circumstances so peculiar, conscientious doubts widely prevailed among the people concerning the necessity and the wisdom of resistance, limited to the simple object of a redress of present grievances, without looking to any ultimate security against equal or greater oppression in the future. The merely insurrectionary government could command but little credit at home, and found all efforts unavailing to establish credit, or to procure aid abroad. The Declaration of Independence changed all this. It offered to the people indemnity against the punishment threatened by the crown, while it guarantied to them for ever, not only the rights for which they were then in arms, but a new and ample measure of civil liberty and national prosperity before unknown. The effect at home was electrical. A vast multitude gathered around the halls of Congress, and received the Declaration with unbounded acclamations, while the provincial assemblies responded with enthusiasm, and it was hailed with confidence and zeal equally by the army and the people. The colonies now furnished their free contributions with alacrity, and volunteers pressed forward in great numbers to join the Revolutionary standard under Washington.

Note.—Lafayette died May 20, 1834, and this oration was delivered at Auburn, on the 16th of July following.—*Ed.*

The disaffected of course recoiled from their own position, for they were now to change relations with the patriots, and in their turn to be branded as traitors, and subjected to the punishment of disloyalty to the constituted authority of the country. It is true that this then bold proceeding produced no change in the infatuated counsels of the British king. He was so far from understanding the case, that he even expected that the Declaration would excite fear and terror among the people, and be followed by a violent reaction in favor of his time-honored, but now insulted prerogative.

It was far otherwise on the continent of Europe. The time was propitious. Within the previous half-century Philosophy had abandoned her hopeless labors in the mysteries of astrology and alchemy, and had begun to explore the sciences of morals and government. She had studied the relations between the government and the governed, and had promulgated as theories possible to be reduced to practical application, that all government could rightfully exist only to promote the happiness of the subject; that man was capable of self-government; and that the title of government was derived from his own action and consent; that the right to withdraw that consent was inherent and inalienble; that passive submission to tyranny was treason against the rights of mankind; and finally, that these principles ought to be reduced to practical action by the voluntary establishment of republican institutions. While the oppression then experienced by every nation made these theories peculiarly grateful, the aristocratic and military strength of ancient monarchies seemed to forbid all hope of their adoption for a very long and indefinite period. The enthusiasm which these theories kindled, nevertheless, was certainly not abated by the circumstance that, all classes adopted with them, the chimera of an absolute social equality as an immediate fruit of the restitution of the republican for existing monarchical institutions. Nor was it diminished by even that other circumstance, which the world has so long and so justly lamented, and is destined yet longer to deplore, that in too many circles the same enthusiasm for liberty confounding the superstitions of men with the great and indispensable doctrines of moral accountability of man to his Creator, taught by Divine revelation, demanded the subversion of all Christian altars, together with the overthrow of all European thrones.

It was in exactly this conjuncture that the American colonies, breaking the fetters of colonial servitude, asserted the new principle of the equality of man, and their capacity, and their right to subvert, and establish, and control governments at their own absolute pleasure, and exclusively for their own welfare.

What wonder was it, then, that the political philosophers and philanthropists, and even the generous soldiers of Europe, hailed the new republic with enthusiasm and with exultation? What wonder that the exiled Pulaski, and the outlawed Kosciusko, as well as the ardent Steuben and De Kalb, hastened to defend it with their arms; or that it kindled the flame of sympathy in the breast of Rousseau, dying at Ermeronville, and called forth new efforts for the emancipation of mankind, from the genius of Voltaire, blazing its last and most brilliant fires in the philosophic shades of Ferney.

Paris hailed the great event with an enthusiasm that penetrated and swayed even the despotic court of Louis XVI. But the monarch and the court, equally hating and fearing the British nation, were timid and reserved. The friends of liberty and of man gathered themselves into the saloons of Franklin, at once a representative of science and of liberty. At this day we can reproduce no full idea of the veneration then inspired by Franklin on the continent of Europe. Whoever shall visit Ferney, long since rendered desolate by the death of its extraordinary tenant, will find the chamber of Voltaire still embellished with a portrait of the great American. And among the family pictures of the house of Orleans, none is more conspicuously placed, or carefully preserved, than that in which the artist has commemorated the reception of Franklin at the Palais Royale.

Among those who presented themselves every day in the thronged apartments of the American minister, was one tall in stature, fair in complexion, and of elastic step, not yet twenty years old, distinguished by rank and connections of the highest class, and by wealth almost unlimited. He had become a disciple, and he soon learned to love and venerate, not only Franklin whom he saw, but Washington whom he had not seen, and who then was maintaining the cause of the new republic in the field with unsurpassed moral grandeur. Lafayette burned to aid the cause of America, and to share the fortunes and the fame of Washington. He tendered his service to Franklin, and it was

accepted at a moment when hopes for the success of the contest were high and enthusiasm was universal.

But he had scarcely began his preparation for departure when a change came over the prospects of the American cause. The British government had sent new military and naval forces so vast, that the reduction of the insurgents was deemed inevitable.

The confidence of success which the colonies had derived from the expulsion of the invaders from Boston, was lost now in the double disaster of the surrender of New York, and the retreat of Washington with his exhausted and demoralized army through the Jerseys. The court of Versailles became deaf to the entreaties of the American ministers, and the votaries of liberty ceased to crowd their saloons. One only among them all remained constant, and that was the young nobleman to whom, while America offered only dangers, France offered, together with safety, only less than regal honors. He still persisted in the tender of his services; but the American ministers, now without credit at home or in Europe, without hope from the French court, and desponding over the sad prospects of the cause, pitied the young enthusiast, and with a just and noble delicacy, attempted to dissuade him from his purpose. He persisted, and so they were at last compelled to confess that the American army was reduced so low that they could not guaranty him the command of a brigade as they had before stipulated. "I will go, then, as a volunteer," was his prompt reply. The ministers, pushed to still more humiliating confession, now declared that they had not funds enough to procure and equip a vessel to convey him to America, which was necessary, since his departure had been interdicted by the king. Then said he, "I will go without. Hitherto I have done no more than wish success to your cause, I go now to serve it. The more it has fallen in public favor, the greater will be the benefit of my departure to sustain it. I will buy the vessel, and will equip it at my own expense."

He executed this noble purpose with secrecy and caution, and happily, avoiding the police of France, and the cruisers of England, landed at Charleston in the spring of 1777. The court and all Paris were amazed by the rash and visionary enthusiasm manifested by the young nobleman, in leaving his newly-married wife and all the pleasures and honors of the French capital, to embark, at such a time, in a cause so distant and so desperate.

Had he resigned nothing but the dignified ease and repose of his ancestral home at La Grange, and the pleasures of society in the fashionable circles of the metropolis, and had he resigned these to join a standard then victorious, and so to share an assured triumph, yet even then, where in our own land, or in any other, could we have found a parallel to an action so noble and so disinterested? We honor our Washington, our Adamses, our Hancock, our Franklin, our Carroll, our Greene, our Warren, and our Putnam, and we honor them justly. But this, nevertheless, was their own land, not a foreign one; the cause was their own, not a foreign one. Had they dared or done less, what claim could they have had to our remembrance, and had they withheld their support from that cause, should we not now have even cursed their memories? Let the infamy which still to the third generation hangs over the names of the misguided loyalists of the Revolution answer.

There were indeed other and heroic volunteers from European countries, but they were either exiles who had no homes, or they were soldiers by profession, who followed the sword wherever a harvest was to be reaped with it. Æneas left Troy to plant another state, but not until his native city was in ashes; and Byron went to the aid of Greece only when he needed a refuge from domestic disappointments, and social disgust. Lafayette's first act in America gave new evidence of disinterestedness and magnanimity. He found the small patriot army rent asunder by jealous feuds growing out of ambition for preferment. What revolution, however holy, has not suffered by such evils. How many a revolution has been lost by them. Schuyler, the brave, the high-spirited, and wise, now the victim of an intrigue, was hesitating whether to submit to a privation of rank justly due him, or to resign. Putnam's recent promotion produced bitter complaints; and Gates was laboring night and day, aided by a powerful faction, to displace Washington from the chief command. The correspondence of the father of his country, now first published, reveals the fact that the compensation attached to military rank was by no means an unimportant object of the universal rage for perferment, which then threatened to break up the army. Lafayette set a noble example to the republican chiefs. He declined the tender of a commission as major-general with its emoluments; and stipulated, on the contrary, for leave to serve

without reward, and even without a command, until he should have made a title to it by actual achievements. He won his commission by the blood he gave to his adopted country in the battle of the Brandywine, by rallying the troops in the retreat at Chester Bridge, and by his brave resistance and capture, with the aid of militia-men, of a superior force of British and Hessian regulars; and thus without exciting murmurs among his compatriots, and with the thanks of Congress, he rose to the command of a division in the army of the United States. Lavish of gold as he had already shown that he was lavish of blood, he clothed and equipped these troops, numbering two thousand, at his own expense, and they soon became, under his exact but affectionate discipline, the favorite corps of the whole army.

And now an hour of trial arrived. He was as yet only twenty-one years old, but his manly bravery, his proved valor, his generous enthusiasm, and his precocious prudence, had secured to him the esteem and confidence, not only of Washington, but of the army and of the country also. It seems now as if it must have happened through a propitious fortune, that the duty which fell to each of the Revolutionary generals, was the very one best fitted to his own peculiar talent and temper. To Lafayette, ardent, generous, and fascinating, oftenest fell the task of rallying discomfited and disheartened detachments. To the intrepid and impetuous Gates was reserved the battle with the perfect legions of Burgoyne, rendered desperate by the exposure of their position at Saratoga. While it devolved upon Washington alone to perform the more painful and less brilliant service of delay, of sieges, and of long and wearisome retreats. Cotemporaries judge the hero always by the brilliancy and success of his achievements, and so it had happened that Washington, even while lying at Charleston, had not only suffered reproaches for imbecility, but had also incurred suspicion of cowardice. Nevertheless, sustained by those who had sufficient greatness to discover his wonderful sagacity and prudence, and sufficient magnanimity to confess them, Washington had stood unshaken in his high place until the winter of 1778. But a new and bold intrigue was now plotted in the army and in Congress, and this intrigue aimed at nothing less than deposing the commander-in-chief, through the popularity of of the young and favorite French general. The design flourished for a time. A new campaign in the north was projected upon a

scale so grand and so well filled up with the necessary forces and supplies, as was thought to put success beyond casualty, and Lafayette was invested with the command of the expedition, independently of Washington, and responsible to Congress alone. Lafayette declined to accept it on terms so tempting, yet so unwise; and now, when we look back at the transaction, free from the influences of the passions and jealousies of that trying period, it seems not too much to say of Lafayette, that by this crowning act of magnanimity, he saved not only the army but the American Revolution.

Fortunately for that cause, Lafayette had the docility to be convinced by Washington that, the projected capture of Canada, even with such a force was impossible, and the enterprise was abandoned.

I may not dwell here on the gallant conduct and great services of Lafayette in the campaign of 1778, for his highest claims to our homage rest on merits more rare than even personal bravery and high military conduct. The fame of the young general had now reached his native land. France had enough of virtue to exult in the glory which her youthful refugee had won in the cause of freedom. That pride co-operating with the enthusiasm awakened there by the announcement of the capture of Burgoyne, enabled the American commissioners at the court of Versailles to obtain the long withheld acknowledgment of the independence of the new republic, together with the often promised, but long deferred aid of a squadron, which was now despatched under the command of *D'Estaing*. In acknowledgment of the influence of Lafayette in bringing about this indispensable and effective interposition by the French king, the American ministers, immediately after they had been for the first time presented at court, proceeded through the streets of Paris, attended by all their countrymen then in that capital, to the house of Lafayette, and paid their salutations to the youthful marchioness, whose hours were divided between sad apprehensions for his safety, and irrepressible delight in the praises everywhere bestowed upon her chivalrous lord. It was a delicate and yet generous confession of the debt of the country to its noble and heroic benefactor.

After the memorable battles of Valley Forge and Monmouth Lafayette obtained permission to revisit France. He was received there with acclamations as the first man of the age.

"Lafayette," said the poet, "*a vingt aus d'un monde etait l'appui.*" But the soul of the youthful hero was above the reach of flattery. On his arrival Dr. Franklin met him at Havrè, and in the name of Congress, presented to him a sword. Lafayette received it with this declaration, as honorable to himself as it was delicate and just to Washington: "Some of the devices upon the weapon are too flattering compliments for those slight services which, in concert with fellow-soldiers, I have had the good fortune to render, under the orders of the Godlike American." True to his adopted country, Lafayette resisted all the blandishments of Parisian society, and having used his popularity and the influence it gave him in her behalf with good effect, he re-embarked with an additional fleet, a large loan, and a new military force. You all know that, on his arrival he quieted the unhappy controversies still existing among the officers of the army, and that, having narrowly escaped from being betrayed into the hands of the British general by the treason of Arnold, he executed an important and responsible part in the great southern campaign with equal skill and courage, and so had the good fortune to share in the laurels won at Yorktown, the closing scene of the war of independence.

If the career of the hero had ended there what deficiency would there have been for his eulogist to lament, what trait of love, valor, friendship, constancy, or magnanimity, left undisclosed?

The struggle for freedom and for republicanism on this side of the Atlantic had now closed. Lafayette stood second to Washington in the affections of the American people, and in the applauses of the friends of liberty throughout the world. Certainly whatever honors that people could have conferred on any one, would have soon been sure to wait on him. Let those who think that preferment, power, and applause, are always the chief objects of human ambition, look now at this illustrious and yet youthful personage, cheerfully resigning his command, and without one murmur of regret for the honors laid down, or one glance toward the honors gathering before him, taking affectionate leave of his companions in arms, and their great chief, and returning to his native land, to resume there the duties he owed as a subject and member of the state in France.

An earnest invitation from Washington and his associates, brought him back a visiter to our shores in 1784, and he was

received here with an enthusiasm surpassed in no case of national hospitality, except his own on his more recent visit to the United States. Our highest expectations of the destiny of our country, do not surpass in enthusiasm the wishes and hopes which his experience and observation in America had kindled in him. In taking leave of Congress to return once more to France he thus expressed those hopes. "May this great temple which we have just erected to liberty, always be an instruction to oppressors, an example to the oppressed, a refuge for the rights of the human race, and an object of delight to the manes of its founders."

Lafayette early saw the signs of the storm which, at the close of the last century gathered over France and Europe. Instead of resigning himself to repose upon the laurels he had already won, he immediately visited the camps of the German princes, to improve himself in the science of arms, and so to qualify himself still better for new combats in the cause freedom.

I must be very brief upon the part which he bore in that great Revolution in which France, after holding the whole world, for a short period, in deep suspense for her safety, at last brought it into a death struggle for its own. Mankind now everywhere accord to him this distinction among the actors of that great drama, viz.: that he was always intrepid and earnest in maintaining the cause of popular liberty, deliberate and prudent in his measures, moderate and humane in mitigating the calamities and sufferings of the most fearful civil war the world has ever witnessed, and at all times, on all occasions, amid all trials, and all temptations, unswerving, consistent, and disinterested.

Lafayette, although a republican, seems to have been the first of the patriots who had the sagacity to discover that the French people were not yet prepared to sustain a purely democratic government. Acting on this conviction, in 1789, no less than in 1830, he averred that for France, the best form of government was a *limited monarchy surrounded by republican institutions.* So he opposed equally the restoration of despotic power to the throne, and the anarchical theories of the Jacobins. At the risk of rank, fortune, and life, he was the first in the assembly of notables to demand the suppression of *Lettres de cachet*, and of state prisons. When these concessions were refused, he demanded the convocation of a national assembly. "What," said the Count d'Artois, afterward Charles X. in a voice of arrogant menace

(for the hall was surrounded by the royal troops), "do you move for the states-general?"—"Yes" replied Lafayette, coolly, "and for more than that." The vacillating court soon yielded to this demand. Lafayette was of course a member of the states-general, and he commenced his labors in that extraordinary revolutionary body, by moving a resolution that the national assembly was not *free*, and, therefore, that the king should be required, at once, to withdraw the army from Versailles.

The declaration of the rights of the French people, adopted by the assembly, embodied the principles which Lafayette had carried with him from America.

"Nature," said that memorable instrument, "has made men free and equal. The distinctions necessary for social order, are founded on general utility alone.

"Every man is born with rights inalienable and imperscriptible. Such are the liberty of all his opinions, the uncontrolled disposal of his person, his industry, and all his faculties, the communication of all his thoughts by all possible means, the pursuit of happiness, and the resistance of oppression.

"The exercise of natural rights has no limits, but such as will insure the enjoyment of the same rights to other members of society.

"No man can be subject to any laws, excepting those which have received his own assent, or that of his representatives, and which are promulgated beforehand, and executed in due course, by competent authority.

"The principle of all sovereignty dwells in the nation. No body of men, no individual can possess authority that does not expressly emanate from it.

"The sole object of government is the general welfare. This interest requires that the legislative, executive, and judicial powers shall be distinct and defined, and that their organization shall secure the free representation of the citizens, the responsibility of the agents, and the impartiality of the judges.

"The laws ought to be clear, precise, and uniform, for all citizens.

"The subsidies ought to be obtained by free consent, and fairly imposed:

"And as the introduction of abuses, and the rights of succeeding generations make the occasional revision of every human establishment necessary, it must be allowed to the nation to have, in certain cases, an extraordinary convocation of deputies, whose sole object shall be the examination and correction, if necessary, of the vices of the constitution.

In these few sentences were condensed the elements of the American constitution.

Raised to the dangerous eminence of vice-president of the national assembly, Lafayette, on two successive days, procured the adoption of decrees essential to the establishment of Freedom in France; *one* for the destruction of the Bastile, and *another* declaring the ministers of the crown responsible to the people.

He was the projector of the militia-system, or national guard. He formed a cockade for this civic force, in which he combined the white of the lily of France, with the blue and red of the ensign of the city."—"See," said he, "I bring you a symbol which shall make the tour of the world, and an institution which shall

change the system of European political tactics, and reduce all absolute governments to the alternative of being beaten if they do not imitate, or of being overthrown if they dare to imitate it."

On the other hand, Lafayette struggled with equal constancy to prevent the march of anarchy. As you all recollect, on that memorable 5th of October, 1789, he held under check and constraint for eight hours the populace of Paris, who, to the number of ten thousand, of both sexes, thronged the road to the royal residence, crying—"To Versailles! Down with the nation! We want bread! Away with the queen! away with the king!" Failing to turn them back, he hurried forward and took his post in the palace; and, in that dreadful night which followed, rescued and saved the unhappy monarchs. His presence of mind and his great influence over the people were illustrated in the manner in which he accomplished that design.

At the moment when the ruffians who had effected an entrance were ready to unbar the gates and to admit the infuriate mob, who pressed with savage ferocity to the door of the royal chamber, Lafayette prevailed on the queen to overcome her terrors and present herself on the balcony, under the gray twilight of the morning. The air resounded with confused and horrible imprecations. Lafayette lifted the queen's hand and kissed it. The populace, overcome by this act of gallantry, shouted—"*Vive la reine!*"—"*Vive Lafayette!*" He turned and threw his arms over the manly shoulders of one of the royal body-guard. The populace shouted, "*Vive la reine!*"—"*Vivent les gardes du corps!*"

The constitution of France having been so amended as to guaranty the great principles of civil liberty while it should last, Lafayette spent the next two years in re-establishing and maintaining order in the newly-established state. It was then that he gave to the national guard that motto which expressed his own great political principles: "Liberte et ordre publique." These words were lost in the social chaos which soon succeeded, but on the restoration of Lafayette's system forty years afterward they also were restored; and now whosoever visits France will find them inscribed on the gates of every city and on the walls of every edifice of the government.

Lafayette was practically as well as in theory a republican. He voted for removing the restraints upon liberty of conscience,

and for abolishing the titles of nobility, and he alone of all the aristocracy who made that sacrifice consistently refused afterward to resume the rank thus resigned. While others gladly reclaimed the dignities renounced, and even hundreds of the republicans who had exacted this renunciation assumed the honors conferred by Napoleon under the empire, Lafayette ever afterward until his death bore only the name of general, and left no title to his successors.

Nevertheless, virtue, fidelity, and consistency, could not save Lafayette from sharing in the calamities which the surges of revolution brought upon his country. The mother of Madame Lafayette and her sister expiated his offences against the Girondist faction on the scaffold, and he was obliged to seek safety by flight from France. Attended by two faithful friends, he crossed the frontier, and, as you all remember, fell into the hands of the Prussian police. He was confined in chains in the dungeon at Olmütz, ignorant of the condition or even of the safety of his family, although the prison-doors would have opened at any moment when he should have signed a recantation of his republican opinions. The allied cabinets of Prussia and Austria kept secret the place and as far as possible even the fact of his confinement, and gave no satisfaction to the inquiries made to ascertain whether he still lived.

George Washington Lafayette was despatched by his mother to obtain the advice and if possible the aid of Washington. Washington fruitlessly interposed by addressing a letter written with his own hand to the emperor of Austria. The amiable and constant Josephine moved the new consular government of France also to intervene in his behalf; and his confinement was justly and loudly denounced in the British parliament, and by the press, wherever free, throughout Christendom, as an outrage on the rights of man and the laws of nations. These remonstrances, after the lapse of two years, produced an acknowledgment of the fact of Lafayette's imprisonment, and a relaxation of its rigors. He was allowed exercise and the society of his family. But the Austrian government now practised a new refinement of trial. Relying upon the persuasions of his family toward a compliance, they offered him his freedom upon the condition that he would promise not again to enter the kingdom of Prussia. Lafayette replied that, while he would freely say he had no present inten-

tion to revisit Prussia, yet he was a French general and an American citizen, and he would make no promise that would compromise his future conduct in either of those relations.

A romantic scheme adopted by Huger and Bohlman, two of our countrymen, having failed to effect his release by stratagem, Napoleon, who had now risen to a height that inspired respect if not terror, obtained the liberation of the only man in France whom he could not corrupt. But the consul, while he thus yielded to the importunities of the friends of justice and of liberty, did not omit to censure Lafayette's stubborn impracticability in refusing to accept the conditions which had been tendered by the Austrian authorities.

Lafayette returned to France. But it was struggling, hopeful France no more. The frenzied delirium of the republic was past. Danton, Marat, and Robespierre, had perished on the same scaffold which, during Lafayette's absence, had drunk the blood of Louis and Marie Antoinette. The foundations of the empire were already laid on the mingled and confused ruins of the monarchy and the republic. Napoleon knew both the gratitude and the popularity of Lafayette, and offered him a seat in the senate. Lafayette declined it, and solicited leave to resign his commission in the army. When all France beside himself, intoxicated with Napoleon's brilliant military successes, voted to constitute him first consul for life, Lafayette dissented, declaring: "I can not vote for such a magistracy until liberty has been sufficiently guarantied. When that shall have been done, then I will vote for Napoleon Bonaparte." He addressed a letter to the first consul himself on that occasion, and, after appealing to the triumphant general to establish a free constitution for France, he closed with these frank and manly words: "I have no other than patriotic and personal motives in wishing for you, as the climax of your glory, a permanent magistrative post. But it is in harmony with my principles, my engagements, the actions of all my life, to ascertain, before I vote, that liberty is established on foundations worthy of France and of you. I hope, general, that you will now admit, as you have already had occasion to do before, that to firmness in adhering to my political opinions are joined sincere wishes for your welfare, and a profound sense of my obligations to you."

The soul of Napoleon had no chord that could be touched by such generosity as this, and so the letter of Lafayette closed the

communication between these two eminent men, the representatives of the antagonist principles of France during nearly half a century.

What honors, what power, did not Lafayette thus forego! During a dozen years Napoleon subverted and established thrones, and bestowed fortunes and states on those who propitiated him with a lavish hand. But Lafayette's constancy never failed. He remained quiet and content at La Grange, engaged in books, in agriculture, and in the companionship of true men.

When the majestic structure of empire that Napoleon had built crumbled in its shock against the great empire of the north, and the miscalled deliverers of Europe restored the ancient monarchy under Louis XVIII., all who had been neglected by Bonaparte, and even most of those who had basked in his favor, and been enriched or ennobled by his patronage, pressed to the throne of the Bourbon with congratulations. I am sure I need not say that Lafayette was not among them nor of them.

When, again, Napoleon escaped from Elba, and enacted that delirious and final act, the restoration of the empire, and men who had forsworn him under the "restoration" again gave up their allegiance to the "man of destiny," Lafayette nevertheless remained at La Grange, indifferent between the kingdom and the empire — for the time for France to acknowledge and accept his aid had not yet come.

That time came at last, when Napoleon having already lost in his last battle, on the fatal plain of Waterloo, the power to save the great country that had idolized him, demanded new levies to resist the allied powers, then on their triumphant march to the capital. Lafayette reappeared in the tribune: "When," said he, "for the first time after many years, I now raise a voice which the old friends of liberty may yet be able to recognise, I find myself obliged to speak of the dangers of our country, which you alone are able to save. The moment has come for rallying around the old tricolored standard of 1789 — that of liberty, equality, and public order." Lafayette declared that enough of treasure had been spent and enough of blood had been shed to prove the fidelity of France to the emperor. The chamber declared itself permanent, and enacted that any attempt to dissolve it would be high-treason, and punished as such. In a meeting held with closed doors, in the night after adopting this decree, Lucien, the most insidious

and eloquent of his august brother's advocates, addressed the chamber, and was evidently sure of success. Lafayette rose, and, without waiting to ascend the tribune, replied in a voice marked by deep emotion: "What has just been asserted is a calumny. Who dare accuse Frenchmen of inconstancy toward Napoleon? Did they not follow him through the sands of Egypt and over the deserts of Russia? Have they not stood by him on fifty battle-fields in disaster as well as in victory? and is it not for having followed him so faithfully and so long, that they have to mourn the millions of brethren perished?" It is said that even Lucien himself, penetrated with the justice of this noble reply, bowed respectfully to the venerable speaker, and was silent.

Lafayette exerted every effort to re-establish popular institutions around the now restored throne of the Bourbons, but he was defeated by the coalition of the friends of the empire with the friends of the monarchy.

Lafayette was among the deputies sent by the newly-organized government to treat with the allied sovereigns, on the terms of the capitulation of France. After long and fruitless consultation, the English embassador impatiently demanded of Lafayette whether he would accept of peace on condition of delivering up Napoleon to the allies. "I am surprised," replied the Frenchman, "that in submitting to us so odious a proposition, you should have addressed yourself to one of the prisoners of Olmütz."

When the negotiations were near their conclusion, as the government of Louis XVIII. was again coming in, he wrote to the Count Capo d'Istria, in behalf of Hortense, the daughter of Josephine. "Have you had the kindness to speak in behalf of an unfortunate woman whose mother was so generous to me in my captivity, that I can never forget her, even though they should call me a Bonapartist?"

Resigning France as was inevitable to the reign of the Bourbons, under the protection of the holy league of Europe, Lafayette again retired to La Grange, and he remained there until 1819, when he resumed his seat in the chamber of deputies, which he continued to fill until the foundations of the state were again broken up in 1830.

It has been asked "Why did Lafayette support the election of Louis Philippe as king of France?"—"Why, after having supported that election, did he abandon the chosen king of France

so soon?"—"Why did he not understand the chief of Orleans better before consenting to his election as king?"—"Why did Lafayette resign the office of lieutenant-general with such seeming caprice?" These questions embody the argument of the prevailing government and party in France, against the venerable patriot who had carried her safely through the last one of so many revolutions. At some hazard of being thought desirous of gaining importance by relating conversations held with him by myself, I shall give you in the simplest way, his own reply to this argument so industriously urged by his enemies.

"It has been said," he remarked, "that I made Louis Philippe king. That is not true. But it is true that I consented that he should be king. I acted not without hesitation even thus far. But what could *I* do? What else could be done? The people had achieved a revolution. The chamber of deputies contained a large majority of patriots, but not of republicans, although there were many republicans. But all France regarded republicanism with horror on account on the terrible excesses of 1793, and nobody as yet was willing to renew the experiment. The great desire of every one was, to bring the revolution to an early end, because, although the people had behaved well thus far, it was, nevertheless, feared that they would become turbulent, and thus the tragedy of the old Republic would be re-enacted. What was to be done? The only one of the Bonapartes whom it was practicable to call to the throne, was the young Duke of Reichstadt, and he was a minor, a valetudinarian, and in the hands of the Austrians. He had been educated by them, and it was natural to believe, he was imbued with the prepossessions, prejudices, and principles of that court. Besides, the name of Bonaparte was associated with the reminiscences of military despotism. The throne of his successor must be made sacred by a return, in a great measure, to the same despotic system; and so there were, you see, insuperable objections to the restoration of the Napoleon dynasty. We could not safely proclaim a republic. We had no republican army to rely upon, nor could such a government at this time secure the confidence of the people, and we knew full well that, as soon as it should be proclaimed all Europe would be combined against us. The attention and the prepossessions of all the actors in the revolution were already engrossed by Louis Philippe. I was little acquainted with him. I knew that he had been a republican in his youth. He had talents, learning, and knowledge of the world. He was a little too fond of money, but he had, hitherto behaved very well, especially in America. The general sentiment indicated Louis Philippe, but it was agreed that, before he should be created king, an interview with him should be had, and his sentiments and principles should be ascertained, and he should be bound to a *constitutional* monarchy, which should be organized in such a way as to prepare for introducing the republic. Accordingly I left the people at the Hotel de Ville, and sought Louis Philippe. The first thing he said to me was, 'Well, General Lafayette, what is to be done?' I answered. 'You are well aware that I am a republican. It seems to me that the constitution of the United States is the best form of government that has ever been devised by man.' Louis Philippe replied, 'My sentiments agree precisely with yours, and no man can reside in America two years, as I have done, without being convinced that the government of the United States is the best that can be framed. But after all, what shall we do now? You know the prejudices and terrors with which the republican system is now regarded in France. We can not depend on the army. Half of the troops are Carlists, and we shall have all Europe invading us the moment that we proclaim a republic.' I replied, 'I am aware of all this, and, therefore, I think it is most desirable now to give quiet to France, and to consummate the revolution. It is best, therefore, to establish now, and for a time, a monarchy, but one in which the monarchical principle shall be limited as much as possible, and to encircle the throne with republican institutions, and so, by educating the people, we shall prepare them for the republic as soon it shall be safe to establish it.' Louis Philippe

rejoined, 'these are my very thoughts, I have reflected upon the subject, and I agree fully in all the sentiments you have expressed.' Thereupon I returned to the Hotel de Ville, and announced to the people there that, the sentiments of Louis Philippe agreed exactly with my own, and, as you know already, he was then made king. We caused him to swear to a charter containing two fundamental articles, one the sovereignty of the people, and the responsibility of the government to them; the other, 'universal suffrage,' and he further pledged himself, that a law should be submitted, to begin immediately the great work of education. I was made lieutenant-general of the kingdom. I did not wish that office, but it seemed necessary to satisfy the people, and attach them to the new government. Besides I saw that if I should decline the place it would furnish occasion for the calumny, that I wanted to be king myself. Thereupon I assumed the office, and for a time, all went on well. Louis Philippe promised to support the liberal cause in Italy, and Belgium, and throughout Europe. Stimulated by our example, and our success, the republican cause began its movement in Poland, Belgium, and Italy. It encountered the resistance we had anticipated, and then it looked to us for support. Louis Philippe had not the courage to sustain it as he had promised. I remonstrated against his policy of abandoning to destruction those whom we had excited to take up arms. He persisted, and so left them to their hard fate. He then became very anxious that I should resign my office; and he indulged, or affected apprehension lest, in the hands of a successor, the office might become too powerful for the safety of France. I was more desirous to resign it than he was that I should retire. I felt that, I could not hold it longer consistently with justice to myself, and my known principles. Louis Philippe had already begun to lay the foundations of a new Bourbon dynasty, which he designed should be perpetual, instead of conducting the government so as to prepare the way for a republic, as he had promised me. I would have no hand in such schemes. I was a citizen of the United States, a republican. I knew that my name was associated with the cause of liberty and republicanism wherever that cause was cherished. I never intended to seek or hold office merely for the sake of office under any government, and I had accepted the place of lieutenant-general only to advance that cause. I could not retain it under the circumstances without lending the sanction of my name whatever it might be worth, to the principles of the new dynasty, and that would be doing violence to the faith I had in the republican cause, and disgusting, and so discouraging the friends of that cause throughout the world. For these reasons I resigned. Louis Philippe afterward said that he made no engagement with me preparatory to his ascent to the throne. As soon as I learned this in an authentic way, I sent a message to him that I should not any longer visit the Tuilleries, and so the breach between us was completed."

I have already deprecated the censure of self-conceit, which the presentation of the recollections of such memorable conversations may draw upon me. But I must be allowed now to say that, my heart never swelled with pride for my country, more than it did when I received from the lips of Lafayette, this avowal of his citizenship of this country as the controlling principle of his conduct in that great crisis, so full of importance to his own native land, and to the cause of freedom throughout the world. These conversations were held in his own private chamber, which was embellished with only a bust of Washington, and the cold marble seemed to warm and smile during the narration to which I listened.*

I must bring this discourse to a close. How could I so effectually have performed the task of eulogium, which you have

* Other interesting reminiscences of Lafayette will be found among the "LETTERS FROM EUROPE," pp. 6 of this volume.—*Ed.*

imposed upon me, as by giving you a transcript of the life of my great subject, and his sentiments on great affairs in his own words. Yet how many great actions, and how many lessons of wisdom, and virtue, and benevolence, have I necessarily omitted, which are familiar in all your memories.

You have seen how love and veneration for our country were the main-spring of all his actions and thoughts, from the early dawn to the setting sun of his political life. If ever your hearts have sickened under apprehensions of its degeneracy, if ever you have lost confidence or hope in the virtue of the people, or the safety of the republic, you have now been inspired with new zeal to serve and save it, by this proof of the inestimable value attached to its safety by him, who was so long the sole representative of republicanism and liberty in Europe. I could give you many more illustrations of Lafayette's affection toward America. I said to his heroic daughter, the Countess of Marbury, who had sought imprisonment with him in the castle of Olmutz, "Was not the happiest hour in your life, that one in which you saw your venerated parent again restored, after so many years of persecution and neglect, to his ancient influence among the people of France?"—"No! no," said she, "the proudest hours we have ever enjoyed, were those when the American journals brought by every packet, detailed with minuteness, the honors paid him during his recent progress throughout the United States of America."

The porch at La Grange was decorated with cannon, trophies of the triumph of the people over the king, in the revolution of 1830, and drapery, which combined the tricolored flag with our own stars and stripes, graced the grand stair-way. Portraits and busts of American patriots, views of Mount Vernon and Quincy, and paintings illustrating American victories by land and sea, were the only embellishments of the chambers and halls of the ancient chateau. When, at parting, I reminded him that we still cherished here the hope that he would leave inconstant and ungrateful France, and close his days in America; "Believe me," he replied, "I should be very unhappy were I to think that I should never see America again. But I have yet three years to serve in the legislature, and what may happen within that time God alone knows. And so, indeed, it was. In less than eight months afterward, the tongue that had so recently blessed my country,

with so much fervor, lost its cunning, and the majestic form that had bent over me so affectionately sank into the grave for ever.

Lafayette's preparations for death, of course, harmonized with his principles and conduct during life. France, however, like all other states, unjust at times to her living patriots, is never slow to honor her illustrious dead. She would have decreed him a mausoleum in the Pantheon. But why should his remains have been conveyed to the chill and cheerless vaults, where Rousseau and Voltaire sleep. She would have given him a tomb at St. Denis; but why should his ashes have been mingled with those of kings, whom, though he hated not, yet he opposed as the hinderers of the advancement of their race. On the contrary, Lafayette wisely preferred that he might await the call of God under the grassy sod of Pere La Chaise, in companionship with Massena, Ney, Foy, and Constant.

Young men, neighbors, companions, and friends. You see in the life of Lafayette, the excellence of integrity and constancy in the service of the cause of republicanism, of liberty, which is the cause of human nature. It is not always that those virtues appear to find, here, immediate acknowledgment and just reward. But Providence sometimes vouchsafes illustrations of its approval of them. Serious and painful as were the misfortunes which occasionally and for long seasons attended the great man, whom we and the world mourn, yet if you compare his life and death with those of the other actors in the great drama in which he figured, if you compare his career with those of Mirabeau, dying faithless alike to the people, and the throne—with Robespierre, ignobly perishing by the axe that he had put in motion to extirpate his enemies—with Bonaparte, dying of the gnawings of the vulture ambition, in his prison at St. Helena—you must confess that the contrast proves abundantly, that God is just and rendereth judgment according to the deeds done in the body by the children of men.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

THERE is sad news from Genoa. An aged and weary pilgrim, who can travel no further, passes beneath the gate of one of her ancient palaces, saying with pious resignation as he enters its silent chambers: "Well! it is God's will that I shall never see Rome. I am disappointed. But I am ready to die. It is all right."——"The superb" though fading queen of the Mediterranean holds anxious watch, through ten long days, over that majestic stranger's wasting frame. And now death is there—the liberator of Ireland has sunk to rest in the cradle of Columbus.

Coincidence beautiful and most sublime! It was the very day set apart by the elder daughter of the church for prayer and sacrifice throughout the world for the children of the sacred island, perishing by famine and pestilence in their homes and in their native fields, and on their crowded paths of exile, on the sea and in the havens, and on the lakes, and along the rivers of this far-distant land. The chimes rung out by pity for his countrymen were O'CONNELL's fitting knell; his soul went forth on clouds of incense that rose from altars of Christian charity; and the mournful anthems which recited the faith, and the virtue, and the endurance of Ireland, were his becoming requiem.

It is a holy sight to see the obsequies of a soldier, not only of civil liberty, but of the liberty of conscience—of a soldier, not only of freedom, but of the cross of Christ—of a benefactor, not merely of a race or people, but of mankind. The vault lighted by suspended worlds is the temple within which the great solemnities are celebrated. The nations of the earth are mourners, and

NOTE.—Daniel O'Connell died May 15, 1847. Mr. Seward, at the invitation of the friends of Ireland in New York, delivered this eulogy on his character in Castle Garden, on the 22d of September, 1847.—*Ed.*

the spirits of the just made perfect, descending from their golden thrones on high, break forth into songs like this:—

"Tears are not now thy due. From the world's toil,
Come to assume in heaven the brighter birth:
A wingéd angel, from thy mortal coil
Escaped! Thy glory lingers yet round earth.
Christ's hallowed warrior, living, thou went'st forth;
Christ's champion didst thou die. And now, blest shade!
The crown and palm of righteousness and worth
Thou wear'st, with joys unspeakable repaid."

The priesthood of Genoa, grateful for the honor of dismissing the lofty spirit from its mortal conflict, cover the departing bier with sad funereal weeds.

Rome, ever avaricious of relics, though she has gathered into her urn the ashes of the great and good of nearly thirty centuries, reverently claims and embalms, and shrines with her soul-subduing litanies, the heart of yet another—

"Who through the foes has borne her banished gods."

Behold now a nation which needeth not to speak its melancholy precedence. The lament of Ireland comes forth from palaces deserted, and from shrines restored; from Boyne's dark water, witness of her desolation, and from Tara's lofty hill, ever echoing her renown. But louder and deeper yet that wailing comes from the lonely huts on mountain and on moor, where the people of the greenest island of all the seas are expiring in the midst of insufficient though world-wide charities. Well indeed may they deplore O'Connell, for they were his children. And he bore them

"A love so vehement, so strong, so pure,
That neither age could change nor art could cure."

Again and again, as if they feared to disturb him with excess of sorrow, they plead:—

——"If yet we keep
Vigils of grief, and echo groan for groan,
'Tis not for thee; but for ourselves we weep,
Whose noblest pillar lies in thee o'erthrown."

The pageant pauses. Next to the chief mourner, space is opened for America, eldest of the new-born nations. Why shall not America accept that distinguished privilege? O'Connell was a champion of universal constitutional freedom. That is her own

cause—all her own. She arms, and instructs, and sends forth, all its chieftains; and when one of them falls in the ever-continuing conflict—be his faith, his tongue, or his lineage, what it may—whether he die on the snowy plains of Poland, among the classic islands of Greece, under the bright skies of Italy, among the vine-clad hills of France, or in the green valleys of Ireland—be he Kosciusko, or Bozzaris, or Lafayette, or O'Connell—America hastens to bear witness that he was her soldier, citizen, and representative.

Panegyric commonly begins its picture by calling up revered ancestral shadows from long-forgotten graves, to fill the background; and then surrounds its hero with cotemporaneous forms of kindred greatness. But there are figures so majestic as to exclude from the canvass all living companionship, while they derive no grandeur from being grouped with even the awful forms of the illustrious dead. Such is every one who, by permission of Providence, the devotion of his own soul, and the consent given by his fellow-men, or extorted from them, losing his own individuality, becomes for a period the representative of a race, a people, a nation, or it may be of many races, peoples, or nations. You recognise Napoleon in the brilliant scene of his coronation in Nôtre Dame, or when taking leave of his veterans at Fontainebleau; but you are transported with awe or pity when you contemplate him among the solitudes of the frozen Alps, or looking off on the imprisoning sea from the inaccessible cliffs of St. Helena. You perceive the serene dignity of Washington in the picture that commemorates his acceptance of his dangerous commission in the halls of the continental Congress; and you weep when he is seen dismissing his unrewarded though triumphant army on the heights of the Hudson. But your soul is overpowered with his greatness when you come to the uncanopied place where Greenough's accurate taste, banishing even the drapery of the living age, presents to you the Father of his Country in colossal marble alone.

From the beginning there have been two conditions of man, and these in perpetual opposition, force and resistance; two agencies working out his destiny, power and freedom, and these in unceasing conflict; two elements of government, aristocracy and democracy, and these in everlasting war. Nations inspire us with awe, or hate, or reverence, or sympathy, as they sustain one

or the other of these conditions, exert one or the other of these agencies, manifest one or the other of these elements. The man who for a time becomes substituted for a nation, is clothed in our regard with the national attributes. The people of Ireland, during nearly seven hundred years, have maintained a conflict for our common race, of resistance against force, freedom against power, right against usurpation. Through more than twenty years of that conflict, Daniel O'Connell was the impersonation of that people—

"A nation in a man compris'd."

In this consists the secret of the interest he excited while living, and of all his fame now that he lives no more. It is his country, therefore, and only his country—as she was, as she is, and as she is to be—that must be regarded, if we would fully comprehend and truly know the character of O'Connell.

Ireland was long ago an independent nation, governed by a king and council or parliament, and was divided into inferior kingdoms and subordinate sects or clans. It had population and revenues equal to what were generally possessed by other states in the same age. One of its inhabitants thus described the kingdom a thousand years ago:—

"Far westward lies an isle of ancient fame,
By Nature blest—Hibernia is her name
Enrolled in books—exhaustless is her store
Of veiny silver and of golden ore.
Her fruitful soil for ever teems with wealth,
With gems her waters, and her air with health;
Her verdant fields with milk and honey flow,
Her woolly fleeces vie with virgin snow;
Her waving furrows float with bended corn,
And arms and arts her envied sons adorn.
No poison there infects, nor scaly snake
Creeps through the grass or settles in the lake.
A nation worthy of its pious race—
In war triumphant, and unmatched in peace."

Ireland had then a court in which learning was honored next to royalty; a church that sent forth missionaries who converted a large portion of western Europe; laws that divided estates of the dead with equal justice; that gave the trial by jury—the Anglo-Saxon's boast; that ordained inns for the entertainment of travellers at the public expense, and that knew only one capi-

tal or unpardonable crime. And it was treason and sacrilege to change those laws. There were trained bands which were sworn to resist even a seven-fold foe; knights who won renown for valor and courtesy on the plains of Palestine, and dames who were honored by admiring bards and minstrels in strains like these: —

> "The daughter of Moran seized the harp!
> And her voice of music praised the strangers.
> Their soul melted at the song
> Like a wreath of snow before the eye of the sun."

I speak no interested, no partial, no imaginative eulogy. It is the testimony of general history, as accredited by modern learning.

Alas, how unlike is this picture to Ireland now, in an age tenfold more enlightened and humane! What has wrought this change? Has Ireland degenerated, or has she been degraded and debased by foreign power? Did Ireland struggle, or did she resign herself to ruin? Listen, and you shall hear.

Separated by only an ocean-channel, and colonized originally by the same Celtic race, the islands of Britain and Ireland have been distinguished by fortunes as wide as the poles. Britain, conquered by the Romans, the Danes, the Saxons, and the Normans, derived from that severe experience the consolidation, discipline, ambition, and energy, which have enabled it to grasp the empire of the world. Ireland, devoted to piety and learning, remaining long unconquered and unconquerable, and unmoved by cupidity or ambition, was early distracted by factions, and finally betrayed by them to a conqueror.

In the twelfth century, Henry II., a Norman king of England, who held the refinements of life in much contempt, "cast in his mind" to conquer the adjoining island, "because it was commodious for him, and its people seemed to him savage and rude." Invited by a native prince who had been dethroned, he appeared in Ireland with a real or forged grant under the seal of Breakspeare, an Englishman, who occupied the papal see at Rome, under the name of Adrian IV. Early converted to Christianity without the blood of martyrs, the Irish had nevertheless been the last to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome. Having received that article of faith, they have held it fast at the cost of ages of want, of millions of lives, and even of national existence. Ireland denied the pretensions of the pope to temporal power, and

resisted the invader. Henry did not reinstate the Irish king, but established on the coast a martial colony; and by virtue of this acquisition, which was henceforth called the *Pale*, he claimed to be conqueror of the whole island. A royal deputy governed the Pale with a council of nobles and clergy, which afterward became a parliament, and the little domain was parcelled out by the king in great estates to court-favorites and military adventurers. The aristocracy of England was thus by fraud and force planted in the *Island of Saints*, as it was then reverently called. Thenceforth its veins of silver and its dust of gold, the rubies of its lakes, the grain in its waving furrows, and the flocks on its thousand hills, were to pass away from its harmless people, to pamper despotic and insatiable lords. That august court, those ancient seminaries, those valiant bands, those chivalrous knights, that cynosure of beauty, and the bards who so worthily celebrated it, faded, declined, and were lost for ever!

The establishment of the Pale enfeebled Ireland, although the colony was utterly incompetent to subjugate the kingdom. The colonists claimed to be masters of the island. The Irish, with the British power in the heart of the country, asserted their sovereignty and independence. Hence resulted a division which, perpetuated until now, has involved both in a common ruin. The distinction between the natives and the invaders was graven broad and deep by these conflicting titles, and by perpetual wars, inveterate policy, and clashing codes. The government of England acknowledged only the English inhabitants of the Pale as lawful subjects, and denounced the natives as "aliens," "wild Irish," and "enemies." *Magna Charta* and the common law were introduced within the Pale, but their protection was denied to the natives, while they were subjected to the power of the English courts. The Irish language and costume were inhibited, intermarriages forbidden, and naturalization under English laws denied. It was made lawful to kill an Irishman on suspicion, without trial or process, and unlawful to entertain an Irish minstrel, to keep an Irish servant, or to feed an Irish horse. The native princes, nobles, and knights, within the colony, were trodden down, and the wretched people, expelled on the one hand as aliens and rebels from their rightful possessions, and on the other by the native Septs into whose hands they were driven, were thus rendered houseless and desperate. Outlaws by statute and by

proclamation, they formed themselves from necessity into predatory bands, and, descending from the mountains, made reprisals on the Pale, and carried the war of fierce retaliation to the very gates of its cities.

The lust of power soon discovered and opened that fountain whose bitter floods no art can stay nor purify. Ambitious Dublin robbed Armagh, the archiepiscopal see, of its treasures and sacred relics. The king of England rewarded the sacrilege with ecclesiastical authority over the island; proscribed from the ministry the natives who denounced the usurpation; and the English church within the Pale set the stamp of its approbation on the policy of the government by the atrocious dogma that it was not a sin to kill an Irishman.

But it remained for the Tudors, the commonwealth, and the Guelphs, to sound the depths of fanaticism. Although the parliament of England vacillated long with the policy and caprice of the court, the conversion of the people of that country to the tenets of the Reformation resulted from a conviction that the religion of Luther was true. The Catholic church there was subverted. But England was in some sort connected with Ireland, and she must be converted in order that a superstitious prophecy might be fulfilled, which taught that the chair of St. Peter would fall when Ireland should cease to sustain it, and to the end also that Rome should not regain her ascendency in England through the agency of Catholic Ireland. England sent, to convert Ireland, not missionaries, but the sword. Rejecting the Catholic ritual because it was expressed in an unknown tongue, she sent the English prayer-book to a people ignorant of that language, and employed a ferocious soldiery to illustrate its real simplicity and beauty. The parliament of the Pale, like the sunflower, turned its revolving face to catch the royal smile, and received from Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, successively, a different religion with the same cheerful loyalty that it greeted "the new superscription and image of each on the coin of the kingdom." The Irish preferred their own long-cherished religion to that so rudely and inconsistently recommended to them by their enemies. Thenceforth ensued a war of confiscation and massacre reaching far toward our own time, and in which, although the parties remained unchanged, the hostility of races was lost in the terrible conflict of religious sects. England, exasperated

by the firmness of Ireland, determined to extirpate her heresy by exterminating her people, and to supply their place with more orthodox colonies from Scotland as well as from the regions south of the Tweed. The genius of the versatile Bacon was tasked to make the new plantations grow, and the funds to carry on the exterminating war were obtained by mortgaging the lands to be conquered. No mercy was shown even to women or children in this war of faith. The Irish people fled before the destructive armies, and took refuge in caverns. Subsisting there on the fruits of the pasturage, and on the spoils taken from their invaders, they multiplied like the blades of grass, while their obnoxious faith became as firm as their mountain-homes. Then came new armies, driving the natives down upon the plains; and when it was found that famine and pestilence involved both parties in common destruction, the merciful concession was made that the entire Catholic population of Ireland should be allowed a refuge in a single province, there to remain, on pain of death if found beyond its borders.

At length, in the year of the gospel of peace on earth and goodwill toward men, 1691—just five hundred and twenty years after the invasion by Henry—the wars which he began at first for conquest, and which afterward became a medley of rapine and fanaticism, came to an end by the treaty of Limerick after the battle of the Boyne:—

> "Wearied with tedious war they cease,
> And both the kings and kingdoms plight the peace."

What were the results of these long and furious wars? Ireland was conquered at last, and was despoiled. The aristocracy of England were owners and masters in Ireland, and its native possessors were tenants, servants, and slaves. The country contained eleven millions of acres of tillable land. One million were possessed by Englishmen who, having come to convert Ireland to Luther, had relapsed to Rome. Ten millions of acres were the property of English Protestant lords, and not one acre was left to the native Celtic Irishman. But the people of Ireland had not been exterminated. They constituted three fourths of the population, and were more numerous than ever. What then? Had Ireland saved nothing? Had England gained everything? No! The aristocracy of England had gained a country they could not

fill: Ireland had saved her faith, and England had gained nothing, not even the security she had deemed essential. The Catholic religion remained unshaken in Ireland. Liberty of conscience was a condition of the capitulation at Limerick, and was solemnly guarantied by William of Orange, and Mary the daughter of James.

Policy as well as public faith now required that the conquered kingdom should be left in peace, that its wasted strength should be repaired, that the rankling wounds opened during centuries of persecution should be healed, and that Ireland should be admitted to free enjoyment of the civil rights guarantied by the British constitution. But fear and fanaticism know no policy suggested by humanity, and keep no covenants, though they be written in blood. England still feared the return of her Catholic princes, and therefore willed that the people of Ireland, although inflexible in their faith, and always loyal when not driven to rebellion, and although they were reposing on the treaty of Limerick, should nevertheless be converted to the Reformation. The object of England remained the same, only the means were now changed, and perfidy was added to persecution. The army gave place to the sterner despotism of the law, and the sword to the scaffold —a more certain engine of destruction.

Ireland was already subjected under a constitution admirably adapted to the introduction of the penal religious code. Her only legislature was the parliament of the Pale—and this semblance of a legislature had been deprived of life by the Poynings law, which forbade it to assemble without the previous consent of the king, or to pass any law not first approved by him. Petitions from Ireland were inhibited unless first sanctioned by the royal deputy residing there; and Irishmen were forbidden to leave their country, lest by their complaints they might annoy the majesty of the king, or disturb the equanimity of the commons of England. The penal code banished the bishop, the priest, and the schoolmaster, from Ireland; forbade attendance on Catholic worship on pain of death for perseverance; made the converting of a Protestant to the Catholic faith a felony; annulled existing marriages between Catholics and Protestants, and interdicted them in future; transferred Catholic children of living parents to guardians in chancery; closed against Catholics every office of trust or profit in the state, in the army, and in the navy,

and in every corporation, mercantile or municipal; deprived them of the right to be freeholders, the right to vote, to maintain actions at law, to be jurors, to keep arms for self-defence, to travel even within the kingdom, to be executors or guardians, and even of the right to keep a horse worth more than five pounds; robbed the Catholic child of its estate if even unwillingly or unconsciously instructed by a Catholic at home or abroad; transferred a Catholic parent's estate to his abjuring son; gave a separate maintenance to a renouncing wife, and emancipated from parental control all Catholic children who would forsake the family altar; subjected Catholic property to seizure for public purposes without compensation: and finally provided for the execution of these dreadful laws by a judiciary responsible to the king, by bishops with prisons in some cases, by magistrates in others with the rack instead of the jury, and in others with juries authorized to render verdicts at the solicitation of corrupt informers and on the testimony of convicted felons. Thus did the religion whose test is the mutual love of its disciples, become, under human policy —

> "A plea for sating the unnatural thirst
> For murder, rapine, violence, and crime."

No language less copious, elaborate, and accurate, than that of Edmund Burke, can express the character of this extraordinary code: "It is," said he, "a system full of coherence and consistency; well digested and well disposed in all its parts; a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance, well fitted for the impoverishment and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself."

This system continued in its utmost possible efficiency until the year 1778; and, although then somewhat modified, it remained in oppressive operation until the year 1829, a period of one hundred and thirty-nine years.

And what were the effects of the penal code and of the system which preceded it? Ireland groaned under the burdens of a foreign government and of foreign landlords. Commerce had grown to be a mighty power in England, and Commerce struck hands with Fanaticism. Ireland was forbidden all foreign trade, while its manufactories were undermined to favor English monopoly. Notwithstanding the resources and fertility of the country, its wealth was exhausted in paying rents to English landlords, tithes

to English priests, profits to English artisans, and taxes to the English government.

"For foreign lords her people sow their native land."

Poverty stalked through the isle. Half the increase of population was given up to America to fell the forests and plant cities there, and the remainder was reduced to subsist on an esculent root, the cheapest yielded by Nature to the cultivating hand of man. Were not the natives *then* extirpated? Did they not *then* renounce that odious faith? No! Ireland had increased its numbers by threefold. We do not know that one parent had relinquished his creed, one wife had forsaken her husband, or one child had abjured the altar of its forefathers. Protestantism, though nourished on plunder, had declined; and the religion of Rome, watered by tears and fanned by the blasts of persecution, flourished in unwonted and vigorous luxuriance.

This was the condition of Ireland in 1775: and now our inquiries are answered. The people of Ireland have not degenerated. They have been degraded from their high estate, not by their own act, but by the aristocracy of England. They have resisted this degradation with heroic energy, and have resisted to the last. The aristocracy of England has usurped the government of Ireland, and set upon it

"The mark of selfishness,
The signet of its all-enslaving power."

This was the condition of that unhappy country in the year 1775, six hundred and five years after the descent of Henry, the Anglo-Norman king, on its coast, when two events happened, widely different and distant — the one in an obscure corner of the island, the other in a remote part of the British empire — events destined to affect for ever the condition, not only of Ireland, but of all mankind. British troops fired on the militia of Massachusetts, in Lexington, on the 19th of April, 1775; and Daniel O'Connell was born at Carhen, in Ireland, on the 6th of August, in the same year.

The American Revolution exhibited a triumphant resistance to the unconstitutional legislation of the imperial parliament by a portion of the empire far less oppressed than Ireland, and infinitely more prosperous and happy. But that revolution was

more than this: it vindicated the inalienable and universal right of mankind to resist oppression and overthrow tyranny, however established and however long endured. It was even more than this: it vindicated the inalienable and universal right and capacity of mankind to establish and conduct governments for themselves, and to change them at pleasure. It struck the governments of the earth with consternation, and bewildered the enslaved masses of men with hopes which were not altogether illusions, of freedom and of universal equality. In the language of Lafayette, America was not a solitary rebel. She was a patrol in the cause of humanity.

Ireland not only sympathized profoundly with the transatlantic colonies in their complaints of usurpation, under which she suffered more sorely than they, but with inherent benevolence and ardor she yielded at once to the sway of the great American idea of universal emancipation. The bitter memory of a stream of ages lifted up her thoughts, and she was ready to follow to the war for the rights of human nature—

"The propitious god that seemed to lead the way."

This war, thus opened by America, is the same struggle in which Ireland has been engaged ever since, in which O'Connell labored with so much zeal, and force, and success, and which he has left unfinished.

England was soon at war, not only with her American colonies, but also with France, and Spain, and Holland. France threatened to invade Ireland, and America had already led Ireland into a revolution. Left by the British government to defend themselves, the people of Ireland gathered at once an army of brave and well-appointed volunteers, ready to resist the threatened invasion if England would yield independence, and even more ready to achieve independence if it should be refused. The influence of such great events exalted for a time the virtues of the Irish people. The Catholic forgot his peculiar wrongs amid the new-born hopes of his country; the Protestant forgot his long-cherished fears. Now firmly united, and lifting with them for a brief period the wretched legislature of the Pale, they demanded the independence of that parliament. They preserved the forms of loyalty, indeed, but their resolution of rights was couched in the language of freemen, and their petitions were written on the

drum-head and presented on the point of the bayonet. The British parliament were confounded. They heard at the same moment the same principles, sentiments, and resolutions, from Jefferson, and Adams, and Jay, and Franklin, in the Congress of America; from Grattan and Flood, in the parliament of Ireland; and from Chatham, the tribune of the whole empire, within their own halls. They evaded, then conciliated, and at last conceded. In 1778, the provisions of the penal code concerning the rights of property and education were relaxed. Other concessions of the same sort followed in 1782; and in the same year, when the exigency became more alarming, Ireland was restored to independence by a declaration of the British parliament that "the rights claimed by the people of that island, to be bound only by laws enacted by his majesty and the parliament of that kingdom, should be and then were established, and should at no time thereafter be questioned or questionable." Ireland, always moderate, always confiding, was content with this concession, which left her a distinct kingdom, independent of Britain, but united to that country through a common Protestant throne. Then, as her heart swelled with the memories of the glories of other days, and opened to visions of brighter glories in the future, she clasped her sister England with gratitude, pride, and affection, forgetting the injuries of six hundred years! Did ever the earth exhibit a scene of truer national magnanimity?

But Ireland in 1782 was only independent as America was in the same period. It yet remained in each country to establish and secure the liberties of the people. This was done here by the erection of the federal republican constitution of 1787, which, although reared amid doubts and fears, has gained stability with time, and has, as we ardently hope, become eternal.

But the parliament of Dublin remained in Ireland. It was no less now than before the engine of the usurping aristocracy of England. Its virtues had expired in the throes of its new birth. No constitution could be obtained without the consent of the parliament of the Pale — a parliament in which three fourths of the people had not a shadow of representation, and the other portion had only a shadow. In the face of an armed convention of the people, and in the midst of universal commotion, the parliament of Dublin refused a constitution to Ireland! Already all that had been gained was lost but the shadow of independence,

and that was sure to follow soon. The patriots of Ireland hastened from the hated halls of the parliament of the Pale with deep disgust, and, rushing to the altars of Liberty, applied themselves to wake again its sleeping fires. The revolution was once more set in motion, but the ball had nearly spent its force. The men of '98, brave and true, attempted under circumstances of extreme difficulty to prepare a doubtful war. The Irish people were again dissevered by the same everlasting cause of faction — the foreign aristocracy in their bosom. Although the gallant leaders were Protestants, yet the mass of Protestants supported the parliament. The Catholic clergy saw the helplessness of conflict, and shuddered at the calamities it portended to a faithful and already deeply-wretched people. England had recovered her giant energies. The thunders of the American Revolution slept. An ambitious, licentious, and ferocious faction, reigned in Paris; and Blasphemy, claiming the name of Liberty, was threatening to involve the world in anarchy. Nevertheless, there was no hope for Ireland but in aid from France, and in the arms of her own people. The insurrection was planned with skill and secrecy, but Treason gained access to its councils and fomented it to a precocious maturity. Then it broke forth only to betray its heroic leaders to the scaffold, and their patriotic associates throughout the island to massacre indiscriminate and merciless.

Yet the rebellion of '98 was not altogether unavailing. Every drop that streams from the veins of a martyr in the cause of liberty is gathered again by Him who wills that all his children shall be free, and is poured into the heart of some new-born champion, imparting more than human vigor to the arm of the avenger.

The British government now asserted that Ireland had tried the responsibilities of government, and had proved herself incompetent. They disarmed the people, established martial law, falsely promised specious favors to the Catholics, and showered gold and power on the Protestants: and thus, in 1800, the eighteenth year of Irish independence, obtained from the parliament of the Pale the surrender of its infamous existence. Ireland, fettered and manacled more than ever before, was annexed to Great Britain by the act of union.

A gloomy period of twenty years succeeded. Tyranny scarcely feared resistance. Penury had taken up her home in the land.

Turbulence was abroad, but only to reconcile the people to any government that would suppress disorder. Wealth and learning, warmed at the root with the unnatural heat of royal favor, lost their independent attitude, and, putting forth parasitic tendrils, twined in sickly growth around the pillars of the state. The peasantry took on the habit and gait of slaves. The voice of orators was heard only in subdued complaints. The clang of arms had ceased. Even the national harp, that still retained its ancient sweetness, though trodden under foot by tyrants, forgot the wild inspiration of Freedom, and only gave forth plaintive notes when struck by the hand of Despair: —

> "Alas for our country! her pride has gone by,
> And the spirit is broken that never would bend;
> O'er the ruin her children in secret must sigh,
> For 't is treason to love her, and death to defend."

If a hope could have arisen in the patriot's heart, it would have been dispelled by a glance at the condition of England. She had made ample reprisals in the West Indies, in North America, in Asia, in Africa, and in the South seas, for the loss of the thirteen rebellious colonies; Waterloo had prostrated at her feet her great natural enemy; Spain had entered on her dotage; Holland had relinquished her ambition. The British navy held almost undisputed sway over the seas, and British garrisons encircled the globe.

How mysterious and inscrutable are the ways of Providence in conducting the affairs of nations! That season of gloom so intense, was the hour that preceded the dawn of Irish liberty. It was no matter how wide the empire, or how vast the armies or navies of Britain, Ireland was to be delivered by opinion, not by the sword—by the statesman, not by the soldier.

That statesman was the first fruit of the cautious concessions concerning property and education, made by England in 1778, and 1782. Daniel O'Connell, a Roman Catholic, heir-apparent of Darrynane, had been instructed in the faith of his forefathers and trained for the forum. The force which he was to employ for the redemption of his country was the fruit of concession made in 1792, in order to secure the act of union. The right of suffrage was then conferred on catholics in Ireland having freeholds of the annual value of forty shillings. Then, and long afterward, the right was indeed useless, and suffrage was yielded

with the rents due to the superior lords. But the right was there.

The political education of the Liberator was that history of Ireland whose spirit we have endeavored, perhaps vainly, to recall. He had witnessed with horror the desecration of liberty and religion in France, and thus, while he was imbued with the purest sentiments of patriotism, he was not less firmly established in religious principles. He was never for a moment tempted to divide what he thought God had indissolubly combined, religion and freedom. He first appeared before his countrymen at the age of twenty-five, at a meeting of Catholics in 1800, in the midst of an intimidating police, to consider the act of union, then before the parliament in College Green. His speech, which was "a great beginning in so green an age," revealed the principles on which, near thirty years afterward, he worked out catholic emancipation, and brought the independence of Ireland to the verge of triumph. These principles were the combination of those two measures and the union of the people of Ireland by conciliation.

"Let us show," said he, "to every friend of Ireland, that Catholics are incapable of selling their country; that if their emancipation was offered for their consent to the act of union (even if emancipation were a benefit after the union), they would reject it with prompt indignation. Let us show to Ireland that we have nothing in view but her good, nothing in our hearts but the desire of mutual forgiveness and mutual reconciliation. Let every man who agrees with me proclaim that if the alternative were offered him of the union, or the re-enactment of the penal code in all its pristine horrors, he would prefer the latter as the lesser or more sufferable evil; that he would confide in the justice of his brethren, the Protestants of Ireland, rather than lay his country at the feet of foreigners."

We know not when the great scheme of delivering his country first occurred to O'Connell, but his life was a continual preparation for the enterprise.

"He wandered through the wrecks of days departed,
And dwellings of a race of mightier men,
And monuments of less ungentle creeds,
Tell their own tale to Him who rightly heeds
The language which they speak."

On such occasions the patriot would exclaim, with a heart beating loud and fast,

> "It shall be thus no more. Too long, too long,
> Sons of the glorious Dead! have ye lain bound,
> In darkness and in ruin. Hope is strong;
> Justice and Truth their wingéd child have found.
> Awake! Arise! until the mighty sound
> Of your career shall scatter in its gust
> The throne of the oppressor."

The new revolution began in no popular excitement, for the people were roused, not without long, vehement and incessant agitation. It had no foreign impulse. America was at rest, and France, and even all Europe, were slumbering in the arms of legitimate monarchy. It was not a military insurrection; for sedition had been tried for the last time. It depended not on the Irish people alone, for they were nearly powerless. It must be effected by the British king and parliament, and they could be moved only by moral force, or opinion. The objects of the revolution must be divided. Liberty of conscience, or Catholic emancipation, must be demanded first. The independence of Ireland, or civil liberty, must be attained afterward. If both were demanded at once, neither would be granted.

Daniel O'Connell knew that such a revolution was possible, and in this knowledge excelled his country and his age. When that knowledge was acquired, he stood confessed to himself, the statesman of the revolution. From that hour he expanded, and

> "Bore aloft the fame and fortunes of his race."

But how should opinion be directed with effect? Burke and Fox, Canning and Brougham and Byron, had pleaded for Catholic emancipation in the British senate; had shown the absurdity, the unrighteousness and the inhumanity of the penal religious code, and had demonstrated that it was only less ruinous to Protestants and to England than to Catholics and to Ireland. The British parliament was already convinced. Reason, argument, and conviction, would not be enough. The British government must be made to fear and tremble. But how should opinion be made so potential?

It must begin with Ireland, a country divided by faction and sunk in despair. And if Ireland should become unanimous, what

then? She had only twenty-seven barons in the house of lords, while Great Britain had nearly four hundred. Ireland had only one hundred delegates in the house of commons, and not one true representative. Great Britain had five hundred representatives there. The church of England, standing on the ruins that were to be restored, was one of the great estates of the empire. Even if all these obstacles should be surmounted, there stood the king, pledged and bound, as he thought, by his coronation oath, to reject the bill for the liberty of conscience. But even the Catholic church and clergy were not yet reliable. Britain was continually temporizing, and Rome seemed not unwilling to compromise, and so divide the Irish people.

The agitator needed, therefore, character and position which would enable him to speak with some show of authority to the people of Ireland. Catholics and Protestants, clergy and laity — to the king, lords, commons, and people of England — to Rome herself, and to an impartial world.

What then were O'Connell's character and position? He was a British subject, a member of the Catholic church, and a lawyer in the four courts of Dublin — merely a lawyer, a Catholic, and a subject; and while Catholics remained disqualified he could be no more than this.

He determined to invest that humble and obscure character and that position with power and strength; and this power and strength were to be obtained from the consent of the clergy and of his countrymen.

So bold a reformer needed rare powers and qualities, and needed them in extraordinary combination. He must have transcendent genius to conceive so great an action — courage to dare the attempt — energy to pursue it — moderation to conciliate — pacific temper to avoid irritations to force — prudence and sagacity to circumvent the strategy of the adversary — sympathy with Catholic Ireland to be its organ — reverence for the clergy to gain their influence — loyalty to the British constitution to disarm those who converted it into an engine of oppression — ardent and impulsive eloquence to rouse illiterate and unreflecting masses — logical acumen and rhetorical power to confute sophistry, and convince the learned — tact and address to gain coadjutors, and hold them in their proper spheres — patience in bearing the insolence of offended power, and the timidity, waywardness, and

caprice of popular masses; and with all these he must combine a devotion which would make the great enterprise the sole business of a whole life. Providence guards against the collisions of mighty minds by allowing to exist only one at any one time, capable of conducting a nation in a great emergency.

There was only one Washington in America, and there could be only one O'Connell in Ireland.

Time and experience ripened the Liberator. The bar of Dublin opposed the young reformer. He exposed their mercenary spirit and cast the herd behind him. The corporation of Dublin sent a champion who called him to the field of combat. He slew the supercilious adversary, and pensioned his widow; and, mourning over his almost involuntary crime, trampled thenceforth under his feet the false code of honor. He claimed nothing for himself, and even less than an equal share of political power for his Catholic countrymen.

> 'Non ego, nec Teucris Italos parere jubebo;
> Nec mihi regna peto; paribus se legibus ambæ
> Junctæ gentes eterna in fœdera mittant."

Opposition, oppression, even imprisonment, could not extort from him a breath of disloyalty to the throne, nor even to the Protestant succession. He maintained inflexibly, that the deliverance of Ireland would be hazarded by a single crime, and lost by the sacrifice of a single life. He detected with piercing sight the defects of laws designed to counteract the revolution, and organized all Ireland on a basis as narrow as the technicality of a special plea. Fervid and vehement, he carried with him the passions of the people, as a cloud that covered his person, whenever he discoursed to them of his great theme; perspicacious and deliberate, he won the admiration of mankind by the profoundness of his testimony before a British parliament concerning the evils of oppression. He waited imperturbably to mature his preparations, and watched unceasingly for the hour when his opponents should be enfeebled by faction. A lineal descendant of oppressed generations, and a living and majestic mark of perpetual persecution for conscience sake, every physical and moral element of his constitution confessed the Celtic stock. "Strong from the cradle, and of sturdy brood," his stature, complexion, gait, gestures, voice, and attitude, betrayed him for an Irishman

of unmingled blood. Cheerful even to constant hilarity, and generous to self-destitution, he was the depository of all the public and the private griefs of his countrymen. He relieved their wants if possible, and, if impossible, taught them how to endure privation. When they fell inadvertently under the power of the law, and even when they wilfully rushed into its grasp against his advice, he flung himself between them and the prosecution and bore them off in triumph. His industry and assiduity never relaxed, although the cares not only of a revolutionary state, but of every suffering member of it, fell upon his shoulders. He scorned allurements to wealth which might divide him from the people; subsisted on such rewards of his own labors as could be obtained without neglecting Ireland; and when the country required his exclusive devotion, he rejected pension and place offered by the government, and with distinguished magnanimity relied for his daily support on the unsolicited and voluntary contributions of his countrymen.

Thus endowed, trained, and disciplined, O'Connell found the Irish heart an instrument which answered to his slightest touch, for "he knew the strings in which its music dwelt." He tuned it anew to its ancient themes of patriotism and piety.

At length the old king of England, after a long, living death, was gathered to the garner-house of the grave. An odious ministry was found in England under an odious prince. Mendicity had driven the artisans and laborers of England to mutiny. The propitious hour for agitation had come, and Daniel O'Connell broke forth before the world "Monarch of Ireland." He was a king none the less, though the "stone of destiny" had been removed from Tara's Hall to Westminster Abbey — a king without sacerdotal unction, royal descent, election, or usurpation — a king without a crown, a court, or guards — a king by consent of clergy and laity — a very king of seven millions, standing erect before the imperial throne, with power to levy armies, to maintain war, and to conclude peace — a king who could arrest the laws of England, or let them go to execution — a king who could keep his subject people in perpetual endurance, or let them forth at pleasure to a carnival of revenge.

O'Connell was no longer the mere lawyer, subject, and Catholic, but, retaining all those characters and the same position, his individuality was gone: He was Ireland. The same Ireland that

had shone forth a beacon of piety, arts, and learning in the dark ages; the same Ireland that, though torn by faction, and betrayed every hour by treason, had resisted the usurpation of England for five hundred years—the same Ireland that had been circumvented into capitulation to a perfidious king at Limerick, that had endured the cross, despised the shame, and kept the faith through the terrors of the penal code, that had slept in the tomb with Sarsfield, had revived to newness of life under Grattan, and had been buried again by Pitt in the grave of the union—the same Ireland revived and regenerated, wearing, indeed, the cere-cloth of sepulture, but more majestic, more vigorous, and more terrible to her oppressors than ever.

The agency employed by O'Connell was as simple and sublime as were his own position and character. Combination is inherent in democratic action. Civil and military associations were employed in 1782, and in the rebellion of 1798. Civil association was again tried, but without effect, in 1810. The government had now put forth all its skill to frame laws which should prevent combination. There should be no *military* association, no *secret* association, no *representative* or *delegated assembly*, none that was *political*, and none to continue more than *fourteen days*. Nevertheless, O'Connell organized and maintained, during seven years, a combination extending over the island, embracing seven hundred thousand members, and receiving £50,000 annually, which violated none of the inhibitions of the law, and yet had all the efficiency which they were designed to prevent. The centre of agitation was ultimately Conciliation Hall in Dublin, fitted up as a capitol. Business was transacted, and debates conducted with legislative forms. The doors were open to every subject and publicity was more effective than executive secrecy.

The assembly was crowded with impassioned and sympathizing auditors, who manifested approval or dissatisfaction without restraint, while the speakers were animated by the smiles of beauty from the galleries. The themes discussed with all the genius and fervor of Irish eloquence by O'Connell, Shiel, and their associates, were, the British constitution; the penal code; the resources and destiny of Ireland—its condition; the value of liberty; the evils of faction: and not only these, but the daily conduct of government, the oppression of every landlord, the grievance of every tenant, the insults of every patrician, the meekness of ev-

ery plebeian; in short, whatever tended to excite, to rouse, and to combine, the Irish people. A journal established by the association transmitted the debates to kindred associations in every part of the island, by whom the same animating topics were discussed with even greater zeal.

Ireland looked with pride on a voluntary and self-constituted legislature which for a time eclipsed from their sight the British parliament. The enthusiasm of Ireland reassured the advocates of religious tolerance in England and in Europe. And then every Irish exile in America — in its cities, and fields, and forests — on its canals and rivers — returned a willing and effective blow against England. America, yielding to their enthusiasm and to natural impulses, saluted the new republic of Ireland with gratulations and contributions.

It seemed as if one discontented Irish subject had roused the world against the monarchy of Britain. England had nothing to oppose to the universal opinion of mankind but fears which were groundless, habits which were absurd, and prejudices which were unchristian.

Oppression, however, had not altogether failed of its legitimate effects on the Irish people. Ignorance abounded. Intemperance had laid its maddening hand on starving multitudes. There were inveterate feuds between the Catholic and Orange peasantry. The latter had long maintained secret associations, and the former were often banded in opposing societies. These associations involved Ireland in continual turbulence and riot, and often in scenes of blood: —

> "The Orange beggar spurned
> The Papist beggar's hand —
> While Freedom, shrinking, turned
> And fled the hapless land!"

It was necessary to tranquillize Ireland, and thus to prove that the people were capable of self-government. O'Connell invoked order. All Ireland was immediately organized in vast assemblies under the name of *O'Connell's police*. Temperance and tranquillity reigned throughout the island. In time, these assemblies became a subject of complaint. O'Connell had but to say — "You wait the word of command: I give it: *Halt, disband!*" — and instantly O'Connell's police was resolved into the peaceful constituency of the Liberator.

The cause of emancipation advanced in England, and a majority in its favor was already secured in the house of commons. But still the representatives from Ireland gave it no effective aid. A signal blow was wanting, and that fell from O'Connell's hand, with boldness, precision, and effect:—

"Electors of Clare," said he, on the eve of a special election, "you want a representative in parliament: I solicit your suffrages. True, I am a Catholic. I can not, and of course I never will, take the oaths prescribed. But the power which created those oaths can abrogate them. If you elect me, I will try the question." O'Connell could only expect to be elected by the forty-shilling freeholders, as they were called—tenants of the landlords in Clare. Their votes, by tacit understanding and unbroken usage, belonged to their lords. Ruin awaited him who diverted his suffrage. But there was now a power higher than the landlord.

You see a mass of the peasantry of Clare issuing from the little parish-church on the hillside. They have reverently received the mass; but their steps indicate perturbation. They gather around the priest, and ask his paternal counsel concerning the hazardous requirement of O'Connell. The priest lays down his missal, raises his hand toward heaven, breaks forth in their own wild native language, recites to them the story of their ancient fame, and of the persecution and perfidy of their conquerors; expatiates on their inherent right of liberty of conscience, and the right and duty of passive resistance; on the sublimity of suffrage, and the glory and renown that are now breaking in upon Ireland; and concludes his impassioned harangue with the injunction—"Vote, vote for O'Connell and freedom!"

It is now the election-day. There is O'Connell, depicting the atrocities of British persecution with a noble ardor of religious zeal. A band of tenants are marching by under the conduct of their landlord, to vote for the ministerial candidate. They pause; they mingle in the crowd; they listen, and now, at every cadence of the Liberator's voice, redoubled shouts arise, "O'Connell and freedom!"

An elector is released from jail by his creditor on condition that he vote against O'Connell. He is already at the polls—a shrill cry is heard—it is the debtor's wife who speaks: "Remember your soul and liberty!" The debtor rises to the majesty of

a freeman, and declares his vote for O'Connell. Instantly all rents in arrear are paid by the Catholic Association. The elector's debt is discharged by the same omnipresent power, and that noble Celtic woman's exclamation becomes the watchword of all Ireland: —

"Remember your soul and liberty!"

O'Connell is elected. Let his illustrious coadjutor, Shiel, explain the event. Turning to the defeated and confounded adversary, he exclaims: —

"We have indeed put a great engine in motion, and applied the entire force of that powerful machinery which the law has placed in our hands. We are masters of the passions of the people, and we have employed our dominion with a terrible effect. Do you imagine that we could have acquired this dreadful ability to sunder the strongest ties by which the different classes of society are fastened, unless we found the materials of excitement in the state of society itself? Do you think Daniel O'Connell has himself, and by the single power of his mind, unaided by any external co-operation, brought the country to this great crisis of agitation? O'Connell, with all his talents, would have been utterly powerless and incapable, unless he had been allied with a great conspirator against the public peace. It is the law of the land itself that has been O'Connell's main associate, and that ought to be denounced as the mighty agitator of Ireland. The rod of oppression is the wand of this potent enchanter of the passions, and the book of his spells is the penal code. Break the wand of this political Prospero, and take from him the volume of his magic, and he will evoke the spirits which are now under his control no longer."

What language could do justice to the clergy of Ireland, who, through imprisonment, banishment, and fire, still adhered to their charge; who preferred to share the poverty of the people rather than obtain an establishment at the expense of their liberty? Venerable ministry! it was the British state that taught you to mingle politics with religion. Wisely, faithfully, and in the fear of God, did you give back the fruits of those instructions. It was your task to prove, against the prejudices of a skeptical age, that piety still dwelt in the church of Christ, and that civil liberty was cherished in its sanctuaries.

Nor can we repress our admiration for the heroic people. A

division among them would have arrested, while a panic or an excusable gust of passion might have defeated, Catholic emancipation. They proved themselves worthy of their great leader by the confidence they gave him — worthy of religious liberty by practising the virtues they enjoined.

Generous people! May that leader's place be speedily and worthily filled! May the way of your exiles among us be smooth and pleasant, and your long-suffering patience be early crowned by the restoration of your country to enduring independence!

Clare was a part of that Connaught which had been the city of refuge for Catholic Ireland. Clare was the Yorktown of the Irish revolution. O'Connell was the representative of Clare, and not only of Clare, but of Catholic Ireland. He was an elected representative, obliged by English laws to stand outside the bar of the British commons. Ireland felt the importance of his position. Ireland, by the act of union a member of the British empire, is going up to London in the person of O'Connell, to demand her constitutional place in the councils of the British king — to demand from that king religious liberty. How potent is the attitude of peaceful, passive resistance! how vast the power that Virtue derives from Persecution! O'Connell is now the most majestic figure in the world.

The British ministry advise the king that Catholic emancipation can no longer be resisted. All that remains is to grant it by law, not to concede it by seeming treaty — to emancipate Catholic Ireland before her representative can reach the capitol, and to save wounded pride by denying O'Connell the seat to which he has been elected, and by disfranchising the refractory peasantry of Ireland.

And this is done. But the wound given to British pride must rankle nevertheless; for faithful Clare, though its peasantry are disfranchised, returns the Liberator by acclamation.

O'Connell as a senator followed up the act of emancipation by successful measures to modify the tithes of the established church in Ireland, to open the close corporations of the realm, and to establish a system of equal and universal education in his native country; while he lent to the English reformers efficient and indispensable aid in the repeal of the corn-laws, which established a more beneficent system of revenue, and in that reform of par-

liament which is gradually bringing forward a new and better constitution for the United Kingdom.

These beneficent labors did not for a moment divert him from the great object which remained—the restoration of the independence of Ireland by a repeal of the act of union.

His wand had still all its virtue, and he seized on the statute of usurpation in the place of his former volume of magic, the penal code. Yet he waited the slow but sure return of popular impressibility at home, and of despotic weakness at St. James. The Catholic Association became a "precursor" of repeal. Ten years were spent in diffusing knowledge among the people, and then commenced the ever-memorable agitation for the abrogation of the act of union. Under the auspices of the Loyal National Repeal Association in Conciliation Hall, all Ireland petitioned the British parliament for repeal—of course without effect. Representatives were returned from many districts demanding repeal, but all parties in England were unmoved. The British government maintained that the sufferings of Ireland were exaggerated, that the clamor for repeal was factitious, and that the people were contented and prosperous. Then the agitator determined to exhibit Ireland as she was at home to her proud rulers in England. He called the people forth, and they came in vast assemblies, such masses of men destitute of the blessings of Providence as were never before congregated—as could not be convened in any well-governed land—such masses, therefore, as could not be looked upon by their oppressors without shame and fear. His voice went forth among his humble, heart-broken countrymen like a harbinger of happier homes and days of freedom. They came up to meet him—ten thousand at Slievrue; twenty thousand at Trim, at Bellewestown, at Rathkeale, and at Dunlea; thirty thousand at Cahircornlish; fifty thousand at Clones, at Caltra, at Ballanakill, and at Inishowen; sixty thousand at Croon; seventy thousand at the Curragh of Kildare; one hundred thousand at Limerick, the scene of English perfidy—at Kells, at Carrickmacross, at Mullingar, at Sligo, at Drogheda, at Murroe, at Athlone, at Tullamore, at Clifden, at Baltinglass, and at Donnybrook; two hundred thousand at Longford, at Galway, at Mount Mellick, and at Roscommon; three hundred thousand at Charleville, at Kilkenny, at Dundalk, at Tuam, at Mayo, at Clontebret, and at Loughrea; four hundred thousand at Cashel, at Nenagh, at Mal-

low, at Skibbereen, at Lismore, and at Mullaghmast; half a million at Enniscorthy; seven hundred thousand in brave old Clare; and seven hundred and fifty thousand on Tara's revered hill!

These multitudes came unarmed, without the inspiring notes of martial music, on foot and without provision for a day's journey, temperate and tranquil, nay, cheerful, for their hearts were full of love even to England's youthful queen, and they were animated with hopes new born in the promises of their chief. They exposed their penury; they petitioned England; they resolved never to cease petitioning, until their freedom should be granted, and then dispersed, leaving the scenes of their assemblages as quiet and undisturbed as the bosoms of their lakes. The British government could not look, the people of England could not bear to look, at Ireland in this piteous attitude. They affected fear — fear for what? Not of invasion — not even of insurrection — not even of sedition; but fear that the laws of the realm might be changed by means of demonstrations of physical, unarmed force! A great meeting was yet to be assembled at Clontarf, memorable for the defeat even of the conquerors of England by Brian Borhoime, on the Irish coast where it looks off on Britain. The viceroy forbids the meeting at Clontarf, and denounces the severest punishment. Armed and naval forces beset the place in hopes of resistance, that the war against a ruined people may begin.

O'Connell countermands the assemblage. England has in vain provoked a people prone to war. The country is saved from dire calamity. Ireland may not even petition under the British constitution too rudely or too earnestly. Baffled in the design of plunging the country into civil war, the government now prosecute for sedition O'Connell and six associates —

——— "who dare
Their leader's glory and his danger share."

A jury is packed by excluding from the panel every Catholic and every patriot. Ireland comes out from her hills and her valleys, to look upon a cause in which she is herself on trial before an Anglo-Irish jury in a court of the Pale. The venal court extort the desired verdict, and now Ireland may no longer petition. Her own jury has condemned her in her own capital.

On the 30th of May, 1844, Daniel O'Connell — who had preserved the peace of Ireland for thirty years — who had renewed

her fidelity to the British constitution and to the British throne —who had given liberty of conscience to the British empire— who had peacefully brought his native country again to the verge of independence—of that very independence which sixty-two years before had been conceded to her as unquestioned and unquestionable—Daniel O'Connell, the truest Briton and the noblest statesman of the age, on the very border of threescore and ten years, was consigned to prison by a jury of his own countrymen, constituted of traitors, by a subversion of the common law, for the offence of exercising his constitutional right as a subject to petition the rulers of the empire for a repeal of an act of parliament.

When will the crimes of the aristocracy of the English Pale have an end? When shall the world cease to hear with horror the mention of a jury of Dublin? It was a jury of Dublin that sent Emmett and Fitzgerald to the scaffold!

Had such a conviction happened in Paris, the prison would have been razed to the ground, and the jurors torn limb from limb. But this new act of tyranny wrought no other change on O'Connell, or on the people of Ireland, than to increase their mutual devotion. They obeyed all his peaceful mandates, issued from his prison; and, when the illegal judgment was reversed, received him with increased affection at its doors and conducted him abroad as a conqueror. Nothing had been lost by Ireland, and the government had only suppressed one of the thousand agencies of Freedom. England had added to her causes for hating Ireland the remembrance of another crime against her, perpetrated in vain.

The revolution was just recovering from this brief recoil, when a blight fell on the only food that the aristocracy of England had left for the subsistence of the Irish people. Agitation ceased, and the jar of political elements was hushed before the fearful presence of Famine. Perhaps this last desolation was necessary to convince the government and the people of Great Britain of the solemn and mighty import of O'Connell's words: "The cause of all the afflictions of Ireland is, that we have not been allowed to govern our own country."

Perhaps his death was necessary to conciliate her oppressors. Certainly such a visitation and such a death were a fitting end for the woes of the Irish people.

The independence of the Irish nation, although future, is not distant. Its righteousness and its necessity have been demonstrated. The spirit of the people is changed. They can not again relapse. England, too, with a reformed parliament and a falling aristocracy, is no longer the England of the twelfth, the sixteenth, and of the eighteenth centuries. Political Economy will unite with Political Philosophy in enabling Ireland to retrieve her prosperity, and that can be effected only by allowing her a distinct legislature.

We may not doubt that the appalling distress of the Irish people bowed down the otherwise unbending mind of O'Connell. Sorrow for afflictions that he had hoped in vain to avert, and that he could not alleviate or soothe, brought on quick-coming because long-procrastinated age. O'Connell died like Anchises, in a foreign land, winning the favor of men, and propitiating Heaven with prayers and sacrifices for the restoration of his people.

What shall be his rank among the benefactors of mankind? We pause not a moment to disperse the calumnies that followed him to the grave. They were but tributes to his greatness, yielded by ungenerous minds—for it is thus that Providence compels the unjust to honor virtue.

O'Connell left his mighty enterprise unfinished. So did the founder of the Hebrew state; so did Cato; so did Hampden; so did Emmett and Fitzgerald. Will their epitaphs be less sublime by reason of the long delay which intervenes before they can be written? The heroic man conceives great enterprises and labors to complete them. "Success he hopes, and fate he can not fear." It is God that sets the limits to human life, and the bounds to human achievement.

But has not O'Connell done more than enough for fame? On the lofty brow of Monticello, under a green old oak, is a block of granite, and underneath are the ashes of Jefferson. Read the epitaph—it is the sage's claim to immortality:—

"Author of the Declaration of Independence and of the Statute for Religious Liberty."

Stop now and write an epitaph for Daniel O'Connell:—

"He gave Liberty of Conscience to Europe, and renewed the Revolutions of the Kingdoms toward Universal Freedom, which had begun in America and had been arrested by the anarchy of France."

Let the statesmen of the age read that epitaph and be humble. Let the kings and aristocracies of the earth read it and tremble.

Who has ever accomplished so much for human freedom, with means so feeble? Who but he has ever given liberty to a people by the mere utterance of his voice, without an army, navy, or revenues — without a sword, a spear, or even a shield?

Who but he ever subverted tyranny, and saved the lives of the oppressed, and yet spared the oppressor?

Who but he ever detached from a venerable constitution a column of aristocracy, dashed it to the earth, and yet left the ancient fabric stronger and more beautiful than before?

Who but he has ever lifted up seven millions of people from the debasement of ages to the dignity of freedom, without exacting an ounce of gold or wasting the blood of one human heart?

Whose voice yet lingers like O'Connell's in the ear of tyrants, making them sink with fear of change, and in the ear of the most degraded slaves on earth awaking hopes of freedom?

Who before him has brought the schismatics of two centuries together, conciliating them at the altar of universal liberty? Who but he ever brought Papal Rome and Protestant America to burn incense together?

It was O'Connell's mission to teach mankind that Liberty was not estranged from Christianity, as was proclaimed by revolutionary France; that she was not divorced from law and public order; that she was not a demon like Moloch, requiring to be propitiated with the blood of human sacrifice; that Democracy is the daughter of Peace, and like true religion worketh by love.

I see in Catholic emancipation, and in the repeal of the act of union between Great Britain and Ireland, only incidents of an all-pervading phenomenon — a phenomenon of mighty interest, but not portentous of evil. It is the universal dissolution of monarchical and aristocratical governments, and the establishment of pure democracies in their place.

I know this change must come, for even the menaced governments feel and confess it. I know that it will be resisted, for it is not in the nature of power to relax. It is a fearful inquiry, 'How shall that change be passed? Shall there never be an end to devastation and carnage? Is every step of human progress in the future, as in the past, to be marked by blood? Must the nations of the earth, after groaning for ages under vicious institutions

established without their consent, wade through deeper seas to reach that condition of more perfect liberty to which they are so rapidly, so irresistibly impelled? Or shall they be able, notwithstanding involuntary ignorance and debasement contracted without their fault, and notwithstanding the blind resistance of despotism, to change their forms of government by slow and measured degrees, without entirely or all at once subverting them, and from time to time to repair their ancient constitutions so as to adapt them peacefully to the progress of the age, the diffusion of knowledge, the cultivation of virtue, and the promotion of happiness?'

When that crisis shall come, the colossal fabric or the British empire will have given way under its always-accumulating weight. I see England then, in solitude and in declining greatness, as Rome was when her provinces were torn away — as Spain now is since the loss of the Indies. I see Ireland, invigorated by the severe experience of a long though peaceful revolution, extending her arms east and west in fraternal embrace toward new rising states; her resources restored and improved; her people prosperous and happy, and her institutions again shedding the lights of piety, art, and freedom, over the world. Then I see among the perplexed and disturbed nations the now proud and all-conquering Anglo-Saxons looking up to the regenerated Celtic people for guidance and protection.

Come forward, then, ye nations who are trembling between the dangers of anarchy and the pressure of despotism, and hear a voice that addresses the Liberator of Ireland from the caverns of Silence where Prophecy is born: —

> ——— "To thee, now sainted spirit,
> Patriarch of a wide-spreading family,
> Remotest lands and unborn times shall turn
> Whether they would restore or build. To thee!
> As one who rightly taught how Zeal should burn;
> As one who drew from out Faith's holiest urn
> The purest streams of *patient energy*."

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

We are in the midst of extraordinary events. British-American civilization and Spanish-American society have come into collision, each in its fullest maturity. The armies of the north have penetrated the chapparels at Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma—passed the fortresses of Monterey, and rolled back upon the heart of Mexico the unavailing tide of strong resistance from the mountain-side of Buena Vista. Martial colonists are encamped on the coasts of California, while San Juan d'Ulloa has fallen, and the invaders have swept the gorge of Cerro Gordo—carried Peroté and Puebla, and planted the banner of burning stars, and ever-multiplying stripes on the towers of the city of the Aztecs.

The thirtieth Congress assembles in this conjuncture, and the debates are solemn, earnest, and bewildering. Interest, Passion, Conscience, Freedom, and Humanity, all have their advocates. Shall new loans and levies be granted to prosecute still further a war so glorious? or shall it be abandoned? Shall we be content with the humiliation of the foe? or shall we complete his subjugation? Would that severity be magnanimous, or even just? Nay, is the war itself just? Who provoked, and by what unpardonable offence, this disastrous strife between two eminent republics, so scandalous to democratic institutions? Where shall we trace anew the ever-advancing line of our empire? Shall it be drawn on the banks of the Rio Grande, or on the summit of the Sierra Madre? or shall Mexican independence be extinguished, and our eagle close his adventurous pinions only when he looks off upon the waves that separate us from the Indies? Does Freedom own and accept our profuse oblations of blood, or

Note.—John Quincy Adams died at Washington, on the 23d of February, 1848. Mr. Seward was invited by the legislature of the state of New York, to deliver a eulogy on the deceased, before that body. He accepted the invitation, and, on the 6th of April, 1848, delivered this oration in the capitol at Albany.

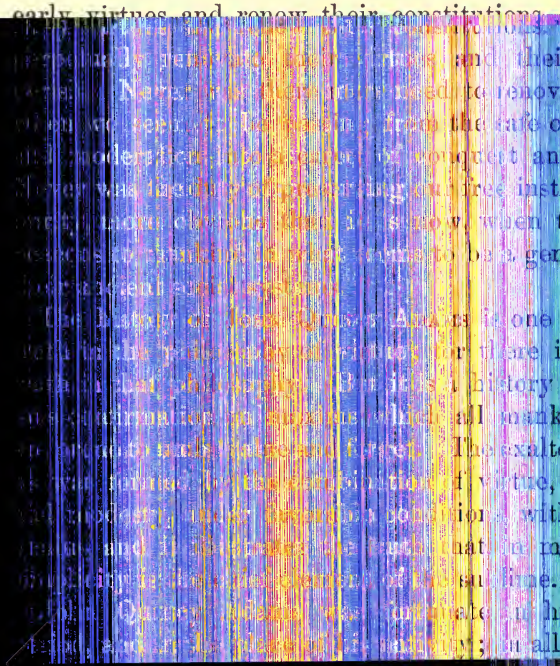
does she reject the sacrifice? Will these conquests extend her domain, or will they be usurped by ever-grasping slavery? What effect will this new-born ambition have upon ourselves? Will it leave us the virtue to continue the career of social progress? How shall we govern the conquered people? Shall we incorporate their mingled races with ourselves, or shall we rule them with the despotism of pro-consular power? Can we preserve these remote and hostile possessions, in any way, without forfeiting our own blood-bought heritage of freedom?

Steam and lightning, which have become docile messengers, make the American people listeners to this high debate, and anxiety and interest, intense, and universal, absorb them all. Suddenly the council is dissolved. Silence is in the capitol, and sorrow has thrown its pall over the land. What new event is this? Has some Cromwell closed the legislative chambers? or has some Cæsar, returning from his distant conquests, passed the Rubicon, seized the purple, and fallen in the senate beneath the swords of self-appointed executioners of his country's vengeance? No! Nothing of all this. What means, then, this abrupt and fearful silence? What unlooked for calamity has quelled the debates of the senate and calmed the excitement of the people? An old man, whose tongue once indeed was eloquent, but now, through age, had well nigh lost its cunning, has fallen into the swoon of death. He had not been an actor in the drama of conquest—nor had his feeble voice yet mingled in the lofty argument—

> "A gray-haired sire, whose eye intense
> Was on the visioned future bent."

And now he has dreamed out at last the troubled dream of life. Sighs of unavailing grief ascend to heaven. Panegyric, fluent in long-stifled praise, performs its office. The army and the navy pay conventional honors, with the pomp of national wo, and then the hearse moves onward. It rests appropriately on its way in the hall where independence was proclaimed, and again under the dome where freedom was born. At length the tomb of John Adams opens to receive a son, who also, born a subject of a king, had stood as a representative of his emancipated country, before principalities and powers, and had won by merit, and worn without reproach, the honors of the republic.

From that scene so impressive in itself, and so impressive because it has never happened before, and can never happen again, we have come up to this place surrounded with the decent drapery of public mourning, on a day set apart by authority, to recite the history of the citizen who, in the ripeness of age and fullness of honors, has thus descended to his rest. It is fit to do so, because it is by such exercises that nations regenerate their early virtues and renew their constitutions. All nations must



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or die—survive or perish with my country, is my unalterable determination." A mother fervently pious, and eminent in intellectual gifts, directed with more than maternal assiduity and solicitude the education of him who was to render her own name immortal. Never quite divorced from home, yet twice, and for long periods in his youth a visiter in Europe, he enjoyed always the parental discipline of one of the founders of the American state, and often the daily conversation of Franklin and Jefferson; and combined travel in France, Spain, England, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Russia, and even diplomatic experience, with the instructions of the schools of Paris, of the University at Leyden, and of Harvard University at Cambridge; and all these influences fell upon him at a period when his country, then opening the way to human liberty through trials of fire, fixed the attention of mankind.

The establishment of the republic of the United States of America is the most important secular event in the history of the human race. It did not disentangle the confused theory of the origin of the government, but cut through the bonds of power existing by prescription at a blow; and thus directly and immediately affected the opinions and the actions of men in every part of the civilized world. It animated them everywhere to seek freedom from despotic power, and aristocratic restraint. Whenever and wherever they have since moved, either by peaceful agitation or by physical force, to meliorate systems of government, whether in France at the close of the last century, or afterward on the second subversion of the elder branch of the Bourbons, or in the recent overthrow of the constitutional king, or in Ireland, or in England, or in Italy, or in Greece, or in South America, whether they succeeded or failed, there in the tumult or in the strife was the spirit of the American Revolution. "It gave an example of a great people, not merely emancipating themselves, but governing themselves, without either a monarch to control, or an aristocracy to restrain them; and it demonstrated for the first time in the history of the world, contrary to the predictions and theories of speculative philosophy, that a great nation, when duly prepared, is capable of self-government by purely republican institutions."

But the establishment of the American republic was too great an achievement to be made all at once. It was a drama of five

grand acts, each of which filled a considerable period, and called upon the stage, actors of peculiar powers and distinguished virtues. Those acts were, colonization, preparation, revolution, organization, consolidation.

Two of these acts were closed before John Quincy Adams was born. The third, the revolution, the shortest of them all, dazzles the contemplation by the rapidity and the martial character of its incidents. The fourth, the organization of the government, by the splendors of genius elicited, and the felicity of the new form of government presented, satisfies the superficial inquirer that, when the constitution had been adopted, nothing remained to perfect the great achievement. But other nations have had successful revolutions, and have set up free constitutions, and have, nevertheless, sunk again under reinvigorated despotism. The *consolidation* of the American republic, the crowning act, occupied forty years, reaching from 1789 to 1829. During that period, John Quincy Adams participated continually in public affairs, and ultimately became the principal actor.

The new government was purely an experiment. In opposition to fixed habits of mankind, it established suffrage practically universal, and representation so perfect that not one legislative house only, but both houses; not legislative officers only, but all officers, executive, ministerial, and even judicial, were directly or indirectly elected by the people. The longest term of the senatorial trust was but six years, and the shortest only two, and even the tenure of the executive power was only four years. This government, betraying so much popular jealousy, was invested with only special and limited sovereignty. The conduct of merely municipal affairs was distributed within the states, among governments even more popular than the federal structure, and without whose ever-renewed support that structure must fall.

The government thus constituted, so new, so complex, and artificial, was to be consolidated, in the midst of difficulties at home, and of dangers abroad. The constitution had been adopted only upon convictions of absolute necessity, and with evanescent dispositions of compromise. By nearly half of the people it was thought too feeble to sustain itself, and secure the rights for which governments are instituted among men. By as many it was thought liable to be converted into an over-shadowing despotism,

more formidable and more odious than the monarchy which had been subverted. These conflicting opinions revealed themselves in like discordance upon every important question of administration, and were made the basis of parties, which soon became jealous and irreconcilable, and ultimately inveterate and even in some degree disloyal.

These domestic feuds were aggravated by pernicious influences from Europe. In the progress of western civilization, the nations of the earth had become social. The new republic could not, like the Celestial empire, or that of Japan, confine itself within its own boundaries, and exist without national intercourse. It had entered the family of nations. But the position it was to assume, and the advantages it was to be allowed to enjoy, were yet to be ascertained and fixed. Its independence, confessed to be only a doubtful experiment at home, was naturally thought ephemeral in Europe. Its example was ominous, and the European powers willingly believed that, if discountenanced and baffled, America would soon relapse into colonial subjugation. Such prejudices were founded in the fixed habits of society. Not only the thirteen colonies, but the whole American hemisphere, had been governed by European states from the period of its discovery. The very soil belonged to the transatlantic monarchs by discovery, or by ecclesiastical gift. Dominion over it attached by divine right to their persons, and drew after it obligations of inalienable allegiance upon those who became the inhabitants of the new world. The new world was indeed divided between different powers, but the system of government was everywhere the same. It was administered for the benefit of the parental state alone. Each power prohibited all foreign trade with its colonies, and all intercourse between them and other plantations, supplied its colonies with what they needed from abroad, interdicted their manufactures, and monopolized their trade. The prevalence of this system over the whole continent of America and the adjacent islands, prevented all enterprise in the colonies, discouraged all improvement, and retarded their progress to independence.

The American Revolution sundered these bonds only so far as they confined thirteen of the British colonies, and left the remaining British dominions, and the continent from Georgia around Cape Horn to the Northern ocean, under the same thraldom as

before. Even the United States had attained only physical independence. The moral influences of the colonial system oppressed them still. Their trade, their laws, their science, their literature, their social connections, their ecclesiastical relations, their manners and their habits were still colonial; and their thoughts continually clung around the ancient and majestic states of the eastern continent.

The American Revolution, so happily concluded here, broke out in France simultaneously with the beginning of Washington's administration. The French nation passed, in fifteen years, from absolute despotism under Louis XVI. through all the phases of democracy to a military despotism under Napoleon Bonaparte; and retained through all these changes, only two characteristics —unceasing ferocity of faction, and increasing violence of aggression against foreign states. The scandal of the French Revolution fell back upon the United States of America, who were regarded as the first disturbers of the ancient social system. The principal European monarchs combined, under the guidance of England, to arrest the presumptuous career of France, and extirpate democracy by the sword. Nevertheless, the republican cause, however odious in Europe, was our national cause. The sympathies of a large portion of the American people, could not be withdrawn from the French nation; which always claimed, even when marshalled into legions under the Corsican conqueror, to be fighting the battles of freedom; while, on the other side, those citizens who regarded innovation as worse than tyranny, considered England and her allies as engaged in sustaining the cause of order, of government, and of society itself.

The line already drawn between the American people in regard to their organic law, naturally became the dividing line of the popular sympathies in the great European conflict. Thus deeply furrowed, that line became "a great gulf fixed." The federal party unconsciously became an English party, although it indignantly disowned the epithet; and the republican party became a French party, although with equal sincerity it denied the gross impeachment. Each belligerent was thus encouraged to hope some aid from the United States, through the ever-expected triumph of its friends; while both conceived contemptuous opinions of a people who, from too eager interest in a foreign fray,

suffered their own national rights to be trampled upon with impunity by the contending states.

Washington set the new machine of government in motion. He formed his cabinet of recognised leaders of the adverse parties. Hamilton and Knox of the federal party were balanced by Jefferson and Randolph of the adverse party. "Washington took part with neither, but held the balance between them with the scrupulous justice which marked his lofty nature." On the 25th of April, 1793, he announced the neutrality of the United States between the belligerents, and his decision, without winning the respect of either, exasperated both. Each invaded our national rights more flagrantly than before, and excused the injustice by the plea of necessary retaliation against its adversary, and each found willing apologists in a sympathizing faction in our own country.

Commercial and polical relations were to be established between the United States and the European powers in this season of conflict. Ministers were needed who could maintain and vindicate abroad the same impartiality practised by Washington at home. There was one citizen eminently qualified for such a trust in such a conjuncture. Need I say that citizen was the younger Adams, and that Washington had the sagacity to discover him?

John Quincy Adams successively completed missions at the Hague, and at Berlin, in the period intervening between 1794 and 1801, with such success and advantage, that, in 1802, he was honored by his native commonwealth with a seat as her representative in the senate of the United States. The insults offered to our country by the belligerents increased in aggravation as the contest between them became more violent and convulsive. France, in 1804, laid aside even the name and forms of a republic, and the first consul, dropping the emblems of popular power, placed the long-coveted diadem upon his brow, where its jewels sparkled among the laurels he had won in the conquest of Italy. Washington's administration had passed away, leaving the American people in a state of sullen discontent. John Adams had succeeded, and had atoned by the loss of power for the offence he had given by causing a just but unavailing war to be declared against France. Jefferson was at the head of the government; he thought the belligerents might be reduced to

forbearance by depriving them of our commercial contributions of supplies, and recommended, first, an embargo, and then non-intercourse. Britain was an insular, and France a continental power. The effects of these measures were expected, therefore, to be more severe on the former than on the latter, and, unhappily, they were more severe on our own country than on either of the offenders.

Massachusetts was the chief commercial state in the Union. She saw the ruin of her commerce involved in the policy of Jefferson, and regarded it as an unworthy concession to the usurper of the French throne. In this emergency John Quincy Adams turned his back on Massachusetts, and threw into the uprising scale of the administration, the weight of his talents and of his already eminent fame. Massachusetts instructed the recusant to recant. He refused to obey, and resigned his place. His change of political relations astounded the country, and, with the customary charity of partisan zeal, was attributed to venality. It is now seen by us in the light reflected upon it by the habitual independence, unquestioned purity, and lofty patriotism of his whole life; and thus seen, constitutes only the first-marked one of many instances wherein he broke the green withes which party fastened upon him, and maintained the cause of his country, referring the care of his fame to God and to an impartial posterity. Like the Roman, whom Julius Cæsar saluted among his executioners with the exclamation "*Et tu Brute!*" John Quincy Adams was not unfaithful, but he could not be obliged where he was not left free.

Jefferson retired in 1809, leaving to his successor, the scholastic and peace-loving Madison, the perilous legacy of perplexed foreign relations, and embittered domestic feuds. Great Britain now filled the measure of exasperations, by insolently searching our vessels on the high seas, and impressing into her marine all whom she chose to suspect of having been born in her allegiance, even though they had renounced it, and had assumed the relations of American citizens. War was therefore imminent and inevitable. Russia was then coming forward to a position of commanding influence in Europe, and her youthful emperor, Alexander, had won, by his chivalrous bearing, the respect of mankind. John Quincy Adams was wisely sent by the United States to establish relations of amity with the great power of the

north, and, while he was thus engaged, the flames of European war, which had been so long averted, involved his own country. War was declared against Great Britain.

It was just. It was necessary. Yet it was a war that challenged Great Britain to reassert her ancient sovereignty. It was a war with a power whose wealth and credit were practically inexhaustible—a power whose navy rode unchecked over all the seas, and whose impregnable garrisons encircled the globe.

Against such a power, the war was waged by a nation that had not yet accumulated wealth, nor established credit, nor even opened avenues suitable for transporting munitions of war through its extended territories—that had only the germ of a navy, an inconsiderable army, and not one substantial fortress. Yet such a war, under such circumstances, was denounced as unnecessary and unjust, though for no better reason than because greater contumelies had been endured at the hands of France. Thus, a domestic feud, based on the very question of the war itself, enervated the national strength, and encouraged the mighty adversary.

The desperate valor displayed at Chippewa and Lundy's Lane, at Fort Erie and Plattsburgh, and the brilliant victories won in contests between single ships-of-war on the ocean and armed fleets on the lakes, vindicated the martial prowess of the United States, but brought us no decisive advantages. A suspension of the conflict in Europe followed Napoleon's disastrous invasion of Russia, and left America alone opposed to her great adversary. Peace was necessary, because the national credit was exhausted; because the fortunes of the war were inclining against us; and because the opposition to it was ripening into disorganizing councils. Adams had prepared the way by securing the mediation of Alexander. Then in that critical period, associated with Russell, Bayard, the learned and versatile Gallatin, and the eloquent and chivalric Clay, he negotiated with firmness, with assiduity, with patience, and with consummate ability, a definitive treaty of peace—a treaty of peace which, although it omitted the causes of the war already obsolete, saved and established and confirmed, in its whole integrity, the independence of the republic; a treaty of peace that yet endures, and we willingly hope may endure for ever.

After fulfilling a subsequent mission at the court of St. James,

the pacificator entered the domestic service of the country as secretary of state in the administration of James Monroe, and at the expiration of that administration became president of the United States. He attained the honors of the republic at the age of fifty-seven, in the forty-ninth year of independence. He was sixth in the succession, and with him closed the line of chief magistrates who had rendered to their country some tribute of their talents in civil or military service in the war of independence.

John Quincy Adams, on entering civil life, had found the republic unstable. He retired in 1829, leaving it firmly established. It was thus his happy fortune to preside at the completion of that work of consolidation, the beginning of which was the end of the labors of Washington.

John Quincy Adams engaged in this great work while yet in private life, in 1793. He showed to his fellow-citizens, in a series of essays, the inability of the French people to maintain free institutions at that time, and the consequent necessity of American neutrality in the European war. These publications aided Washington so much the more because they anticipated his own decision. Adams sustained the same great cause, when he strengthened the administration of Jefferson against the preponderating influence of Great Britain. His diplomatic services in Holland and Russia secured, at a critical period, a favorable consideration in the courts of those countries, which conduced to the same end; and his brilliant success in restoring peace to the country so sorely pressed, relieved her from her enemies, reassured her, and gave to skeptical Europe conclusive proof that her republican institutions were destined to endure.

The administration of John Quincy Adams blends so intimately with that of Monroe, in which he was chief minister, that no dividing line can be drawn between them. Adams may be said, without derogation from the fame of Monroe, to have swayed the government during his presidency; and, with equal truth, Monroe may be admitted to have continued his administration through that of his successor.

The consolidation of the republic required that faction should be extinguished. Monroe began this difficult task cautiously and pursued it with success. John Quincy Adams completed the achievement. The dignity and moderation which marked his acceptance of the highest trust which a free people could

confer, beautifully foreshadowed the magnanimity with which it was to be discharged. He confessed himself deeply sensible of the circumstances under which it had been conferred:

"All my predecesssors," he said, "have been honored with majorities of the electoral voices, in the primary colleges. It has been my fortune to be placed, by the divisions of sentiment prevailing among our countrymen, on this occasion, in competition, friendly and honorable, with three of my fellow-citizens, all justly enjoying, in eminent degrees, the public favor; and of whose worth, talents, and services, no one entertains a higher and more respectful sense than myself. The names of two of them were, in the fulfilment of the provisions of the constitution, presented to the selection of the house of representatives, in concurrence with my own, names closely associated with the glory of the nation, and one of them further recommended by a larger majority of the primary electoral suffrages than mine. In this state of things, could my refusal to accept the trust thus delegated to me give an opportunity to the people to form and to express, with a nearer approach to unanimity, the object of their preference, I should not hesitate to decline the acceptance of this eminent charge, and to submit the decision of this momentous question again to their determination."

It argued a noble consciousness of virtue to express on such an occasion, so ingenuously, the emotions of a generous ambition.

He displayed the same great quality no less when he called to the post of chief-minister, in spite of clamors of corruption, Henry Clay, that one of his late rivals who alone among his countrymen had the talents and generosity which the responsibilities of the period exacted.

John Quincy Adams signalized his accession to the post of dangerous elevation by avowing the sentiments concerning parties by which he was inflexibly governed throughout his administration:—

"Of the two great political parties," he said, "which have divided the opinions and feelings of our country, the candid and the just will now admit, that both have contributed splendid talents, spotless integrity, ardent patriotism, and disinterested sacrifices, to the formation and administration of the government, and that both have required a liberal indulgence for a portion of human infirmity and error. The revolutionary wars of Europe, commencing precisely at the moment when the government of the United States first went into operation under the constitution, excited collisions of sentiments, and of sympathies, which kindled all the passions and embittered the conflict of parties, till the nation was involved in war, and the Union was shaken to its centre. This time of trial embraced a period of five-and-twenty years, during which the policy of the Union in its relations with Europe constituted the principal basis of our own political divisions, and the most arduous part of the action of the federal government. With the catastrophe in which the wars of the French Revolution terminated, and our own subsequent peace with Great Britain, this baneful weed of party strife was uprooted. From that time no difference of principle, connected with the theory of government, or with our intercourse with foreign nations, has existed or been called forth in force sufficient to sustain a continued combination of parties, or given more than wholesome animation to public sentiment or legislative debate. Our political creed, without a dissenting voice that can be heard, is that the will of the people is the source, and the happiness of the people is the end, of all legitimate government upon earth—that the best security for the beneficence, and the best guaranty against the abuse of power, consists in the freedom, the purity, and the frequency of popular elections. That the general government of the Union, and the

separate governments of the states, are all sovereignties of legitimate powers; fellow-servants of the same masters, uncontrolled within their respective spheres—uncontrollable by encroachments on each other. If there have been those who doubted whether a confederated representative democracy was a government competent to the wise and orderly management of the common concerns of a mighty nation, those doubts have been dispelled. If there have been projects of partial confederacies to be erected upon the ruins of the Union, they have been scattered to the winds. If there have been dangerous attachments to one foreign nation, and antipathies against another, they have been extinguished. Ten years of peace at home and abroad have assuaged the animosities of political contention, and blended into harmony the most discordant elements of public opinion. There still remains one effort of magnanimity, one sacrifice of prejudice and passion, to be made by the individuals throughout the nation who have heretofore followed the standards of political party. It is that of discarding every remnant of rancor against each other, of embracing, as countrymen and friends, and of yielding to talents and virtue alone, that confidence which, in times of contention for principle, was bestowed only upon those who bore the badge of party communion."

During the administration of John Quincy Adams, he was really the chief-magistrate. He submitted neither his reason nor his conscience to the control of any partisan cabal. No man was appointed to office in obedience to political dictation, and no faithful public servant was proscribed. The result rewarded his magnanimity. Faction ceased to exist. When South Carolina, a few years afterward, assumed the very ground that the ancient republican party had indicated as lawful and constitutional, and claimed the right and power to set aside within her own limits acts of Congress which she pronounced void, because they transcended the federal authority, she called on the republican party throughout the Union in vain. The dangerous heresy had been renounced for ever. Since that time there has been no serious project of a combination to resist the laws of the Union, much less of a conspiracy to subvert the Union itself.

What though the elements of political strife remain? They are necessary for the life of free states. What though there still are parties, and the din and turmoil of their contests are ceaselessly heard? They are organized now on questions of mere administration, or on the more ephemeral questions of personal merit. Such parties are dangerous only in the decline, not in the vigor of republics. Rome was no longer fit for freedom, and needed a dictator and a sovereign, when Pompey and Cæsar divided the citizens. What though the magnanimity of Adams was not appreciated, and his cotemporaries preferred his military competitor in the subsequent election? The masses of any people will sometimes prefer the immediate benefits which martial heroism confers, to the long-maturing harvest, which the states-

men of the living generations sow, to be reaped by their successors. For all this Adams cared not. He had extinguished the factions which for forty years had endangered the state. He had left on the records of history, instructions and an example teaching how faction could be overthrown, and his country might resort to them when danger should recur. For himself he knew well, none knew better, that

> "He who ascends to mountain-tops shall find
> The loftiest peaks most wrapt in clouds and snow:
> He who surpasses or subdues mankind,
> Must look down on the hates of those below.
> Though high *above* the sun of glory glow,
> And far *beneath* the earth and ocean spread,
> *Round* him are icy rocks, and loudly blow
> Contending tempests on his naked head,
> And thus reward the toils which to their summits led."

The federal authority had so long been factiously opposed, that the popular respect for its laws needed to be renewed. The state of Georgia presented the fit occasion. She insisted on expelling forcibly remnants of Indian tribes within her limits, in virtue of a treaty which, being impeached for fraud, came for revision before the supreme court and the senate. The president met the emergency with boldness and decision. The demonstration thus given of a determination that good faith should be practised, and the law have its way, no matter how unequal the litigating parties, operated favorably toward restoring the moral influence of the government. That influence, although sometimes checked, has recently increased in strength, until the federal authority is universally regarded as final, and Liberty again walks confidently hand in hand with Law.

John Quincy Adams "loved peace and ensued it." He loved peace as a Christian, because war was at enmity with the spirit and precepts of a religion which he held to be Divine. As a statesman and magistrate he loved peace, because war was not merely injurious to national prosperity, but because, whether successful or adverse, it was subversive of liberty. Democracies are prone to war, and war consumes them. He favored, therefore, all the philanthropic efforts of the age to cultivate the spirit of peace, and looked forward with benevolent hope to the ultimate institution of a general congress of nations for the adjustment of their

controversies. But he was no visionary, and no enthusiast. He knew that as yet war was often inevitable — that pusillanimity provoked it, and that national honor was national property of the highest value, because it was the best national defence. He admitted only offensive war, but he did not narrowly define it. He held *that* to be a defensive war which was urged to sustain what could not be surrendered or relinquished without compromising the independence, the just influence, or even the proper dignity, of the state. Thus he had supported the war with Great Britain; thus in later years he sustained President Jackson in his bold demonstration against France, when that power wantonly refused to perform the stipulations it had made in a treaty of indemnity; and thus he yielded his support to what was thought a warlike measure of the present administration in the diplomatic controversy with Great Britain concerning the territory of Oregon. The living and the dead have mutual rights, and therefore it must be added that he considered the present war with Mexico unnecessary, unjust, and criminal. His opinion on this exciting question is among those on which he referred himself to that future age which he so often constituted the umpire between himself and his cotemporaries.

With such principles on the subject of war, he regarded the establishment of a system of national defence as a necessary policy for consolidating the republic. He prosecuted, therefore, on a large scale, the work of fortification, and defended against popular opposition the institution for the cultivation of military science which has so recently vindicated that early favor through the learning, valor, patriotism, and humanity, exhibited by its pupils on the fields of Mexico. But with that jealousy of the military spirit which never forsakes the wise republican statesman, he co-operated in reducing the army to the lowest scale commensurate with its necessary efficiency: "It was a vain and dangerous delusion," he said, "to believe that in the present or any probable condition of the world, a commerce so extensive as ours could exist without the continual support of a military marine — the only arm by which the power of a confederacy could be estimated or felt by foreign nations, and the only standing force which could never be dangerous to our own liberties." The enlargement of our navy, under the influence of these opinions, is among the measures of national consolidation we owe to him;

and the institution for naval education we enjoy is a recent result of his early suggestions.

But John Quincy Adams relied for national security and peace mainly on an enlightened and broad system of civil policy. He looked through the future combinations of states, and studied the accidents to which they were exposed, that he might seasonably remove causes of future conflict. His genius, when exercised in this lofty duty, played in its native element. He had cordially approved the measures by which Washington had secured the free navigation of the Mississippi. He approved the acquisition of Louisiana, although with Jefferson he insisted on a preliminary amendment of the constitution for that purpose. He had no narrow bigotry concerning the soil to which the institutions of our fathers should be confined, and no local prejudice against their extension in any direction required by the public security, if the extension should be made with justice, honor, and humanity.

The acquisition of Louisiana had given us additional territory, fruitful in new commerce, to be exposed to dangers which remained to be overcome. Spain still possessed, besides the island of Cuba, the peninsula of the Floridas, and thus held the keys of the Mississippi. The real independence, the commercial and the moral independence, of the United States, remained to be effected at the close of the European wars, and of our own war with England. Our political independence had been confirmed, and that was all. John Quincy Adams addressed himself, as secretary of state, to the subversion of what remained of the colonial system. He commenced by an auspicious purchase of the Floridas, which gave us important maritime advantages on the gulf of Mexico, while it continued our Atlantic seaboard unbroken from the bay of Fundy to the Sabine.

The ever-advancing American Revolution was at the same time opening the way to complete disenthralment. The Spanish-American provinces revolted; and seven new republics, with constitutions differing not widely from our own — Buenos Ayres, Guatemala, Colombia, Mexico, Chili, Central America, and Peru — suddenly claimed audience and admission among the nations of the earth. The people of those countries were but doubtfully prepared to maintain their contest for independence, or to support republican institutions. But, on the other side, Spain was enervated and declining. She applied to the Holy League of

Europe for their aid, and the new republics appealed to the United States for that recognition which could not fail to impart strength. The question was momentous. The ancient colonial system was at stake. All Europe was interested in maintaining it. The Holy League held Europe fast bound to the rock of despotism, and were at liberty to engage the United States in a war for the subversion of their independence, if they should dare to extend their aid or protection to the rebellious colonies in South America.

Such a war would be a war of the two continents — a universal war. Who could foretell its termination, or its dread results? But the emancipation of Spanish America was necessary for our own larger freedom and our own complete security. That freedom and that security required that the nations of Europe should relax their grasp on the American continent. The question was long and anxiously debated. The American people hesitated to hazard, for speculative advantages, the measure of independence already obtained. Monroe and Adams waited firmly and calmly. The impassioned voice of Henry Clay rose from the chamber of representatives. It rang through the continent like the notes of the clarion, inspiring South America with new resolution, and North America with the confidence the critical occasion demanded. That noble appeal was answered. South America stood firm, and North America was ready. Then it was that John Quincy Adams, with those generous impulses which the impatient blood of his Revolutionary sire always prompted, and with that enlightened sagacity which never misapprehended the interests of his country, nor mistook the time nor the means to secure them, obtained from the administration and from Congress the acknowledgment of the independence of the young American nations. To give decisive effect to this great measure, Monroe, in 1823, solemnly declared to the world that thenceforth any attempt by any foreign power to establish the colonial system in any part of this continent, already emancipated, would be resisted as an aggression against the independence of the United States. On the accession of Adams to the administration of the government, the vast American continental possessions of Brazil separated themselves from the crown of Portugal and became an independent state. Adams improved these propitious and sublime events by negotiating treaties of reciprocal trade with the youthful na-

tions; and, concurring with Monroe, accepted in behalf of the United States their invitation to a general congress of American states to be held at Panama, to cement relations of amity among themselves, and to consider, if it should become necessary, the proper means to repel the apprehended interference of the Holy League of Europe.

This last measure transcended the confidence of a large and respectable portion of the American people. But its moral effect was needed to secure the stability of the South American republics. Adams persevered, and, in defending his course, gave notice to the powers of Europe, by this bold declaration, that the determination of the United States was inflexible:—

"If it be asked, whether this meeting, and the principles which may be adjusted and settled by it, as rules of intercourse between American nations, may not give umbrage to European powers, or offence to Spain, it is deemed a sufficient answer, that our attendance at Panama can give no just cause of umbrage, or offence to either, and that the United States will stipulate nothing there, which can give such cause. Here the right of inquiry into our purposes and measures must stop. The Holy League of Europe, itself, was formed without inquiring of the United States, whether it would or would not give umbrage to them. The fear of giving umbrage to the Holy League of Europe was urged as a motive for denying to the American nations the acknowledgment of their independence. The Congress and the administration of that day, consulted their rights and their duties, not their fears. The United States must still, as heretofore, take counsel from their duties, rather than their fears."

Contrast fellow-citizens, this declaration of John Quincy Adams, president of the United States in 1825, with the proclamation of neutrality between the belligerents of Europe, made by Washington in 1793, with the querulous complaints of your ministers against the French directory and the British ministry, at the close of the last century, and with the acts of embargo and non-intercourse at the beginning of the present century, destroying our own commerce to conquer forbearance from the intolerant European powers. Learn from this contrast, the epoch of the consolidation of the republic. Thus instructed, do honor to the statesman and magistrate by whom, not forgetting the meed due to his illustrious compeers, the colonial system was overthrown throughout Spanish-America, and the independence of the United States was completely and finally consummated.

The intrepid and unwearied statesman now directed his attention to the remnants of the colonial system still preserved in the Canadas, and West Indies. Great Britain, by parliamentary measures, had undermined our manufactures, and, receiving only our raw materials, repaid us with fabrics manufactured from

them, while she excluded us altogether from the carrying trade with her colonial possessions. John Quincy Adams, sought to counteract this injurious legislation, by a revenue system, which should restore the manufacturing industry of the country, while he offered reciprocal trade as a compromise. His administration ended during a beneficial trial of this vigorous policy. But it taxed too severely the patriotism of some of the states, and was relinquished by his successors.

Indolence begets degeneracy, and immobility is the first stage of dissolution. John Quincy Adams sought not merely to consolidate the republic, but to perpetuate it. For this purpose he bent vast efforts with success, to such a policy of internal improvement as would increase the facilities of communication and intercourse between the states, and bring into being that great internal trade which must ever constitute the strongest bond of federal union. Wherever a lighthouse has been erected, on our seacoast, on our lakes, or on our rivers — wherever a mole or pier has been constructed or begun — wherever a channel obstructed by shoals or sawyers has been opened, or begun to be opened — wherever a canal or railroad, adapted to national uses, has been made or projected, there the engineers of the United States, during the Administration of John Quincy Adams, made explorations, and opened the way for a diligent prosecution of his designs by his successors. This policy, apparently so stupendous, was connected with a system of fiscal economy so rigorous, that the treasury augmented its stores, while the work of improvement went on; the public debt, contracted in past wars, dissolved away, and the nation flourished in unexampled prosperity. John Quincy Adams administered the federal government, while De Witt Clinton was presiding in the state of New York. It is refreshing to recall the noble emulation of these illustrious benefactors — an emulation that shows how inseparable sound philosophy is from true patriotism.

"If," said Adams, in his first annual message to the Congress of the United States, "the powers enumerated may be effectually brought into action, by laws promoting the improvement of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, the cultivation and encouragement of the mechanic arts, and of the elegant arts, the advancement of literature, and the progress of the sciences, ornamental and profound, to refrain from exercising them for the benefit of the people, would be to hide in the earth the talent committed to our charge, would be treachery to the most sacred of trusts. The spirit of improvement is abroad upon the earth. It stimulates the hearts, and sharpens the faculties, not of our fellow-citizens alone, but of the nations of Europe, and of their rulers. While dwelling with pleasing satisfaction upon the superior excellence of our

political institutions, let us not be unmindful that liberty is power, that the nation blessed with the largest portion of liberty, must, in proportion to its numbers, be the most powerful nation upon earth, and that the tenure of power by man is, in the moral purposes of his Creator, upon condition that it shall be exercised to ends of beneficence, to improve the condition of himself, and his fellow-men. While foreign nations, less blessed with that freedom which is power, than ourselves, are advancing with gigantic strides in the career of public improvement, were we to slumber in indolence, or fold our arms and proclaim to the world that we are palsied by the will of our constituents, would it not be to cast away the bounties of providence and doom ourselves to perpetual inferiority? In the course of the year now drawing to its close, we have beheld under the auspices, and at the expense of one state of this Union, a new university unfolding its portals to the sons of science, and holding up the torch of human improvement to eyes that seek the light.* We have seen, under the persevering and enlightened enterprise of another state, the waters of our western lakes mingle with those of the ocean. If undertakings like these have been accomplished, in the compass of a few years, by the authority of single members of our confederacy, can we, the representative authorities of the whole Union, fall behind our fellow-servants, in the exercise of the trust committed to us for the benefit of our common sovereign, by the accomplishment of works important to the whole, and to which neither the authority nor the resources of any one state can be adequate?"

The disastrous career of many of the states, and the absolute inaction of others, since the responsibilities of internal improvement have been cast off by the federal authorities, and devolved upon the states, without other sources of revenue than direct taxation, and with no other motives to stimulate them than their own local interests, are a fitting commentary on the error of that departure from the policy of John Quincy Adams. If other comment were necessary, it would be found in the fact that states have revised and amended their constitutions, so as to abridge the power of their legislatures to prosecute the beneficent enterprises which the federal government has devolved upon them. The Smithsonian Institute, at the seat of government, founded by the liberality of a cosmopolite, is that same university so earnestly recommended by Adams for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men. The exploration of the globe, for purposes of geographical and political knowledge, which has so recently been made under the authority of the Union, and with such noble results, was an enterprise conceived and suggested by the same statesman. The National Observatory at the capital which is piercing the regions nearest to the throne of the eternal Author of the universe, is an emanation of the same comprehensive wisdom.

Such was the administration of John Quincy Adams. Surely it exhibits enough done for duty and for fame—if the ancient philosopher said truly, that the duty of a statesman was to make the citizens happy, to make them firm in power, rich in wealth,

* The University of Virginia.

splendid in glory, and eminent in virtue, and that such achievements were the greatest and best of all works among men.

But the measure of duty was not yet fulfilled. The republic thought it no longer had need of the services of Adams, and he bowed to its command. Two years elapsed, and lo! the priest was seen again beside the deserted altar, and a brighter, purer, and more lasting flame arose out of the extinguished embers.

> "He looked in years. But in his years were seen
> A youthful vigor, an autumnal green."

The republic had been extended and consolidated; but human slavery, which had been incorporated in it, was extended and consolidated also, and was spreading, so as to impair the strength of the great fabric on which the hopes of the nation were suspended. Slavery, therefore, must be restrained, and without violence or injustice, must be abolished. The difficult task of removing it had been postponed by the statesmen of the revolution, and had been delayed and forgotten by their successors. There were now resolute hearts and willing hands to undertake it, but who was strong enough, and bold enough to lead? Who had patience to bear with enthusiasm that overleaped its mark, and with intolerance that defeated its own generous purposes? Slaveholders had power, nay, the national power; and, strange to say, they had it with the nation's consent and sympathy. Who was bold enough to provoke them, and bring the execration of the nation down upon his own head? Who would do this, when even abolitionists themselves, rendered implacable by the manifestation of those sentiments of justice and moderation, without which the most humane cause depending on a change of public opinion, can not be conducted safely to a prosperous end, were ready to betray their own champion into the hands of the avenger? That leader was found in the person of John Quincy Adams. He took his seat in the house of representatives in 1831, without assumption or ostentation. Abolitionists placed in his hand petitions for the suppression of slavery in the District of Columbia, the seat of the federal authorities. He offered them to the house of representatives, and they were rejected with contumely and scorn. Suddenly the alarm went forth, that the aged and venerable servant was retaliating upon his country by instigating a servile war, that such a war must be avoided, even at the cost

of sacrificing the freedom of petition and the freedom of debate, and that if the free-states, would not consent to make that sacrifice, then the Union should be dissolved. This alarm had its desired effect. The house of representatives in 1837, adopted a rule of discipline, equivalent to an act, ordaining that no petition relating to slavery, nearly or remotely, should be read, debated, or considered. The senate adopted a like edict. The state authorities approved. Slavery was not less strongly entrenched, behind the bulwark of precedents in the courts of law, than in the fixed habits of thought and action among the people. The people even in the free states denounced the discussion of slavery, and suppressed it by unlawful force. John Quincy Adams stood unmoved amid the storm. He knew that the only danger incident to political reform, was the danger of delaying it too long. The French Revolution had made this an axiom of political science. If, indeed, the discussion of slavery was so hazardous as was pretended, it had been deferred too long already. The advocates of slavery had committed a fatal error. They had abolished freedom of speech and freedom of petition to save an obnoxious institution. As soon as the panic should subside, the people would demand the restoration of those precious rights, and would scrutinize with fearless fidelity the cause for which they had been suppressed. He offered petition after petition, each bolder and more importunate than the last. He debated questions kindred to those which were forbidden, with the firmness and fervor of his noble nature. For age

> "Had not quenched the open truth
> And fiery vehemence of youth."

Soon he gained upon his adversaries. District after district sent champions to his side. States reconsidered and resolved in his behalf. He saw the tide was turning, and then struck one bold blow, not now for freedom of petition and of debate, but a stroke of bold and retaliating warfare. He offered a resolution declaring that the following amendments of the constitution of the United States be submitted to the people of the several states for their adoption:—

"From and after the fourth day of July, 1842, there shall be, throughout the United States, no hereditary slavery, but on and after that day every child born within the United States shall be free.

"With the exception of the territory of Florida, there shall henceforth, never be admitted into this Union, any state the constitution of which shall tolerate within the same the existence of slavery."

In 1845, the obnoxious rule of the house of representatives was rescinded. Freedom of debate and of petition was restored, and the unrestrained and irrepressible discussion of slavery by the press and political parties began. For the rest, the work of emancipation abides the action, whether it be slow or fast, of the moral sense of the American people. It depends not on the zeal and firmness only of the reformers, but on their wisdom and moderation also. Stoicism that had no charity for error, never converted any human society to virtue; Christianity that remembers the true nature of man, has encompassed a large portion of the globe. How long emancipation may be delayed is among the things concealed from our knowledge, but not so the certain result. The perils of the enterprise are already passed—its difficulties have already been removed—when it shall have been accomplished it will be justly regarded as the last noble effort which rendered the republic imperishable.

Then the merit of the great achievement will be awarded to John Quincy Adams; and by none more gratefully than by the communities on whom the institution of slavery has brought the calamity of premature and consumptive decline, in the midst of free, vigorous, and expanding states.

If this great transaction could be surpassed in dramatic sublimity, it was surpassed when the same impassioned advocate of humanity appeared, at the age of seventy-four, with all the glorious associations that now clustered upon him, at the bar of the supreme court of the United States, and pleaded without solicitation or reward, the cause of Cinque and thirty other Africans, who had been stolen by a Spanish slaver from their native coast, had slain the master and crew of the pirate vessel, floated into the waters of the United States, and there been claimed by the president, in behalf of the authorities of Spain. He pleaded this great cause with such happy effect, that the captives were set at liberty. Conveyed by the charity of the humane to their native shores, they bore the pleasing intelligence to Africa, that justice was at last claiming sway among civilized and Christian men!

The recital of heroic actions loses its chief value, if we can not

discover the principles in which they were born. The text of John Quincy Adams, from which he deduced the duties of citizens, and of the republic, was the address of the continental congress to the people of the United States, on the occasion of the successful close of the American Revolution. He dwelt often and emphatically on the words:—

"Let it be remembered, that it has ever been the pride and the boast of America, that the rights for which she contended were the rights of human nature. By the blessing of the Author of those rights, they have prevailed over all opposition, and form the basis of thirteen independent states. No instance has heretofore occurred nor can any instance be expected hereafter to occur, in which the unadulterated forms of republican government can pretend to so fair an opportunity of justifying themselves by their fruits. In this view, the citizens of the United States are responsible for the greatest trust ever confided to a political society. If justice, good faith, honor, gratitude, and all the other qualities which ennoble the character of a nation, and fulfil the ends of government, be the fruits of our establishments, the cause of liberty will acquire a dignity and lustre which it has never yet enjoyed, and an example will be set which can not but have the most favorable influence on mankind. If, on the other side, our governments should be unfortunately blotted with the reverse of these cardinal virtues, the great cause which we have engaged to vindicate will be dishonored and betrayed; the last and fairest experiment in favor of the rights of human nature will be turned against them, and their patrons and friends exposed to the insults, and silenced by the votaries of tyranny and usurpation."

Senators and representatives of the people of the state of New York: I had turned my steps away from your honored halls, long since, as I thought, for ever. I come back to them by your command, to fulfil a higher duty, and more honorable service than ever before devolved upon me. I repay your generous confidence, by offering to you this exposition of the duties of the magistrate and of the citizen. It is the same which John Quincy Adams gave to the Congress of the United States, in his oration on the death of James Madison. It is the key to his own exalted character, and it enables us to measure the benefits he conferred upon his country. If, then, you ask, what motive enabled him to rise above parties, sects, combinations, prejudices, passions, and seductions, I answer, that he served his country, not alone, or chiefly because that country was his own, but because he knew her duties, and her destiny, and knew her cause was the cause of human nature.

If you inquire why he was so rigorous in virtue as to be often thought austere, I answer, it was because human nature required the exercise of justice, honor, and gratitude, by all who were clothed with authority to act in the name of the American people. If you ask why he seemed, sometimes, with apparent inconsistency, to lend his charities to the distant and the future rather

than to his own kindred and times, I reply, it was because he held that the tenure of human power is on condition of its being beneficently exercised for the common welfare of the human race. Such men are of no country. They belong to mankind. If we can not rise to this height of virtue, we can not hope to comprehend the character of John Quincy Adams, or understand the homage paid by the American people to his memory.

Need it be said that John Quincy Adams studied justice, honor, and gratitude, not by the false standards of the age, but by their own true nature. He generalized truth, and traced it always to its source, the bosom of God. Thus in his defence of the Amistad captives he began with defining justice in the language of Justinian, "Constans et perpetua voluntas jus suum cuique tribuendi." He quoted on that occasion from the Declaration of Independence, not by way of rhetorical embellishment, and not even as a valid human ordinance, but as a truth of nature, of universal application, the memorable words, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and that among these rights are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." In his vindication of the right of debate, he declared that the principle that religious opinions were altogether beyond the sphere of legislative control, was but one modification of a more extensive axiom, which included the unbounded freedom of the press, and of speech, and of the communication of thought in all its forms. He rested the inviolability of the right of petition, not on constitutions, or charters which might be glossed, abrogated, or expunged, but on the inherent right of every animate creature to pray to its superior.

The model by which he formed his character was Cicero. Not the living Cicero, sometimes inconsistent; often irresolute; too often seeming to act a studied part; and always covetous of applause. But Cicero, as he aimed to be, and as he appears revealed in those immortal emanations of his genius which have been the delight and guide of intellect, and virtue, in every succeeding age. Like the Roman, Adams was an orator, but he did not fall into the error of the Roman, in practically valuing eloquence more than the beneficence to which it should be devoted. Like him he was a statesman and magistrate worthy to be called "The second founder of the republic,"—like him a

teacher of didactic philosophy, of morals, and even of his own peculiar art; and like him he made all liberal learning tributary to that noble art, while poetry was the inseparable companion of his genius in its hours of relaxation from the labors of the forum and of the capitol.

Like him he loved only the society of good men, and by his generous praise of such, illustrated the Roman's beautiful aphorism, that no one can be envious of good deeds, who has confidence in his own virtue. Like Cicero he kept himself unstained by social or domestic vices; preserved serenity and cheerfulness; cherished habitual reverence for the deity, and dwelt continually, not on the mystic theology of the schools, but on the hopes of a better life. He lived in what will be regarded as the virtuous age of his country, while Cicero was surrounded by an overwhelming degeneracy. He had the light of Christianity for his guide; and its sublime motives as incitements to virtue: while Cicero had only the confused instructions of the Grecian schools, and saw nothing certainly attainable but present applause and future fame In moral courage, therefore, he excelled his model and rivalled Cato. But Cato was a visionary, who insisted upon his right to act always without reference to the condition of mankind, as he would have acted in Plato's imaginary republic. Adams stood in this respect midway between the impracticable stoic, and the too flexible academician. He had no occasion to say, as the Grecian orator did, that if he had sometimes acted contrary to himself, he had never acted contrary to the republic; but he might justly have said, as the noble Roman did, "I have rendered to my country all the great services which she was willing to receive at my hands, and I have never harbored a thought concerning her that was not divine."

More fortunate than Cicero, who fell a victim of civil wars which he could not avert, Adams was permitted to linger on the earth, until the generations of that future age, for whom he had lived and to whom he had appealed from the condemnation of cotemporaries, came up before the curtain which had shut out his sight, and pronounced over him, as he was sinking into the grave, their judgment of approval and benediction.

The distinguished characteristics of his life were beneficent labor, and personal contentment. He never sought wealth, but devoted himself to the service of mankind. Yet by the practice

of frugality and method, he secured the enjoyment of dealing forth continually no stinted charities, and died in affluence. He never solicited place or preferment, and had no partisan combinations or even connections; yet he received honors which eluded the covetous grasp of those who formed parties, rewarded friends, and proscribed enemies; and he filled a longer period of varied and distinguished service than ever fell to the lot of any other citizen. In every state of this progress he was content. He was content to be president, minister, representative, or citizen.

Stricken in the midst of this service, in the very act of rising to debate, he fell into the arms of conscript fathers of the republic. A long lethargy supervened and oppressed his senses. Nature rallied the wasting powers, on the verge of the grave, for a very brief period. But it was long enough for him. The rekindled eye showed that the re-collected mind was clear, calm, and vigorous. His weeping family, and his sorrowing compeers were there. He surveyed the scene, and knew at once its fatal import. He had left no duty unperformed; he had no wish unsatisfied; no ambition unattained; no regret, no sorrow, no fear, no remorse. He could not shake off the dews of death that gathered on his brow. He could not pierce the thick shades that rose up before him. But he knew that eternity lay close by the shores of time. He knew that his Redeemer lived. Eloquence, even in that hour, inspired him with his ancient sublimity of utterance. "This," said the dying man, "This is the last of earth." He paused for a moment, and then added, "I am content." Angels might well have drawn aside the curtains of the skies to look down on such a scene—a scene that approximated even to that scene of unapproachable sublimity, not to be recalled without reverence, when in mortal agony, One who spake as never man spake, said, "It is finished."

Only two years after the birth of John Quincy Adams, there appeared on an island in the Mediterranean sea, a human spirit newly-born, endowed with equal genius, without the regulating qualities of justice and benevolence which Adams possessed in an eminent degree. A like career opened to both—born like Adams, a subject of a king—the child of more genial skies, like him, became in early life a patriot, and a citizen of a new and great republic. Like Adams he lent his service to the state in

precocious youth, and in its hour of need, and won its confidence. But, unlike Adams, he could not wait the dull delays of slow and laborious, but sure advancement. He sought power by the hasty road that leads through fields of carnage, and he became, like Adams, a supreme magistrate, a consul. But there were other consuls. He was not content. He thrust them aside, and was consul alone. Consular power was too short. He fought new battles and was consul for life. But power, confessedly derived from the people, must be exercised in obedience to their will, and must be resigned to them again, at least in death. He was not content. He desolated Europe afresh, subverted the republic, imprisoned the patriarch who presided over Rome's comprehensive see, and obliged him to pour on his head the sacred oil that made the persons of kings divine, and their right to reign indefeasible. He was an emperor. But he saw around him a mother, brothers, and sisters, not ennobled; whose humble state reminded him, and the world, that he was born a plebeian; and he had no heir to wait impatient for the imperial crown. He scourged the earth again, and again fortune smiled on him even in his wild extravagance. He bestowed kingdoms and principalities upon his kindred—put away the devoted wife of his youthful days, and another, a daughter of Hapsburgh's imperial house, joyfully accepted his proud alliance. Offspring gladdened his anxious sight; a diadem was placed on its infant brow, and it received the homage of princes, even in its cradle. Now he was indeed a monarch—a legitimate monarch—a monarch by Divine appointment—the first of an endless succession of monarchs. But there were other monarchs who held sway in the earth. He was not content. He would reign with his kindred alone. He gathered new and greater armies, from his own land—from subjugated lands. He called forth the young and brave—one from every household—from the Pyrenees to the Zuyder Zee—from Jura to the ocean. He marshalled them into long and majestic columns, and went forth to seize that universal dominion, which seemed almost within his grasp. But ambition had tempted fortune too far. The nations of the earth resisted, repelled, pursued, surrounded him. The pageant was ended. The crown fell from his presumptuous head. The wife who had wedded him in his pride forsook him when the hour of fear came upon him. His child was ravished from his sight. His kinsmen

were degraded to their first estate, and he was no longer emperor, nor consul, nor general, nor even a citizen, but an exile and a prisoner, on a lonely island, in the midst of the wild Atlantic. Discontent attended him there. The wayward man fretted out a few long years of his yet unbroken manhood, looking off at the earliest dawn and in evening's latest twilight, toward that distant world that had only just eluded his grasp. His heart corroded. Death came, not unlooked for, though it came even then unwelcome. He was stretched on his bed within the fort which constituted his prison. A few fast and faithful friends stood around, with the guards, who rejoiced that the hour of relief from long and wearisome watching, was at hand. As his strength wasted away, delirium stirred up the brain from its long and inglorious inactivity. The pageant of ambition returned. He was again a lieutenant, a general, a consul, an emperor of France. He filled again the throne of Charlemagne. His kindred pressed around him, again reinvested with the pompous pageantry of royalty. The daughter of the long line of kings again stood proudly by his side, and the sunny face of his child shone out from beneath the diadem that encircled its flowing locks. The marshals of the empire awaited his command. The legions of the old guard were in the field, their scarred faces rejuvenated, and their ranks, thinned in many battles, replenished. Russia, Prussia, Austria, Denmark, and England, gathered their mighty hosts to give him battle. Once more he mounted his impatient charger, and rushed forth to conquest. He waved his sword aloft and cried "*Tête d'armée!*" The feverish vision broke — the mockery was ended. The silver cord was loosed, and the warrior fell back upon his bed a lifeless corpse. This was the last of earth. The Corsican was not content.

Statesmen and citizens! The contrast suggests its own impressive moral.

HENRY CLAY.

Fifty years ago, Henry Clay, of Virginia, already adopted by Kentucky, then as youthful as himself, entered the service of his country, a representative in the unpretending legislature of that rising state; and having thenceforward, with ardor and constancy, pursued the gradual paths of an aspiring change through halls of Congress, foreign courts, and executive councils, he has now, with the cheerfulness of a patriot and the serenity of a Christian, fitly closed his long and arduous career, here in the senate, in the full presence of the republic, looking down upon the scene with anxiety and alarm, not merely a senator like one of us who yet remain in the senate-house, but filling that character which, though it had no authority of law and was assigned without suffrage, Augustus Cæsar nevertheless declared was above the title of emperor, *primus inter illustres*—the prince of the senate.

Generals are tried by examining the campaigns they have lost or won, and statesmen by reviewing the transactions in which they have been engaged. Hamilton would have been unknown to us, had there been no constitution to be created; as Brutus would have died in obscurity, had there been no Cæsar to be slain.

Colonization, revolution, and organization—three great acts in the drama of our national progress—had already passed when the western patriot appeared on the public stage. He entered in that next division of the majestic scenes which was marked by an inevitable reaction of political forces, a wild strife of factions and ruinous embarrassments in our foreign relations. This transition stage is always more perilous than any other in the

Note.—Henry Clay died at Washington, June 29, 1852. On the 30th, Mr. Seward pronounced this eulogium in the senate of the United States.

career of nations, and especially in the career of republics. It proved fatal to the commonwealth in England. Scarcely any of the Spanish-American states have yet emerged from it; and more than once it has been sadly signalized by the ruin of the republican cause in France.

The continuous administration of Washington and John Adams had closed under a cloud which had thrown a broad, dark shadow over the future; the nation was deeply indebted at home and abroad, and its credit was prostrate. The Revolutionary factions had given place to two inveterate parties, divided by a gulf which had been worn by the conflict in which the constitution was adopted, and made broader and deeper by a war of prejudices concerning the merits of the belligerents in the great European struggle that then convulsed the civilized world. Our extraordinary political system was little more than an ingenious theory, not yet practically established. The union of the states was, as yet, only one of compact; for the political, social, and commercial necessities to which it was so marvellously adapted, and which, clustering thickly upon it, now render it indissoluble, had not then been broadly disclosed, nor had the habits of acquiescence and the sentiments of loyalty, always slow of growth, fully ripened. The bark that had gone to sea, thus unfurnished and untried, seemed quite certain to founder by reason of its own inherent frailty, even if it should escape unharmed in the great conflict of nations which acknowledged no claims of justice, and tolerated no pretensions of neutrality. Moreover, the territory possessed by the nation was inadequate to commercial exigencies and indispensable social expansion; and yet no provision had been made for enlargement, nor for extending the political system over distant regions, inhabited or otherwise, which must inevitably be acquired. Nor could any such acquisition be made, without disturbing the carefully-adjusted balance of powers among the members of the confederacy.

These difficulties, although they grow less with time and by slow degrees, continued throughout the whole life of the statesman whose obsequies we are celebrating. Be it known, then, and I am sure that history will confirm the instruction, that conservatism was the interest of the nation, and the responsibility of its rulers, during the period in which he flourished. He was ardent, bold, generous, and even ambitious; and yet with a pro-

found conviction of the true exigencies of the country, like Alexander Hamilton, he disciplined himself and trained a restless nation, that knew only self-control, to the rigorous practice of that often humiliating conservatism which its welfare and security in that peculiar crisis so imperiously demanded.

It could not have happened to any citizen to act alone, nor even to act always the first and most conspicuous part in a trying period so long protracted. Henry Clay, therefore, shared the responsibilities of government with not only his proper cotemporaries, but also survivors of the Revolution, as well as also many who will succeed himself. Delicacy forbids the naming of those who retain their places here, but we may without impropriety recall among his compeers a senator of vast resources and inflexible resolve, who has recently withdrawn from this chamber, but I trust not altogether from public life [Mr. Benton]; and another, who, surpassing all his cotemporaries within his country, and even throughout the world, in the proper eloquence of the forum, now in autumnal years for a second time dignifies and adorns the highest seat in the executive council [Mr. Webster]. Passing by these eminent and noble men, the shades of Calhoun, John Quincy Adams, Jackson, Monroe, and Jefferson, rise up before us — statesmen whose living and local fame has ripened already into historical and world-wide renown.

Among geniuses so lofty as these, Henry Clay bore a part in regulating the constitutional freedom of political debate; establishing that long-contested and most important line which divides the sovereignty of the several states from that of the states confederated; asserting the right of neutrality, and vindicating it by a war against Great Britain, when that just but extreme measure became necessary; adjusting the terms on which that perilous yet honorable contest was brought to a peaceful close; perfecting the army and the navy, and the national fortifications; settling the fiscal and financial policy of the government in more than one crisis of apparently threatened revolution; asserting and calling into exercise the powers of the government for making and improving internal communications between the states; arousing and encouraging the Spanish-American colonies on this continent to throw off the foreign yoke, and to organize governments on principles congenial to our own, and thus creating external bulwarks for our own national defence; establish-

ing equal and impartial peace and amity with all existing maritime powers; and extending the constitutional organization of government over all the vast regions secured in his lifetime by purchase or by conquest, whereby the pillars of the republic have been removed from the banks of the St. Mary to the borders of the Rio Grande, and from the margin of the Mississippi to the Pacific coast. We may not yet discuss here the wisdom of the several measures which have thus passed in review before us, nor of the positions which the deceased statesman assumed in regard to them, but we may without offence dwell upon the comprehensive results of them all.

The Union exists in absolute integrity, and the republican system is in complete and triumphant development. Without having relinquished any part of their individuality, the states have more than doubled already, and are increasing in numbers and political strength and expansion more rapidly than ever before. Without having absorbed any state, or having even encroached on any state, the confederation has opened itself so as to embrace all the new members who have come, and now, with capacity for further and indefinite enlargements, has become fixed, enduring, and perpetual. Although it was doubted, only half a century ago, whether our political system could be maintained at all, and whether, if maintained, it could guaranty the peace and happiness of society, it stands now confessed by the world the form of government not only most adapted to empire, but also most congenial with the constitution of human nature.

When we consider that the nation has been conducted to this haven, not only through stormy seas, but altogether, also, without a course and without a star; and when we consider, moreover, the sum of happiness that has already been enjoyed by the American people, and still more the influence which the great achievement is exerting for the advancement and melioration of the condition of mankind, we see at once that it might have satisfied the highest ambition to have been, no matter how humbly, concerned in so great a transaction.

Certainly, sir, no one will assert that Henry Clay, in that transaction, performed an obscure or even a common part. On the contrary, from the day on which he entered the public service until that on which he passed the gates of death, he was never a follower, but always a leader; and he marshalled either the party

which sustained or that which resisted every great measure, equally in the senate and among the people. He led where duty seemed to him to indicate, reckless whether he encountered one president or twenty presidents, whether he was opposed by factions or even by the whole people. Hence it has happened, that although that people are not yet agreed among themselves on the wisdom of all, or perhaps of even any of his great measures, yet they are nevertheless unanimous in acknowledging that he was at once the greatest, the most faithful, and the most reliable of their statesmen. Here the effort at discriminating praise of Henry Clay, in regard to his public policy, must stop in this place, even on this sad occasion which awakens the ardent liberality of his generous survivors.

But his personal qualities may be discussed without apprehension. What were the elements of the success of that extraordinary man? You, sir, knew him longer and better than I, and I would prefer to hear you speak of them. He was indeed eloquent—all the world knows that. He held the keys to the hearts of his countrymen, and he turned the wards within them with a skill attained by no other master.

But eloquence was, nevertheless, only an instrument, and one of many that he used. His conversation, his gesture, his very look was persuasive, seductive, irresistible. And his appliance of all these was courteous, patient, and indefatigable. Defeat only inspired him with new resolution. He divided opposition by his assiduity of address, while he rallied and strengthened his own bands of supporters by the confidence of success which, feeling himself, he easily inspired among his followers. His affections were high, and pure, and generous, and the chiefest among them was that which the great Italian poet designated as the charity of native land. And in him that charity was an enduring and overpowering enthusiasm, and it influenced all his sentiments and conduct, rendering him more impartial between conflicting interests and sections than any other statesman who has lived since the Revolution. Thus, with very great versatility of talent and the most catholic equality of favor, he identified every question, whether of domestic administration or foreign policy, with his own great name, and so became a perpetual tribune of the people. He needed only to pronounce in favor of a measure or against it, here, and imme-

diately popular enthusiasm, excited as by a magic wand, was felt, overcoming all opposition in the senate-chamber.

In this way he wrought a change in our political system, that I think was not foreseen by its founders. He converted this branch of the legislature from a negative position, or one of equilibrium between the executive and the house of representatives, into the acting, ruling power of the republic. Only time can disclose whether this great innovation shall be beneficent, or even permanent.

Certainly, sir, the great lights of the senate have set. The obscuration is not less palpable to the country than to us, who are left to grope our uncertain way here, as in a labyrinth, oppressed with self-distrust. The times, too, present new embarrassments. We are rising to another and a more sublime stage of natural progress—that of extending wealth and rapid territorial aggrandizement. Our institutions throw a broad shadow across the St. Lawrence, which stretching beyond the valley of Mexico, reaches even to the plains of Central America; while the Sandwich Islands and the shores of China recognise its renovating influence. Wherever that influence is felt, a desire for protection under those institutions is awakened. Expansion seems to be regulated, not by any difficulties of resistance, but by the moderation which results from our own internal constitution. No one knows how rapidly that restraint may give way. Who can tell how far or fast it ought to yield? Commerce has brought the ancient continents near to us, and created necessities for new positions—perhaps connections or colonies there—and, with the trade and friendship of the elder nations, their conflicts and collisions are brought to our doors and to our hearts. Our sympathy kindles, our indifference extinguishes, the fire of freedom in foreign lands. Before we shall be fully conscious that a change is going on in Europe, we may find ourselves once more divided by that eternal line of separation that leaves on the one side those of our citizens who obey the impulses of sympathy, while on the other are found those who submit only to the counsels of prudence. Even prudence will soon be required to decide whether distant regions, east and west, shall come under our own protection, or be left to aggrandize a rapidly-spreading and hostile domain of despotism.

Sir, who among us is equal to these mighty questions? I fear

there is no one. Nevertheless, the example of Henry Clay remains for our instruction. His genius has passed to the realms of light, but his virtues still live here for our emulation. With them there will remain also the protection and favor of the Most High, if by the practice of justice and the maintenance of freedom we shall deserve it. Let then, the bier pass on. With sorrow, but not without hope, we will follow the revered form that it bears to its final resting-place; and then, when that grave opens at our feet to receive such an inestimable treasure, we will invoke the God of our fathers to send us new guides, like him that is withdrawn, and give us wisdom to obey their instructions.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

When, in passing through Savoy, I reached the eminence where the traveller is promised his first distinct view of Mont Blanc, I asked, "Where is the mountain?"—"There," said the guide, pointing to the rainy sky which stretched out before me. It is even so, when we approach and attempt to scan accurately a great character. Clouds gather upon it, and seem to take it up out of our sight.

Daniel Webster was a man of warm and earnest affections, in all the domestic and social relations. Purely incidental and natural allusions in his conversations, letters, and speeches, have made us familiar with the very pathways about his early mountain home; with his mother, graceful, intellectual, fond, and pious; with his father, assiduous, patriotic, and religious, changing his pursuits, as duty in Revolutionary times commanded, from the farm to the camp, and from the camp to the provincial legislature and the constituent assembly. It seems as if we could recognise the very form and features of the most constant and generous of brothers. Nor are we strangers at Marshfield. We are guests hospitably admitted, and then left to wander at our ease under the evergreens on the lawn, over the grassy fields, through the dark native forest, and along the seashore. We know, almost as well as we know our own, the children reared there, and fondly loved, and therefore, perhaps, early lost; the servants bought from bondage, and held by the stronger chains of gratitude; the careful steward, always active, yet never hurried; the reverent neighbor, always welcome, yet never obtrusive; and the ancient fisherman, whose little fleet is ever ready for the

Note.—Daniel Webster died at Marshfield, October 24, 1852. Mr. Seward pronounced this eulogium on Mr. Webster's character, in the senate of the United States, on the 14th day of December, 1852.

sports of the sea; and we meet on every side the watchful and devoted friends whom no frequency of disappointment can discourage, and whom even the death of their great patron can not all at once disengage from efforts which know no balancing of probabilities, nor reckoning of cost, to secure his elevation to the first honors of the Republic.

Who, that was even confessedly provincial, was ever so identified with anything local as Daniel Webster was with the spindles of Lowell, and the quarries of Quincy; with Faneuil Hall, Bunker Hill, Forefathers' Day, Plymouth Rock, and whatever else belonged to Massachusetts? And yet, who that was most truly national has ever so sublimely celebrated, or so touchingly commended to our reverent affection, our broad and ever-broadening continental home; its endless rivers, majestic mountains, and capacious lakes; its inimitable and indescribable constitution; its cherished and growing capital; its aptly-conceived and expressive flag, and its triumphs by land and sea; and its immortal founders, heroes, and martyrs! How manifest it was, too, that, unlike those who are impatient of slow but sure progress, he loved his country, not for something greater or higher that he desired or hoped she might be, but just for what she was, and as she was already, regardless of future change.

No, sir; believe me, they err widely who say that Daniel Webster was cold and passionless. It is true that he had little enthusiasm; but he was nevertheless earnest and sincere, as well as calm; and therefore he was both discriminating and comprehensive in his affections. We recognise his likeness in the portrait drawn by a Roman pencil:—

> ———"Who with nice discernment knows
> What to his country and his friends he owes;
> How various Nature warms the human breast,
> To love the parent, brother, friend, or guest,
> What the great offices of judges are,
> Of senators, of generals sent to war."

Daniel Webster was cheerful, and on becoming occasions joyous, and even mirthful; but he was habitually engaged in profound studies on great affairs. He was, moreover, constitutionally fearful of the dangers of popular passion and prejudice; and so, in public walk, conversation, and debate, he was grave and serious, even to solemnity; yet he never desponded in the dark-

est hours of personal or political trial; and melancholy never, in health nor even in sickness, spread a pall over his spirits.

It must have been very early that he acquired that just estimate of his own powers which was the basis of a self-reliance which all the world saw and approved, and which, while it betrayed no feature of vanity, none but a superficial observer could have mistaken for pride or arrogance.

Daniel Webster was no sophist. With a talent for didactic instruction which might have excused dogmatism, he never lectured on the questions of morals that are agitated in the schools. But he seemed, nevertheless, to have acquired a philosophy of his own, and to have made it the rule and guide of his life. That philosophy consisted in improving his powers and his tastes, so that he might appreciate whatever was good and beautiful in nature and art, and attain to whatever was excellent in conduct. He had accurate perceptions of the qualities and relations of things. He overvalued nothing that was common, and undervalued nothing that was useful, or even ornamental. His lands, his cattle, and equipage, his dwelling, library, and apparel, his letters, arguments, and orations — everything that he had, everything that he made, everything that he did, was as far as possible fit, complete, perfect. He thought decorous forms necessary for preserving whatever was substantial or valuable in politics and morals, and even in religion. In his regard, order was the first law, and peace the chief blessing of earth, as they are of heaven. Therefore, while he desired justice and loved liberty, he reverenced law as the first divinity of states and of society.

Daniel Webster was, indeed, ambitious, but his ambition was generally subordinate to conventional forms, and always to the constitution. He aspired to place and preferment, but not for the mere exercise of political power, and still less for pleasurable indulgences; and only for occasions to save or serve his country, and for the fame which such noble actions might bring. Who will censure such ambition? Who had greater genius subjected to severer discipline? What other motives than those of ambition could have brought that genius into activity under that discipline, and sustained that activity so equally under ever changing circumstances so long? His ambition never fell off into presumption. He was, on the contrary, content with per-

forming all practical duties, even in common affairs, in the best possible manner; and he never chafed under petty restraints from those above, nor malicious annoyances from those around him. If ever any man had intellectual superiority which could have excused a want of deference to human authority, or skepticism concerning that which was divine, he was such a one. Yet he was, nevertheless, unassuming and courteous, here and elsewhere, in the public councils; and there was, I think, never a time in his life when he was not an unquestioning believer in that religion which offers to the meek the inheritance of the heavenly kingdom.

Daniel Webster's mind was not subtle, but it was clear. It was surpassingly logical in the exercise of induction, and equally vigorous and majestic in all its movements; and yet he possessed an imagination so strong, that, if it had been combined with even a moderated enthusiasm of temper, would have overturned the excellent balance of his powers.

The civilian rises, in this as in other republics, by the practice of eloquence, and so Daniel Webster became an orator—the first of orators.

Whatever else concerning him has been controverted by anybody, the fifty thousand lawyers of the United States, interested to deny his pretensions, conceded to him an unapproachable supremacy at the bar. How did he win that high place? Where others studied laboriously, he meditated intensely. Where others appealed to the prejudices and passions of courts and juries, he addressed only their understandings. Where others lost themselves among the streams, he ascended to the fountain. While they sought the rules of law among conflicting precedents, he found them in the eternal principles of reason and justice.

But it is conceding too much to the legal profession to call Daniel Webster a lawyer. Lawyers speak for clients and their interests—he seemed always to be speaking for his country and for truth. So he rose imperceptibly above his profession; and while yet in the forum, he stood before the world a publicist. In this felicity, he resembled, while he surpassed, Erskine, who taught the courts at Westminster the law of moral responsibility; and he approached Hamilton, who educated the courts at Washington in the constitution of their country and the philosophy of government.

An undistinguishable line divides this high province of the forum from the senate, to which his philosophy and eloquence were perfectly adapted. Here, in times of stormy agitation and bewildering excitement, when as yet the union of these states seemed not to have been cemented and consolidated, and its dissolution seemed to hang, if not on the immediate result of the debate, at least upon the popular passion that that result must generate, Daniel Webster put forth his mightiest efforts, confessedly the greatest ever put forth here or on this continent. Those efforts produced marked effect on the senate; they soothed the public mind, and became enduring lessons of instruction to our countrymen on the science of constitutional law, and the relative powers and responsibilities of the government, and the rights and duties of the states and of citizens.

Tried by ancient definitions, Daniel Webster was not an orator. He studied no art, and practised no action. Nor did he form himself by any admitted model. He had neither the directness and vehemence of Demosthenes, nor the fullness and flow of Cicero, nor the intenseness of Milton, nor the magnificence of Burke. It was happy for him that he had not. The temper and tastes of his age and country required eloquence different from all these, and they found it in the pure logic, and the vigorous yet massive rhetoric, which constituted the style of Daniel Webster.

Daniel Webster, although a statesman, did not aim to be either a popular or a parliamentary leader. He left common affairs and questions to others, and reserved himself for those great and infrequent occasions which seemed to involve the prosperity or the continuance of the republic. On these occasions he rose above partisan influences and alliances, and gave his counsels earnestly and with impassioned solemnity, and always with an unaffected reliance upon the intelligence and virtue of his countrymen.

The first revolutionary assembly that convened in Boston, promulgated the principles of the revolution of 1688 — "resistance to unjust laws is obedience to God" — and it became the watchword throughout the colonies. Under that motto the colonies dismembered the British empire, and erected the American republic. At an early day, it seemed to Daniel Webster, that the habitual cherishing of that principle, after its great work

had been consummated, threatened to subvert, in its turn, the free and beneficent constitution, which afforded the highest attainable security against the passage of unjust laws. He addressed himself, therefore, assiduously, and almost alone, to what seemed to him the duty of calling the American people back from revolutionary theories to the formation of habits of peace, order, and submission to authority. He inculcated the duty of submission by states and citizens to all laws passed within the province of constitutional authority, and of absolute reliance on constitutional remedies for the correction of all errors, and the redress of all injustice. This was the political gospel of Daniel Webster. He preached it in season and out of season, boldly, constantly, with the zeal of an apostle, and with the devotion, if there were need, of a martyr. It was full of saving influences while he lived, and those influences will last so long as the constitution and the Union shall endure.

I do not dwell on Daniel Webster's exercise of administrative functions. It was marked by the same ability that distinguished all his achievements in other fields of duty. It was at the same time eminently conservative of peace, and of the great principles of constitutional liberty, on which the republican institutions of his country were founded. But while those administrative services benefited his country, and increased his fame, we all felt, nevertheless, that his proper and highest place was here, where there was field and scope for his philosophy, and his eloquence — here, among the equal representatives of equal states, which were at once to be held together, and to be moved on in the establishment of a continental power controlling all the American states, and balancing those of the eastern world, and we could not but exclaim, in the words of the Roman orator, when we saw him leave the legislative councils to enter on the office of administration: "*Quantis in augustiis, vestra gloria se dilatari velit.*"

DAVID BERDAN.

NOTE.—The following eulogy was read before the Adelphic Society of Union College, July 21, 1828, and was first published in 1839, in the December number of the Knickerbocker Magazine. It is there introduced with the following note:—

ALBANY, *October* 28, 1839.

MY DEAR SIR: The manuscript which has been put into your possession, by the relatives of DAVID BERDAN, was hastily prepared, in the midst of professional duties. The Adelphic Society requested me to furnish a copy for publication. I intended to comply with the request, but postponed doing so, until I should have leisure to make the memoir more worthy of the public attention. I could not, in the meantime, refuse a copy to the relatives of the deceased. I have long regretted that I suffered the proper time for publication to pass, because I knew that, imperfect as my sketch was, the extracts from Berdan's correspondence would render the memoir interesting to his friends. I return you the manuscript. You can better judge whether it has sufficient interest to entitle it to a place in your excellent periodical; but I shall feel that its publication relieves me in some degree from the painful recollection of injustice to the memory of an early and devoted friend. I am, dear sir, yours sincerely,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

LEWIS GAYLORD CLARK, Esq., *Editor of the Knickerbocker.*

THE Adelphic Society has to-day erected a monument on the college grounds, to the memory of DAVID BERDAN, who died on his passage from London to Boston, on the twentieth day of July, 1827. I have been requested to pronounce an eulogium upon the friend whose memory has been thus honored. This duty is to be performed under unfavorable circumstances. I have come, with a chastened spirit, to speak of the disappointments and cares of that world, upon which those who have called me hither are eager to enter. Although both the subject of my memoir and myself were once accustomed to the scenes around me, I stand here now a stranger, to speak of one no less a stranger than myself. It will be difficult to render interesting the history of a young man, of whom most of my audience have never heard, who neither won, nor sought the honors awarded here to scholastic attainments, and whose talents and worth were unknown, except by bosom friends. The occasion, however, has called around me several of those friends, and their presence encourages

me. I can not speak an eulogium. I will give a brief narrative of his life, not doubting that all who hear me will agree that simplicity best becomes my subject.

David Berdan joined the freshman class in Union College, and became a member of the Adelphic Society, in 1817. He was then in his fifteenth year. He had a downcast air, unassuming deportment, and retiring manners. His temper was cheerful, his conversation animated, and enthusiastic, and his disposition gentle and confiding. Although I was two years his senior, in age and in the collegiate course, I enjoyed a kind and courteous intercourse with him. Our friendship was formed in later years. I have found it necessary to say thus much concerning myself, because the materials for this memoir were chiefly supplied by my own recollection, and his letters remaining with me.

He soon gave evidence of intellectual powers which had been highly improved by study, and habits of reflection. He wrote and spoke with ease and elegance. It is impossible to ascertain at what period he first indulged a desire for literary pursuits. But it was obvious, during his residence here, that all distinctions, other than those attainable in that department, were worthless in his esteem. Collegiate honors never excited his emulation. The Adelphic Society then afforded, as I trust it does now, a field for youthful ambition; but he never sought, and I doubt whether he ever held, any of its high places. Yet he was not indolent. On the contrary, he often excelled, while he seemed always desirous to avoid praise. He used to be found in the society's library, taking copious extracts, and he delighted in pursuing the discussions left incomplete in the volumes around him. He was especially happy in the study of the ancient classics, always reading them in the spirit of the original, and his translations were distinguished for their freedom and elegance. He may have failed to rehearse a lecture in Blair's Rhetoric, without pausing for breath, and may have lost many a link in the analysis of Kaime's Elements regularly committed by the students; but neither the learned professor, nor the venerated president, ever detected in his essays a violation of the rules of composition prescribed in those works. He held the sceptre of criticism among us, but he exercised his authority with gentleness, forbearance, and delicacy. Although not a controversialist, he was occasionally felicitous in debate, mingling philosophical

reflections with illustrations derived from classic history and poetry. But his chief superiority was in his essays. He never selected low or common subjects. His style was perspicuous and chaste; and while his exercise, judging from its care and freedom, seemed to have been the amusement of a vacant hour, it abounded in original thoughts, and was polished with classic elegance.

He early manifested a reluctance to engage in active pursuits, and to be concerned with the ordinary interests of society. But this reluctance did not assimilate to the disgust which genius sometimes feels, and more often affects, for humble and useful occupations; nor did it proceed from that morbid misanthropy, manifested by weak minds embittered by disappointment. On the contrary, he despised nothing but what was vicious; he knew no envy, and affectation never dwelt in a heart so humble as his. His aversion to the business of life arose from his devotion to books, and to nature. His mind was contemplative, and his friends were always subdued, by his conversation, from merriment to chastened sentiment and feeling. His correspondence is rich in illustrations of this characteristic. The following is an extract from a letter written at New York, when he was in his nineteenth year. He says:—

"Do not your feelings undergo a daily change from the operation of the many circumstances to which you are constantly exposed? What everybody else calls trifling, is of some consequence to me, because there is nothing that I regard with indifference, and consequently nothing but what produces some effect upon me. I should have to write to you every day, to make you acquainted with my feelings. Do not judge, then, if I write despondingly, that I uniformly experience this depression. Judge rather, that it is only a temporary gloom, which will soon be dissipated, and which will perhaps be succeeded by extraordinary exhilaration. I very often find alleviation for the soreness of my troubles, in a walk along the shore. I have there represented my present griefs as of such little consequence in the estimate of human suffering, and in the certainty of their eventual termination, that I enjoyed without bitterness the freshness of the breeze, and looked without anguish on the magnificent river that sent its swelling surges to my feet. I have never indulged any repining, when I have beheld the setting of the sun. All my thoughts are then directed to the Being who created such a luminary, as a proof of his goodness, no less than of his power, and I feel elevated above the petty concerns of earthly occupation. Perhaps the trouble of mind which induced me to take a solitary ramble along the beach, caused me to regard the works of nature with more enthusiasm, because, disgusted with those I had left behind, I felt anxious to lift myself above present calamity, and to cheat myself with visionary anticipations. There is one peculiarity in the effect of these sensations upon me. It arises from their permanency. Such feelings as I experience, are doubtless universal, but they are seldom of long continuance. They scarcely ever endure after a change of scene, or after the first active impression is effaced. I have, on my return from such walks, still experienced that religious tranquillity of spirit which such contemplations will inspire, and have, until again allowed to visit those scenes, preserved, in almost their primitive force, the impressions which were then produced. Does not all this show that I am unfit for contention with the troubles of society?"

In another letter, he says:

"I am not of opinion that God is ever arbitrarily controlling our smallest actions, and manifesting his power in every casualty, yet I enjoy an indefinable species of emotion in regarding the grand and sublime productions of the Deity. I look upon the creations of his will. I am affected by their magnitude and beauty; but I am lost when I attempt to know or comprehend their Author. And when I have gazed steadfastly upon the monuments of his power, I have wondered that I should have attached so much importance to the diminutive affairs in which I have been engaged. When alone in the forest, or on the mountain, I am constantly indulging this tone of feeling; and in the swelling of the heart which it creates, I lose sight of all care or anxiety. Both the good and the evil which encumbered me when I came hither, appear removed from my heart, and every low, grovelling desire is subdued. Whenever some portion of the strength of these creations is dissipated, and I look back upon my past life, or upon my present situation, I view it under the most favorable colors. I smooth over the rough and mortifying occurrences, and linger upon the few happy hours I have spent in the society of friends, with a tranquil and satisfied pleasure."

I have spoken of Berdan's unaffected simplicity and humility. How truly, let another extract show:—

"You speak eloquently of military burial, and your train of thought is elevated. It is different from my own. I had a prejudice in favor of a military life, but my habits and feelings have been so opposite, that they have effected a revolution of opinion. Through all the pomp and circumstance of ceremony, I see the march of corruption, the emptiness of renown. When, as a simple citizen, I stand and view the burial of a soldier, I involuntarily smile at the pageantry with which he is committed to the earth. I turn to the quiet procession, the unadorned pall, to the light yet thrilling sound of the earth that is thrown upon the coffin, with a finer feeling. I leave the grave of the soldier with sensations that do not accord with the ordinary tone of my mind, because I feel that I can not suppose my burial may be like his; but I quit the spot where an obscure and unknown individual has been consigned to his native dust, with a hallowed feeling, that is exalted by the internal conviction of its correspondence with what is to be my own fate."

How thrilling is the recurrence of such words, when death has proved them prophetic! Much less ostentatious was his burial, than even that of an obscure and unknown individual in a Christian land! There was no "quiet procession," no "unadorned pall," no thrilling sound of "earth to earth, and dust to dust," when his remains were committed to the deep. No humility could wish a more unknown resting-place than his ocean-grave.

Need it be added that he was generous? His charity knew no prudence, his liberality no bounds. I have known him refrain from the feast, to supply the wants of the beggar that met him at the door; I have known him to suffer the privation of the cloak with which he covered the poor. It was of course that his generosity was often abused. Yet that abuse never shook his credulity concerning the worth or wants of those who applied to him for relief. His keenest sorrow was that which he experienced, when he found poverty he could not relieve, or affliction he could not console. He was distinguished for a chivalrous sense of his obligations to his friends, and those who claimed his protection.

Inoffensive and retiring, he never provoked an insult, but he was instantly roused into a generous indignation by wrong committed against his friend, or injuries to the defenceless. He held that true friendship was impossible, where either party indulged a sense of superiority, of dependence, or of obligation. He seldom appealed to his friend for sympathy, and never taxed him for applause; and yet his bosom was full of the precious joys and sorrows of his friends. He shared all their anticipations, consoled and sympathized with them in their disappointments, and exerted his utmost power to relieve their misfortunes.

On leaving college, he became a law-student in the office of John Anthon, Esq., in New York. It was there our more intimate acquaintance commenced. He read the elementary treatises of the law with diligence and attention, and the duties devolved upon him as a clerk were discharged with patience and fidelity. But the refinements and subtleties of the law were not congenial with his mind. His surviving parent having devoted him to the law, he struggled continually between his convictions of filial duty, and his repugnance to a profession for which, as he said, he was not born, and could not become qualified. His father's death, which happened in 1820, although it deeply affected him, left him at liberty to follow the inclinations of his genius, without fear that the consequences of the error would fall on any but himself. He not unwisely determined to secure an acquaintance with the practical duties of an attorney, as a contingent resource, and at the same time to prepare himself for literary pursuits. A letter, written in August, 1822, so happily expresses his preference for those pursuits, that I can not avoid giving an extract from it in this place. He says:—

"How would you like to lead a literary life, that is to say, be in possession of a competency, and instead of attaching yourself to the study of any particular science, range through the whole garden of knowledge? There would be something manly and independent in this mode of occupation. It would allow you perfect liberty to pursue the dictates of your own taste, and would free you from the prospective fear of being cheated in your professional progress by the envy of cotemporaries, the unaptness of your own powers, or the frowns of fortune. This life might be often characterized by indolence, but not always by inutility. It is a manner of passing existence which always captivated my fancy, from its irregularity, and from the refined pleasure it seemed capable of affording. It imposes the fewest restraints upon our inclinations, and those few can be shaken off at pleasure. There is no prospect that appears more dreary to me, than that of spending the spring and summer of my life in the acquisition of points of practice, and technical forms. I would rather earn a subsistence by mere mechanical occupation, in order that when my allotted task should be performed, I might be at liberty to cultivate my taste without restraint. Give me independence of action, and I will not repine at the humble garb it may compel me to wear."

In October, 1822, he first manifested that desire to visit Europe, which his peculiar studies were sure to create. This desire, and the preparation he made for its accomplishment, were communicated in a letter, from which the following are extracts:—

"I am impatient personally to communicate to you a project which I have conceived but a few days since, and which bids fair to occasion some alteration in my feelings. It is the intention I have formed of visiting foreign parts. Do not believe I am jesting. I tell you seriously, that I hope, ere long, to walk through part of France, Switzerland, Italy, England, perhaps Scotland, and withal to touch at Gibraltar. The plan is all matured. There will be three of us. We go in the plainest dress, partake of the plainest food. I now think that I shall realize the dream of my earlier years, and indulge myself with a view of those places of which I have read so much, and upon which I have dwelt so deeply. Shall I indeed see Rome, the mistress of the world? And who knows but when there, I shall see the face of Lord Byron? Think seriously of going with us, and that in less than two months. Can you imagine the delight we shall receive, and the information we shall obtain?"

In December following he writes:—

"I will tell you how I am, and shall be, engaged during the winter. I have begun the study of Italian, and flatter myself that I shall get a very respectable knowledge of the language before spring. I have commenced a course of French, with a teacher who spends the evenings with me, that I may learn to converse in that language, which will require considerable application. I am reading Cicero with a friend from six to seven in the evening. Beside, I get a weekly talk of elementary law. What with these lessons, reading of course a little, writing in the office, and answering my correspondents, I find myself continually occupied. My French teacher has been a tourist, and the pauses in the lessons are filled up with descriptions of travel in the countries through which we intend to visit, and occasional reference to the maps which designate our intended route."

The following letter made known to his friends the earliest indications of that disease which was soon to blight all the cherished hopes of life:—

"I am at present enjoying the most delightful anticipations, but I feel no inconsiderable alarm, occasionally, when I think, from the symptoms I have observed, that I am in the first stage of consumption. The idea of being prevented by weakness from visiting the places which I have always regarded with a poetic feeling, is a painful one, but it is at least a probable one. I shall, however, rely with confidence upon my ability to perform the journey, and if I have strength enough to climb the vessel's side, I will suffer no solicitations to divert me from my purpose. Yesterday I crossed to Brooklyn, and walked over the ruined embankments which were thrown up during the last war. They commanded a fine view of the bay and city, and from thence I could trace our eventual route into the Narrows, until we should be ushered into the ocean, which bounded the prospect. Tears filled my eyes, as I fancied that the moment of departure had arrived. I selected from among the numerous vessels below me, one which I thought would convey me from America. Standing in idea on the vessel's side, I asked myself with poignant regret, 'Shall I be mourned by any, if I lay down my head in death upon a foreign shore?' Need I say that your memory came over me like the sweet south, infusing a tranquil satisfaction into my heart, and convincing me that I was not totally unworthy of affection, since I had secured a friend."

It was not strange, perhaps, that though exulting in anticipations of his visit to Europe, and busily preparing for it, his affection toward the friends and associations endeared to him, increased in strength. A letter written in 1824, thus alludes to his Alma Mater:—

"You perhaps do not retain any portion of that yearning toward old Union that I do. Time does not diminish my attachment, nor does it weaken the recollection of the days I passed there. Often my regret at the manner in which I spent many unprofitable hours there, are as bitter and as keen as though I had just gone through the sad experience, and had not seen years roll away since my departure. I look forward to the period when I shall visit the old spot, with lively interest; and I often feel impatient at the delay I must bear, before I shall be able to go there. With what feelings shall I walk over every foot of the green turf where I used to roam! I fancy myself hurrying, with a step which confesses my truancy, to the chapel, as the bell ceases to send its vibrations between the colleges, or with friend or book, straying up the rivulet and through the woods, behind the north college; and, I own it, a womanish feeling comes over me. And what has produced this devotion to a particular spot?

'It was not that nature had shed o'or the scene
The purest of crystal and brightest of green;'

for I am surrounded by greater beauties of nature here, and I look with comparative coldness upon them:

'It was not that friends, the beloved of my bosom, were near;'

for I have now truer friends than I then had, and one of them is at my side; and yet I do not feel any attachment to this spot. It was not the view of river and mountains, nor yet the casual formation of friendship, then, that endeared the recollection. It was the state of my own heart, the bounding sense of being I felt, at the transition from restraint and confinement, to the glorious independence and enfranchisement of mind; the flow of feeling that was quickened by recklessness of the future, and by the many vague and novel sensations which that independence created:—

'Life's little world of bliss was newly born;
I knew not, cared not it was born to die.'"

Berdan was admitted as an attorney of the supreme court, in May, 1825, and was then ready to set out upon his foreign tour. But it seemed to him absurd to seek knowledge of foreign countries, without having first made acquaintance with whatever was most worthy to be known in his native land. He accordingly traversed on foot portions of the northern, middle, and southern states, renewing his love of country upon battle-fields, and paying the homage of grateful and enthusiastic devotion to nature, among the islands of Lake George, and on the banks of the Niagara. I saw him for the last time, on this romantic excursion. We parted on the shore of the Cayuga lake. He continued his pedestrian tour through Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Virginia, and returned by the seacoast to New York.

Will it be trespassing upon the patience of my audience, to give them, as an illustration of his talent at description, an extract from a letter written on the banks of the Ohio?

"The day after our arrival at Marietta, we all rode out to visit Blennerhassett's island, thirteen miles down the Ohio. We stopped within a mile of the island, and then took a canoe and paddled down to it. I never saw a place look half so desolate as this spot did when we landed; and yet the noble forest-trees spread over it, harmonized with the feelings which a recollection of Wirt's flowery description had inspired. There was an air of savage wildness in the appearance of the immense weeds which the luxuriance of the soil had produced. They were as lofty as fruit-trees, and seemed as if planted there to prevent strangers from intruding upon a spot

that had once been cultivated by the hand of taste. We had to break them down at every step, and they gathered round our feet like ropes, and prevented us from proceeding more than a single step at a time toward the interior of the island. At last we broke through them, and soon discovered traces of an old path, that conducted us to a spot where we could discern traces of a garden, in which peach-trees were still standing, although wild plum-trees had grown among them. We had been told, at Marietta, that the house had been burned down many years ago, and that very few vestiges were to be seen of its existence; but we were not prepared to encounter such total obliteration of all Blennerhassett's labors. A few foundation-stones, and part of a stone stoop, were all we could discover. The beams of the barn lay at some distance, where they appeared to have once formed a rude fence around the garden, but were now scattered over the ground. The finest fruit-trees I ever saw, were growing upon the island. Many of them were of immense size, and their branches laden with fruit, which the people from the opposite shore, as we were informed, regularly appropriate to themselves, as soon as it becomes ripe. We rambled over as much of the island as we could, and on our return to our boat, observing several paths leading toward a spot where a clump of large willows stood, we directed our course toward them, and were fortunate enough to discover the ruins of a large summer-house, erected within the enclosure. The willows drooped over it, as if to conceal its decay from the passing stranger; and while all were loud in their admiration of the taste which had reared this bower, and screened it from intrusion, I was thinking of the beautiful Mrs. Blennerhassett, and imagining in what corner she had there seated herself, when, with select society, she was happy in the careless enjoyment of tho passing hour. I fancied that here Colonel Burr had often conversed with the happy pair, and, by the fascination of his talents, here at length had fixed the wavering mind of Blennerhassett in favor of his visionary and daring schemes. I never saw a place so capable of being rendered an Eden. The walks that still remain, were delightful. They were shaded by fine trees, and wound around the island in the most picturesque manner. We wrote our names on a little piece of plaster, that still remained on a part of the arbor, and carried off a small portion of it as a relic."

The crowning of young Berdan's wishes came at last. He embarked for Gibraltar on the seventeenth of September, 1825. He says, in a letter written at sea:—

"What glorious prospects we daily behold, and what delightful air we breathe! It has a most enervating effect upon us, however, for we are almost incapable of even studying or reading. The captain swears at the calmness of the weather, and wishes for a gale. But we revel in the stillness of the elements, and sigh not at the absence of storms. We occasionally hold forth to each other upon the necessity of brushing up our Italian, and then we make an attack upon the grammar, but the book is soon laid aside, for the view of the passing clouds, seeming to skim along the horizon, and assuming a thousand fantastic forms from the rays of the sun. The graceful undulations of the waves, the blueness of the water, its sparkling when agitated at night, the long silvery line of light which the moon throws over it, the flapping sails of our gallant vessel, and the consciousness of our solitary situation, all inspire us with new and voluptuous sensations. We experience also the wild delight of children at the arrival of a long-expected holiday. The period has at length arrived, to which we had so long looked forward; and we talk of our abode in the city, as captives talk of their captivity after liberation, with joy at their escape, and with a lively enjoyment of their present freedom. I do not wish you, however, to believe that I was in this mood when I shook hands with my brother, and the few who accompanied us to the vessel. In spite of all my efforts to show a composed countenance, I betrayed heaviness of heart. It was not, however, until all had left us, and we were under weigh, that I yielded to the sadness that pressed upon my heart. Tears, and even sobs, were forced from me; and I, who had thought that I should leave my native land even with exultation, was surprised into a burst of sorrow at my departure, and found that I looked back upon it with the yearnings of an exile. To you I will not scruple to confess, that then, for the first time, strange misgivings came over me, and chilled my very soul. I felt how hard it was to cut asunder the ties which bound me to my native city, and I almost doubted whether I would not have acted more wisely, and insured to myself

greater happiness, by remaining at home, and pursuing the beaten track which you and all I left behind me are pursuing. I then looked forward to Italy as a land of strangers; and my own land looked fairer and brighter, when I thought of its containing hearts that I loved, and hearts that loved me."

Berdan traversed considerable portions of Spain and France, not like other tourists, with the speed of the post, but rather after the manner of Goldsmith, conversing with the people in their own language, and lingering wherever monument or legend furnished any tradition worthy to be recorded. He sought materials for history or romance, as "time or chance" might afterward determine. I was struck with surprise by finding in his letters an elaborate history of the late revolution in Spain, the materials for which he collected at Cadiz, and which he wrote there while our distinguished countryman, Washington Irving, was collecting at Madrid the facts for his life of Columbus.

He arrived in Paris in the fall of 1826. A letter written in October, addressed to an American friend, then in Italy, combines impressions of passing scenes with endeared recollections, in a manner so felicitous and so characteristic, that I can not withhold it.

"What do you think of Italy, in comparison with Spain? That is the grand question I want you to answer, as I can determine, by that, my own feelings, were I to visit Italy. Have you experienced at Venice, or Florence, or any of the Italian cities, a portion of the enchantment we felt on entering Gibraltar, and more particularly Cadiz? How finely organized we then were for outward impressions? I almost despair of again feeling as we did on entering those two places. Our entrance into Seville, too, and the evening we quitted it with the captain to return to Cadiz. What delightful moments! I always connect the evening we left Seville, when such a heavenly sunset marked our departure, with the one we witnessed at Judge Garrison's. How different the scene, yet how exquisite the effect of both! At the judge's, a broad river, high mountains, gorgeous clouds, that with their expiring glories dyed the air and waters in purple, the moon gradually assuming her quiet reign, and silvering over the gray clouds, no longer lighted up by the last splendor of the god of day, and nothing but the ripple of the tide on the shore, to interrupt the stillness. What delicious reveries we indulged in our boat that evening! At Seville, how different the scene! Convents, and orange-gardens, the strange boats of the Catalans, the sparkling eyes of the girls, leaning over the balustrade to look at our vessel: their garb, the hum of foreign voices, the Guadalquiver, everything made us realize our distance from home; and an atmosphere impregnated with love, filled us with a thousand voluptuous sensations. I always think of Seville in connection with Union and West Point. I have a portion of the same affection for it that I have for those two spots. You will doubtless see lovely scenery on your route, but you will not have time to engrave its beauties upon your recollection. I often regret that we did not spend more time about Lake George. Our voyage down the lake was glorious, but I felt while gazing upon the hills and islands, as I have felt while looking at the shifting pictures of a panorama: regret at their changing so rapidly, when I wished to examine all at my leisure."

His ardent desire to visit Italy is thus manifested in another letter from Paris to the same correspondent:—

"I wish to heaven I could, by some magician's art, enclose myself in this letter (as Asmodeus did in a vial), and resume at once my shape and faculties when you break

open the seal! I would seize you and W—— by the collar, before you had time to recover from your astonishment, and make you both guide me to all the grand objects of antiquity. I think I should be in no great haste to see St. Peter's, as one such building as the Coliseum is worth a thousand of it. I recollect what a thrill I experienced, when I believed the fine gate of the Carema at Seville was a Roman one. The belief that a Roman legion had passed through it, perhaps the victor's car of triumph, heated my imagination, and I soon arrayed the eager crowd hailing the approach of the triumphal procession; the maidens distributing crowns and garlands of laurel; the majestic victor in his chariot, the captives in his train, the martial music awaking the conqueror to new life, but increasing the dejection of the conquered. In short, 'my internal spirit cut a caper,'* while I was standing beside you and the captain, with this belief firm in my mind."

Notwithstanding the buoyancy manifested in these letters, Berdan was struggling, during the winter he remained in Paris, with that insidious disease which seems to delight in producing premature development of the intellectual powers, that it may signalize its slow but certain triumph. The returning spring brought, as usual, hopes of recovery, but they were destined to a sad disappointment.

Little remains of my friend's history. The narrative, destitute of the incidents and adventures which protract the stories of useful and honored lives, has its end close upon its beginning. The captain of the Cameo wrote, that on the first of July, Berdan took passage in his vessel for Boston, in exuberant spirits, but with an emaciated constitution. He was cheerful and animated, until the day of his death, and made a most favorable impression by his rich and varied conversation, his modest demeanor, and the evident frailty of his hold on life. On the twentieth day of his voyage, he was found in his chair, expiring from an effusion of blood. A book which he had been reading, had fallen from his hand, and he died undoubtedly unconscious of pain or alarm. A lock of his hair was preserved as a relic; the crew were called together, the burial service was read, and his remains were committed to the deep, within two hours after his death. He died on the twentieth of July, 1827, at the age of twenty-four years.

We feel less severely the privation of the solar beams, when the sun sets after a long and cloudless day, than when his rising glories are obscured by storms. We see without emotion the falling leaves of the fading rose, but we refrain from plucking the opening bud. Death admonishes us most forcibly, when he strikes down the young and the gifted.

Young gentlemen, animated, ambitious, and confident; you who have not yet been exposed to the sorrows and the vices of

* Byron.

society; you have done well to raise a monument to one, over whose chastened serenity those sorrows cast no gloom, and upon whose heart those vices left no stain. Let us not forget, in discharging this last duty, that the spoils of death will but render more glorious the triumph of our resurrection.

The following are the inscriptions upon the monument of David Berdan:—

FIRST SIDE.

M. S.
DAVIDIS BERDAN,
In Collegio Concordiæ
Ad gradum Baccalaurei in Artibus,
Anno sacro MDCCCXXI,
Lætis auspiciis
Provecti.
Curriculo studiorum confecto,
Almæ Matris umbracula
Discedens salutavit,
Et bonarum literarum
Amore incensus,
Exterasque regiones visendi
Cupidine inductus,
Patriæ solum (longum, eheu!) valere jussit.
Europam peragrantem
Infirma valetudo comitata est;
In patriam redeuns
Supremum diem obivit;
Et nunc, sub undis oceani,
Procul ab amicis,
Immaturâ morte quiescit.

SECOND SIDE.

Natus Neo-Eboracopoli Prid. Id. Febr. MDCCCIII.
Decessit decimo tertio Kal. Aug.
MDCCCXXVII,
Ætatis suæ XXIV.

THIRD SIDE.

Juveni optimo atque singularis exempli,
Cui mores casti et suavissimi,
Cui judicium naturâ
Peracre,
animusque afflictis aliorum fortunis
Semper ad misericordiam
Vocatus,
Auxiliumque, quâ potuit, semper
Laturus,
Pudor, Incorrupta Fides, Nudaque Veritas
Quando inveniet
Parem?

FOURTH SIDE.

Socio dilectissimo,
Adelphorum
Societas,
Amici et sodales literarii,
H. M.
Ponendum curaverunt.

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS AND EDUCATION.*

Whether we shall secure the advantages which are within our each, depends in no inconsiderable degree upon ourselves. To lo so, requires enlarged and liberal principles in the transaction of business. It requires that we reprobate the cent-per-cent investment of money in usurious loans, most frequently productive of ruin to the borrower, and of perplexity and dishonor to the lender. Liberal confidence must be reposed in the abundant resources of the country, and in the advantages of our location. That malicious and envious spirit must be discountenanced, which delights in the destruction of individual credit. That contracted spirit must be put down, which is jealous when foreign capital seeks investment among us. That bigoted spirit must be kept far from us, which would churlishly exclude from among us those whose religious or political faith does not accord with its own, and which tolerates no diverging creed, as if the narrow way that leads to life was a line of faith, and not of practice, and the seekers of that path were amenable to human tribunals, and not to their final Judge; and as if, in a government which rests upon free discussion of every principle of moral, social, or religious action, individual opinion must or ought to be subjected to arbitrary and despotic intolerance. Thus acting, the enterprise of our citizens will be called into vigorous exercise; and it is morally certain that foreign capital, if liberally invited, will seek investment in those places where domestic capital is most liberally and profitably employed.

It is, moreover, necessary to cherish a liberal spirit in regard to public improvements in other parts of the state and of the

* Oration at the laying of the corner-stone of the works erected for the improvement of the Owasco river at Auburn, October 14, 1835. The address commences with a review of the local interests of the occasion, which is omitted here.—*Ed.*

country. And such a spirit is no less enlightened and just than it is expedient for us to indulge it. I regret to say, that on this subject there has been, in my judgment, much error prevailing among us, and throughout the state. The eastern counties, while the value of their lands has been enhanced nearly two fold, and their towns have increased in nearly the same proportion, by means of the great increase of commerce effected by the construction of the Erie canal, have not yet altogether surmounted the jealousy with which they regarded the prosecution of that great work. Finding they are not, as they at first anticipated they would be, oppressed with taxation to defray the cost of its construction, many of their citizens now deem it just to impose upon the canal the expense of the support of the government, at the hazard of driving into other channels that very trade which makes it productive and so excites their cupidity. The denial of the applications, at the last session of the legislature, for charters for constructing railroads from Utica to Syracuse and from Auburn to Rochester, was a part of the same policy, and proceeded upon the ground that railroads, parallel to the Erie canal, would have the effect, by diminishing the canal tolls, to reduce the revenue of the state: as if it were wise, or magnanimous, or just, for the state, because it had made thoroughfares, to refuse permission to its citizens, with their private funds, to make other thoroughfares to compete with it in accommodating the public. So, also, a portion of our citizens have opposed the construction of the New York and Erie railroad, through the southern counties, under an apprehension that it would depreciate property in the northern counties; and in retaliation, "the sequestered counties," as those are called which are on the route of the southern railroad, unite with the eastern counties to prevent the improvements required by ourselves. Plausible pretexts are never wanted to cover the real odiousness of these sectional jealousies: and these may generally be resolved into a great and anxious concern for the safety of the state treasury. Now, in my humble opinion, a state can no more wisely conduct its affairs than by contributing to the internal improvement of the territory within its limits a large proportion of its revenues and credits. Every such improvement develops new resources, adds to the capital and commerce of the country, and increases the mass of taxable property on which the government,

in order to secure full accountability to the people, ought always to rely for its support. Where individual enterprise and capital are sufficient to accomplish a desirable work, they ought to be at once called into exercise. Where they are incompetent, the state ought, in justice and sound policy, to contribute. And yet the very opposite of this is the doctrine maintained by many of our statesmen, who hold that the state ought to embark only in those improvements which will be immediately productive. But, as such works will be made by citizens with private funds, it follows, according to this principle, that the state ought never to make any improvements. With such men, there is an everlasting apprehension of irredeemable public debt and eternal taxation. And yet, if all the internal improvements required to cross this state in every direction with roads, at such intervals as to leave not a single sequestered county or town within its limits, were to be made at once, the debt which would be created would not impair the public credit in the least degree, or retard the public prosperity a single year. The expenses of a single year of war would exceed the whole sum of such cost. Every year after their construction would show the resources of the state to be so much increased, that a nominal tax would be sufficient to establish a sinking fund, ample for the redemption of the debt within one generation—if, indeed, it were just that one generation should bear the entire expense of improvements destined to become more and more productive, while the government should endure. To compare such appropriations to the heavy expenses incurred by monarchical governments in desolating and exterminating wars, is as unsound in politics, as to assimilate in agriculture the effects of invigorating rains to the sterility produced by the burning sun. The popular error on this subject unquestionably arises from an inability to understand the extent of the resources of this great country. It is forgotten, that besides the lands we cultivate, there is a territory of almost inconceivable dimensions lying on our borders, with an annual increase of strong and willing hands to reclaim and bring it into a productive condition. It is forgotten that every five or six years brings a new state into this confederacy, with its fresh and fertile soil yielding most luxuriant gifts, while the older states are all the time increasing in wealth and prosperity. It is forgotten that this is a government made for the reign of peace and humanity;

that we have no wars, nor rumors of wars, to render necessary standing armies and navies, and thereby to exhaust the productions of the soil. It is forgotten that we have not, and that, with the favor of God, we never will have, any aristocracy, pensioners, and placemen in church or state, to consume the substance of the people. It is forgotten that we are daily demonstrating, by our experience, the new and gratifying theory that national poverty, as well as indvidual destitution, are not decreed by a harsh and offended Deity, but happen through the fault of men, and are therefore avoidable. All this is forgotten, and false terrors of bankruptcy are derived from the history of nations, whose wealth was in the keeping of an inert, profligate aristocracy, and whose peasantry were ground to the earth with the burdens of centuries of wars, carried on to gratify the avarice, ambition, and revenge of despots. It is time, fellow-citizens, that we should explode these prejudices, and should rise to the sublime conviction that Providence has spread around us an immense territory to improve, to cultivate, and to make the abode of peace, of science, and of liberty. When we shall have embraced this truth, and shall have become imbued with its influence, we shall rejoice in every work which will improve the condition of any portion of the people, and which will add to the prosperity of any part of the country.

I am sure, fellow-citizens, that I should have discharged the responsibility imposed upon me, as unsatisfactorily to the enlightened board by whose invitation I address you, as it would have been unworthily, were I to close this address without having adverted to one other consideration of a character different from any which has been presented.

Splendid as will be the results of the work we this day commence, and bright as are the visions of national prosperity dawning upon us, it ought to be borne in mind that those results and those prospects are not, and ought not to be, the chief end of our exertions. While it is true that individual wealth and national prosperity tend to increase and multiply domestic enjoyments, and elevate and refine the social condition, it is equally true that the perpetuity of this Union, under its existing form of government, is, and ought to be, the object of the most persevering and watchful solicitude on the part of every American citizen. And it is as certainly true that neither the happiness of our people, nor the stability of our

government depends on the length or number of our canals and railroads, or the individual or collective wealth of our citizens. On the other hand, wealth and prosperity have always served as the guides which introduced vice, luxury, and corruption, into republics. And luxury, vice, and corruption, have subverted every republic which has preceded us, that had force enough in its uncorrupted state to resist foreign invasion. So closely are moral good and moral evil, political good and political evil, associated in this world. But, in addition to the other eminent blessings by which we are distinguished, our lot has been cast in an age and situation when we can change this tendency of wealth and prosperity, and convert them into agents for the preservation and maintenance of the liberty we enjoy. We are under a fearful responsibility to posterity and to the friends of free government throughout the world, that the institutions established here, dearer to them than all the wealth of the ancient east and the modern west, shall not be subverted through our fault.

That responsibility can be discharged faithfully, successfully, triumphantly, by the education of the people. This great work it is practicable for us to accomplish: and herein is that great distinction of our lot over that of all preceding republics, and all other states. The improvements in the art of teaching, and in the books of instruction, favor this end; the cheapness of printing favors this end; the interest every citizen feels that himself and his children have in the government, favors this end; and, above all, the comparatively equal distribution of wealth, and the absolute equality of civil and political rights existing among us, enable us to bring all within the scope of a general system of education. There is one only obstacle to the work—and that is, the prevailing belief that it is already accomplished. Our orators, and some of our statesmen, point boastingly to statistics which show that almost every citizen can read and write, and thereupon unhesitatingly pronounce us the wisest and most enlightened of all the nations of the earth. We "lay this flattering unction to our souls," and rest content. But it is a dangerous, it is a universal—God grant it do not prove a fatal—delusion. That the mass of the American people have been instructed to read and write, and that they make profitable use of those precious acquirements, I am as proud to declare as any

citizen. But are the acquirements of reading and writing, knowledge? No, fellow-citizens, they are only the means of acquiring it; and without some higher cultivation of the mind, the ability to read and write may be perverted to the perpetuation of error, as well as applied to the acquisition of truth. It prepares us to become the sport of demagogues, and the slaves of popular passion, caprice, and excitement. Something more is wanting. It is necessary, if we would be qualified to discharge the duties of electors, that we should understand some of the principles of political economy, of the philosophy of the human mind, and, above all, of moral and religious science. When the minds of all the people shall be thus instructed, it will be eminently and practically true, that "error of opinion may safely be tolerated, where reason is left free to combat it." Then it will be true, that "the voice of the people is the voice of God."

For this purpose, let me earnestly press upon the attention of my fellow-citizens the importance of carrying into effect a law of the last legislature, providing for the establishment of small libraries in connection with the district schools. Those libraries may be the germ from which, after much cultivation, the fruits I have described as so important may be gathered: for, although the acquisition of knowledge is the labor, or the partial pursuit, of a whole life, yet the desire, without which the acquisition is never made, must be developed in early years. Considered in this view, it is impossible to estimate the influence of these libraries, properly established, upon the future character of the people of this state. And let it be always remembered, that to elevate the standard of general education, and to extend its benefits, is the most important duty of the age in which we live. Better would it be for our successors, that the waters of the Erie and Hudson had pursued their ancient passages to the ocean, strangers to each other, as they were before the towering intellect of Clinton compelled them to mingle and flow together. Better for them would it be that the Atlantic cities were a forest, and the valley of the Mississippi had remained an inhospitable prairie, than that we should transmit to them, with the mighty improvements of this age, a subtle poison, which should undermine their social condition. We must make our improvements of the minds of the people keep progress with those of our territory, if we would preserve those institutions, without which all the

wealth and prosperity we can secure will only invite more avaricious and rigorous oppression, will only serve, by showing the height of our present elevation, to make more manifest the deplorable depth of our fall.

Perhaps, at some distant day, the curious searcher of antiquities may find, in the ruins which, sooner or later, must cover this work like all other human inventions, the corner-stone we are now to deposite in the earth, and studiously decipher the inscription it bears, as a memorial of a people whose career will have terminated, and over whose memory Oblivion will have begun to draw her dark mantle. Then, when all the notoriety given to the proceedings of this day by an ephemeral press, and the scarcely less ephemeral memory of these thousand witnesses, shall have passed away, we shall not be judged by the improvements we shall have made in our lakes or our rivers, upon our mountains or in our valleys, nor yet by the wealth we shall have accumulated, or the monuments we shall have reared; but we shall be judged by the indelible impression we shall have left upon the moral condition of our country. So far, my fellow-citizens, as our influence may go in forming the character of the age in which we live, let not the discovery of these relics recall the memory of a people who acquired wealth without wisdom, and enjoyed the luxury that it brought, reckless of their responsibility to posterity and mankind; but let it rather call forth a tribute of gratitude to our memories, the most valuable of all posthumous fame, as men who employed the unparalleled prosperity that God had given them, in enlarging the base, and adding numerous and more splendid columns to the temple of civil and religious liberty.

Note.—Among the ceremonies of the occasion was a public dinner, at which Mr. Seward proposed the following sentiment:—

The Union of these States.—"It must be preserved." Our prosperity began and will end with it.—*Ed.*

EDUCATION.

It is an interesting and important inquiry, how it has occurred that EDUCATION alone has been neglected in a country where the necessity for its improvement is so universally admitted; where all requisite facilities for that purpose exist; and where the necessaries and comforts of life are so cheap, and its cares so light, that those facilities are accessible to all its citizens?

Those who have attempted to answer this inquiry have generally found the explanation in the cupidity which they attribute to the American people. They allege that an inordinate passion for the accumulation of wealth is our great national vice, and that this blights all generous desire for intellectual improvement.

I have no faith in this solution, because I do not believe in the general cupidity it assumes. That all the people of this country are, as they ought to be, engaged in the acquisition of property, is true. It results from their peculiar laws, which, forbidding long-continued accumulation, and distributing, after one or two generations, property that, under other forms of government, might be entailed, render it as necessary as it is easy for each individual to secure a competence. It must rarely happen, under our laws, that the estates which can be amassed with the greatest assiduity will be so large as to be productive of great public injury; while the universality of the motive to obtain a reasonable competence, and the facility of acquiring it, exercise an influence auspicious rather than injurious to political equality, so important in a republic. Sometimes indeed it may happen, as has doubtless recently been the case, that in a season of derangement in the pecuniary concerns of the country, the desire for accumulation may become too engrossing. But I think it is untrue that the passion is generally more absorbing among us

NOTE.—A discourse delivered at Westfield, Chautauque county, N. Y., July 26, 1837.

than in other countries. I believe the rich in this country, if any may justly be called so where such effective restraints are imposed upon accumulation, are more liberal and public-spirited; and the poor, if such there are where actual destitution is unknown, are more honest than the relative classes in other countries. The patriotism of the people, however otherwise it may be effected, is less impaired by mercenary motives than in other countries. Religious and benevolent institutions are more effectually supported among us, by voluntary contributions, than they are in other countries by compulsory laws. These facts seem sufficient to refute the gross accusation of avarice, so universally brought against us by foreigners, and too often freely admitted by our own citizens. So far as liberal endowment of our schools is concerned, ample provision has been made in most of the states, and may soon be expected to be made throughout the Union: and the neglect of education among us is chiefly exhibited in the failure to improve abounding resources.

This failure seems to me to proceed from an undue feeling of contentment and self-complacency that pervades the community. In other words, however frequent and universal are our acknowledgments of the necessity of improvement, we practically regard that improvement as already accomplished. We have been inflated by the sincere praise of the friends of liberty in other countries, and still more by the adulation of demagogues and political charlatans at home. Thus we have too readily yielded to the belief that the great experiment of self-government, which has only been successfully commenced here, is in fact, and in all its parts, fully completed. If I do not greatly misapprehend, we are accustomed to felicitate ourselves upon our superiority to other nations, in regard not more to liberty and our sources of national prosperity, than to our intelligence and wisdom; and it has long since passed into an axiom, and become the chief article of our political faith and practice, that the final judgment of the people is, upon every question of right, responsibility, or expediency, not merely conclusive, but infallible.

Now, my fellow-citizens, it is not in the nature of man to advance, when he believes perfection already attained. The waste of effort would be altogether unwise, if it were possible, to add to knowledge already ample, and wisdom absolutely infallible.

It is not my purpose to derogate from the intellectual standard of my countrymen, or to yield to any nation superiority over them. I should do as much violence to my own national pride as injustice to my country, in doing so. The truth may be fairly stated thus: that in the science of government and laws, and in eloquence, our statesmen and jurists are equal to any of their cotemporaries; while in other departments, and especially those of pure science, and in the varied literature of the age, as well as in the fine arts, our scholars are inferior to those of Europe; but at the same time, and what is probably of far greater political importance, education, to the extent of reading and writing, is more generally diffused among the American people than it now is or ever was in any other country, Scotland and Prussia perhaps excepted. But, conceding all this decidedly favorable comparison, the question remains, are the people of this country as highly educated as they might and ought to be, in order to maintain and perpetuate the peculiar government committed to their care? It is to be remembered that we have institutions not merely resembling those of the liberal governments of Europe, in the security of certain social and individual rights, but that all our institutions are essentially popular — that our government is emphatically a democratic republic. Our people ought, therefore, to possess a measure of knowledge, not only as great as is enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of other states, but at least as much superior as their power and responsibilities are greater. It is not enough for us, that our Washington, our Adamses, our Jefferson, Madison, Clay, and Webster, may be equal or superior to Wellington, Pitt, Burke, Canning, Peel, or Melbourne, or the ministers of any or all other countries. Statesmen in those countries, in a greater or less degree, govern the people; but here the people overrule and control the statesmen. Measures which may influence the administration of public affairs, or effect a change of national policy, are first discussed among the people, and may have their first impulse in a secluded town in New England, or in a hamlet on the shore of the Mississippi. In other countries, when the people err, the throne or a conservative aristocracy resists the popular delusion, and "trammels up its consequences." But here no such bulwarks exist. An aristocratic order or influence is unknown; and the supreme executive of the nation is scarcely more inde-

pendent of popular will or caprice than the humblest official in the public service. There, errors of administration may occur, and leave no greater evil than some merely temporary inconvenience resulting from them. A succeeding administration may correct them; and, as there is a consolidated government and no fixed constitution, whatever changes take place, the integrity of the state continues and the government remains the same. Innovation, or even usurpation by one department of the government of the ancient prerogatives of another, may be, and doubtless often is, desirable reform. But here the case is directly otherwise. Ours is a confederation of independent states, with a written constitution, defining the rights and responsibilities of all the parties, and the respective powers of all the departments; and combining the whole together in what is confessedly the only form consistent with the preservation of our national existence. Here all innovation is usurpation, and all usurpation leads, either directly or indirectly, to revolution and anarchy.

And now the question is submitted to your candid consideration, are there found, pervading the great constituency of this government, the discipline of mind, and the varied knowledge requisite for its support? How large a proportion of the people understand, with any degree of accuracy, the complex, yet simple machinery, by which they exercise in their twenty-six states, each independent of all the others, the necessary legislation concerning their civil rights, privileges, and responsibilities; and at the same time carry on, in the general Congress of the nation, and as one great consolidated people, all their affairs of war, peace, and commerce? How great a portion understand the distribution of power and responsibility between the legislative, judicial, fiscal, and executive departments of either the federal government, or those of the states? How large a portion of them are possessed of any adequate knowledge of the history, present condition, or prospects of their country; the mutual obligations, and relative interests of the states, or the attitude of the country in regard to other nations? Certainly it is not requiring too much, to say, that the people should be well-informed in all the matters here enumerated; for it is within the recollection of us all that they have agitated and passed upon them in our elections. But we might, perhaps with still greater propriety, ask how large a portion of the people have enjoyed the mental cultivation

which can render the study of these important matters interesting to them, or susceptible of their comprehension? I fear, fellow-citizens, that the most confiding admirer of our national character must admit that in all these respects most unsatisfactory answers must be returned. With some superficial observers, the intense earnestness with which all classes of citizens engage in the political discussions of the day, is sufficient evidence of their being possessed of an adequate education. It is quite certain, that apathy in regard to public affairs is not a national characteristic. But there might be on the part of all classes of citizens an active participation in public affairs, while the community should possess neither the intelligence, nor the virtue requisite for safely acting upon them. This remark is strikingly illustrated in the French character, and it did not escape the vigilant notice of Tacitus, in regard to his own countrymen. "The people," says he, "always politicians, and fond of settling state affairs, gave a loose rein to their usual freedom of speech. Few were able to think with judgment, and few had the virtue to feel for the public good." To be able to *think with judgment*, and to possess the virtue of *feeling for the public good*, would seem to require something of the previous mental and moral improvement I have mentioned. Yet I think we are content generally with the facts, that our citizens are instructed to read and write their native language, and so may obtain, through the public journals, all requisite information concerning political affairs. Assuming these positions, although it is true that far more than half of our citizens do not habitually read any public newspaper of even the cheapest or most imperfect kind, we are accustomed to maintain that the people must and do in all cases, of necessity, decide wisely. *Vox populi*, *vox Dei*, if it be understood to assert no more than the right of the majority of the nation to control the action of the government, and the duty of the minority to acquiesce, until they can enlighten and convince the majority, is a sound maxim. But if it be accepted, as I believe it generally is, in its literal sense, that the approval of the Deity is always in harmony with the decision of a numerical majority of the people, it is as absurd as the doctrine of the divine right of kings, and is as dangerous as it is impious. Men in their collective capacity, in masses, and in communities, as well as in their individual action, may, and often do, err in judgment. All that moral and

intellectual cultivation, which is requisite to enable them to distinguish truth from error, and reason from prejudice, in the exercise of private judgment, is no less necessary in their congregated action. There is even greater danger of error in masses, because there is greater scope for passion and prejudice, and there is also a diminished sense of responsibility. There can, therefore, be no security against error in communities, other than what protects individuals against it, habits of virtue and cultivated intellects.

If I am incorrect in regard to the standard of education in our country, the means of refutation must be everywhere around us. Elementary works and books of varied science, not indeed voluminous and elaborate, but simple and cheap, adapted to the understanding, and within the reach of all, must be found everywhere in the land. Measures of public interest must be everywhere discussed with deliberation upon ample evidence, and our popular elections must be conducted and determined upon principles of enlightened patriotism. Everywhere the constitution must be respected, and the laws in full ascendency. And yet I fear, that an unprejudiced observer would not pronounce this a true picture of our condition. Our children and youth are generally dismissed from the schools, after some years of misimproved time, at the very period when their education has only been fairly commenced. Popular works upon morals and government, geography, history, and natural science, which it is the chief achievement of the philanthropy of the age to have adapted to the use of schools, and the capacity of youth of immature years, have scarcely a circulation in the country. If there be any truth in the language of all parties, or that of all calm observers, falsehood and error often pass current for truth and wisdom; passion, prejudice, and local interests are often appealed to — and not always without success — instead of generous and enlightened motives. And our elections are, too often, rather embittered personal conflicts for place and rewards, than the deliberate discussion of great measures, or the discerning choice of honest, enlightened, and competent men. Almost every state in this Union has been within a few years the scene of frequent popular disorders and outrages, in which the inalienable rights of citizens have been violated, the majesty of the laws defied, and the violators of the public peace have been, nevertheless, shielded by popular opinion.

It is worthy of especial consideration, that these indications are significant of the tendency of the times; and, lamentable as they are in themselves, are of vastly greater importance, as shadows of forthcoming events. We may be most sure that this tendency of things can not continue, and yet that this glorious fabric of government shall abide the period and consummate the destiny anticipated by its founders. All the wisdom derived from experience in the social state would be delusion; all the laws by which Providence has decreed that nations may exist would be reversed, if it could happen, that a state, founded upon the principles of universal intelligence, and virtue could be maintained when the people should have become depraved and licentious. Whenever that intelligence, and that virtue fail, the government must give place to one in which the executive arm will compel tranquillity, or perhaps more probably will fall before that spirit of anarchy, that already, ever and anon lifts its horrid front among us, as if impatient till its fearful hour shall come. The transition need not, and probably will not, be rapid; but it will, nevertheless, be effectual and irrecoverable. And when it shall be complete, we may, although unconscious while it was taking place, awake, like other republican states, to the experience of a despotic government using only the language, forms and symbols of freedom. It is marvellous how supine the people of a free state may be, while undergoing this fearful change. The curious traveller will yet notice with great interest an humble tenement embowered in a garden in Paris, bearing the scarcely faded insignia of popular liberty, and consular authority, in which Napoleon lived, the idol of the French people, during the brief period in which he affected the ceremonies of the Roman republic, while every thought and every act was directed to the establishment of an imperial residence in the Tuilleries, and a throne on the ruins of the dynasty of St. Louis. It was sufficiently consoling to the Roman people for the loss of their ancient freedom, when an emperor on the occasion of adopting a successor, declared, "Under Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius, we were the property of one family. By hereditary right the Roman world was theirs. The prince is *now* elective, *and the freedom of choice* is liberty!" The Roman people

> "Who once would have brooked
> The eternal devil to keep his state in Rome
> As easily as a king,"

were then content with the liberty of adopting a tyrant nominated by the reigning incumbent.

But I may be asked whether the standard of education I have supposed is not altogether impossible and visionary. If the proposition were equivalent to that of the *perfectibility* of the human mind, adopted by the philosophers who waited at the altar when the regeneration of liberty occurred in France, I should unhesitatingly disavow it. That experiment failed with circumstances of such unheard-of calamity and terror, as not merely to produce a renunciation of the extreme theory of the philosophers, but to dishearten for a season the friends of rational liberty throughout Europe. Nevertheless, a standard of popular education, by which a far greater proportion than a numerical majority of the electors should, beside the naked acquirements of reading and writing, be instructed in the use and application of numbers; in the geography of their own country, and more generally in that of other countries; in the important events and characters delineated in the history of the American people; in the form of their government and its contrast with the governments of other states; in the general policy of its laws, with such studies of a more peculiarly scientific kind as would enable them "to think with judgment," in relation to the occurrences of their time, would seem to be a very feasible addition to the elementary education now offered by our common schools to every child in the state. All this education at least must have been contemplated by the founders of this government. Do you think that they regarded the scarcely more than mechanical acquirements of reading and writing as constituting that standard of education which was to sustain this exquisitely organized, yet most liberal of all governments? No; I understand them rather as requiring so great an elevation of virtue and intelligence, that the people could well comprehend, and justly approve or condemn, all the measures of administration. And if such an elevation be not attainable, then is human liberty, for which they hazarded their lives, fortunes, and honor, a phantom; and all their wisdom was blindness.

Great as the undertaking to establish such a standard of education seems to be, it is inconsiderable, compared with what has already been accomplished. It is only about three hundred years since a Bible, now so cheap as to be found in the hands of

the most humble of the race for whom it had then been promulgated more than fifteen hundred years, was obtained only by the tedious and laborious multiplication of manuscript copies, and was sold at a price that rendered it a sealed book to all but the affluent. Books of the bewildered sciences and arts, that had then obtained, were still more rare, and were more valuable than a thousand times their present cost. Even the ability to read and write was a qualification so rare, that it entitled its fortunate possessor to be the counsellor of kings, and to an exemption from the capital punishment adjudged against felony. If at that period, some philanthropist had predicted, that in the close of the eighteenth century, in a country then undiscovered, a race would exist among whom the Bible would be found in every family; and a greater number of books in a single city than the world then contained; that all the population of a great empire would be able to read and write their native language; that the boasted mysteries of all science then known to the few, who pursued their solitary studies in cloisters, would be revealed to all the world, with ten thousand discoveries never yet "dreamed of in their philosophy;" would not the prophecy have been thought more visionary than my present belief, that with the aid of earnest and wisely-directed effort, all the acquirements of academical and collegiate education of this day, may, within less than half a century, constitute the ordinary proficiency acquired in our common schools?

If, then, the proposed standard of education be attainable, and if it be true that the great reason why it has not been attained, is the miserable prejudice prevalent among us, that we are wise enough already, what is required to be done is to correct and enlighten public opinion — the sole agent of reform in this country.

This, however, is not easy, for it is not a mere vulgar prejudice that is to be removed. The same delusive self-complacency prevails, if not so extensively, yet lamentably prevails, among the most highly-educated classes of the community. Everywhere the student lays aside, most generally for ever, his studies at the moment when he closes his connection with the institution in which he has acquired the elements of education. Our physicians, our lawyers, our divines, our politicians, and even our instructors of youth, seem too often to suppose, when they enter

upon the active duties of their vocations, that they have acquired all the knowledge requisite for their discharge, and forget that they are, at that moment, only qualified for the higher and more elevated course of study that leads to success, distinction, and usefulness. Let us then remember for ourselves, and inculcate upon the people, that our progress thus far has but led us to the vestibule of knowledge. When we see the people content in the belief that they know all that is known or is desirable to be known, let us instruct them that there is a science that will reveal to them the hidden and perpetual fires in which are continually carried on the formation and modification of the rocks which compose this apparently solid globe, and from whose elaborate changes is derived the sustenance of all that variety of vegetable life with which it is clothed: that another will disclose to them the elements and properties of those metals which men combine or shape with varied art into the thousand implements and machines by the use of which the forest-world has been converted into a family of kindred nations; that another solicits their attention, while it will bring in review before them, so that they can examine, with greater care and instruction than did their great progenitor in the primitive garden, all the races of animated beings, and learn their organization, uses, and history; that another will classify and submit to their delighted examination the entire vegetable kingdom, making them familiar with the virtues as well as the forms of every species, from the cedar of Lebanon to the humble flower that is crushed under their feet; that another will decompose and submit to their examination the water which fertilizes the earth, and the invisible air they breathe; will develop the sources and laws of that heat which seems to kindle all life into existence, and that terrific lightning which seems the especial messenger of Divine wrath to extinguish it. Let us teach that the world of matter in which we live, in all its vast variety of form, is influential in the production, support, and happiness, of our own life, and that it is passing strange, that with minds endowed with a capacity to study that influence and measurably direct it, we yield uninquiringly to its action, as if it were controlled by capricious accident or blind destiny. Shall we not excite some interest, when we appeal to the people to learn that science which teaches the mechanism of our own wonderfully and fearfully fashioned frames, and that

other science which teaches the vastly more complicated and delicate structure of our immortal minds? Who would not follow with delight that science which elevates our thoughts to the heavens, and teaches us the magnitude, forms, distances, revolutions, and laws of the globes that fill the concave space above us? And who, with thoughts thus gradually conducted through the range of the material universe, would not receive with humility, yet with delight, the teachings of that spirit of divine truth which exalts us to the study of the character and attributes of that glorious and beneficent Being, whose single volition called it all into existence? Let us teach the people all this, and let us show them that, while we sit contentedly in comparative ignorance, the arts are waiting to instruct us how to reduce the weary labors of life; philosophy, how to avoid its errors and misfortunes; and eloquence, poetry, and music, how to cheer its way and refine our affections; and that religion is most efficient when she combines and profits by all these instructions, to conduct us to happiness in a future state. Above all, let us inculcate that the great and beneficent Being who created us and this material universe, has established between each of us, and every part of it cognisable by our minds, relations more or less intimate; that he has impressed not more on the globes that roll through the infinitude of space than on the pebble that lies beneath our feet—not more on the immovable continent than on the rolling sea—not more on the wind and lightning than on the ethereal mind of man; and not more on the human soul than on the dimly-lighted instinct of the glow-worm, or of the insect visible only by microscopic aid—"laws that determine their organization, their duration, time, place, circumstance, and action; that for our security, improvement, and happiness, he has subjected these laws to our keen investigation and perpetual discovery; and that, vast as is the range of that discovery, so vast, and more extended than we can describe, or can yet be conceived, is knowledge; and that to attain all this knowledge—is Education!"

Thus may we disabuse ourselves of the great national prejudice that we are wise enough already, by learning that all we have acquired is only enough to teach us that we know nothing.

Of course it is not supposed that education, in this broad extent, can be diffused so that it can be equally shared by all the community. Nevertheless, it is certain that, by means of per-

severing improvement in the system of instruction, the standard of knowledge that has obtained among us may be continually elevated. What renders a study of the sciences and the arts so conducive to the advancement of the human mind, is, that no one of the entire circle is or can, in the nature of things, be perfected. The acquisition of what has already been discovered is sufficient employment, and affords abundant satisfaction to the mass of mankind, while the curiosity of the more gifted few, and the honors and rewards which await them, will always insure the progress of invention, just in proportion as discoveries already made shall become common.

Let us imagine this whole people educated to the extent that I have supposed practicable; and then can we conceive the immense and glorious change which would have come upon the condition of our country! Then indeed would our public councils be worthy the dignity of a race that had asserted and maintained their capability of self-government; vice and crime would no longer obtrude themselves everywhere among us; mutual truth, justice, and forbearance in society, would, more than human laws can do, protect us all in our personal rights; enlarged views of public policy and disinterested patriotism would engage us all in continued national improvement, and faction would be banished from all our borders.

I have enlarged upon the extent of the field of education, because it has seemed to me that one of the chief obstacles to its cultivation is the contractedness of vision on the part of those engaged in it. It is obvious that there must always be various grades of education, and corresponding grades in the institutions in which it is to be attained; and that all these will flourish only when all shall be duly maintained. They must and will have a reciprocal influence upon each other. If the standard of our professional education be advanced, that which obtains in our colleges must be elevated also, and in proportion as that of our colleges shall rise, that of our academies will follow; and as that of our academies ascends, that of our common schools must attain a higher rank. Most of these institutions seem to contain no principle of self-government, and this results from the universal lethargy of the people in regard to them. Precisely, or nearly so, the same standard of education, the same qualifications for instructors, and the same routine of studies for pupils,

and the same limited results are found respectively in them all; and these, with very slight improvements, are the same that prevailed thirty years ago. Notwithstanding the general belief that our common schools exclusively deserve our care, I believe it a measure quite as indispensable and of as great efficiency, to elevate the standard of our colleges and academies, and to increase the number of students received in them. It is in these institutions that the instructors and patrons of the schools of an inferior grade must be educated. It is to the efforts of such patrons and instructors that the common-school system is chiefly indebted, and its present inefficiency is to be attributed to their limited influence. Let us beware how we yield too much on this point, under the influence of our righteous national prejudice against everything that might contribute toward the production of an aristocratic order or influence. The aristocracy with which the world has been scourged was never one that was produced by science and learning. That education increases the power of those who enjoy its advantages is true; and in this best sense is education aristocratic. In this sense, science and learning always will create an aristocracy in every country where they are cherished. Not an aristocracy of birth, for it is education that has exploded among us the prejudice in favor of birth. To it we owe our exemption from the error prevalent all over the rest of the world, that no man is so fit, or so well entitled, to be a king as he who is the son of a king; none so brave as he whose father was a warrior; none so well entitled to the enjoyment of wealth as he whose ancestors were rich. Nor is the aristocracy produced by education that of wealth; for knowledge pays no respect to mere wealth: it humbles all pretensions except those of virtue and intellect. But the aristocracy produced by education is the increased power and influence of the most enlightened, and therefore the most useful, members of society. However repugnant we may be to admit the truth, and however glaring may be the exceptions to it, it is nevertheless a sound general principle that knowledge is power. Whatever there is in our lot that distinguishes us from the disfranchised peasantry of continental Europe, or the turbaned followers of the prophet, or the mutually-warring Africans in their native deserts, or their abject offspring here, or the aborigines of our forests, all is knowledge obtained by education; and, compared with all those classes of

our common race, we are aristocratic. We exercise greater power, because we are wiser, and therefore better, than they. In every stage of society this tendency of education has been observed. He who first learned the malleable property of iron, and first shaped the axe and the ploughshare, became an aristocrat. He who first attenuated and wove the fleece, he who first smoothed and rendered pliable the skins of beasts, he who first erected the rude huts for his tribe — all these, all classes of mechanics, have in their day been, and all who exercise their callings will be, aristocrats. They all exercise an influence, great in proportion to their knowledge. It is inevitable, because it is in the wisdom of Providence that the world shall be governed by ascendant minds. Our own observation shows us daily that knowledge gives the capacity for usefulness; and he who is, or is esteemed, useful, is by consent invested with power. In agriculture, he who adds science to labor is an aristocrat, compared with the drudge who performs an allotted task. He who in the mechanic arts adds skill to patient industry, rises instantly above the uninstructed artisan; and he who to industry and skill adds taste, is far above the competition of the dull and plodding workman. If, at this day, wealth sometimes usurps the place of intellect and appropriates its honors, it is only because public sentiment is perverted, and requires to be corrected by a higher standard of education. But, although education increases the power and influence of its votaries, it has no tendency like other means of power to confine its advantages to a small number: on the contrary, it is expansive and thus tends to produce equality, not by levelling all to the condition of the base, but by elevating all to the association of the wise and good. If, then, we would advance popular education, if we would secure the success of our common-schools, and extend their advantages to the whole people, we must remember that education is a catholic cause, and must banish all prejudices that retard improvement in any direction.

There remains to be noticed an error scarcely less extensive, or less pernicious, than any I have mentioned. It is that which limits to a comparatively lower standard the education of the female sex. We may justly boast in this country a higher and more deferential regard — a more chivalrous devotion to the sex than is exhibited by any other nation. I myself have compared

our sentiments and customs, in this respect, with those of western Europe. I have seen, indeed, in some other countries, the more ardent and impassioned devotion that marks the clime where licentiousness assumes the name of love, but is not imbued with any of its sentiment, nor elevated by any of its purity. I have seen, under colder skies, more humble homage paid to individuals, because they were distinguished by learning, accomplishments, birth, wealth, or beauty. But it is in this land only that respect and tenderness are yielded to women because they are women. If the vehement imagination of other countries is here subdued, and passion is modified, the romance and poetry of other lands are here converted into a real and living sentiment. There is no other country where the humblest female receives, from the highest in rank of the other sex, the surrender of the chief place in public assemblies, not more than in the social circle —in accidental meetings by the way, not less than in the ceremonials of fashionable life. In Italy, often described as the land where beauty wields a despotic sway, I have seen women rolling huge stones from the mountain-roads. In France, the land of gallantry, and politeness, I have seen them performing the labor of porters: in refined England, the task of scavengers of the streets. And in all those countries, I have seen them employed in field labor, with countenances hardened by exposure to all vicissitudes of weather, and hands familiar with the spade and the plough. It reflects great honor upon our national character that such degradation of the sex is never exhibited here. But there yet remains a duty toward women to be learned by us all; and that is, to make their education equal always to that of the other sex. He, it seems to me, is a dull observer, who is not convinced that they are equally qualified with the other sex, for the study of the magnificent creation around us, and equally entitled to the happiness to be derived from its pursuit: and still more blind is he, who has not learned that it was the intention of the Creator to commit to them a higher and greater portion of responsibility in the education of the youth of both sexes. They are the natural guardians of the young. Their abstraction from the engrossing cares of life, affords them leisure both to acquire and communicate knowledge. From them the young more willingly receive it, because the severity of discipline is relieved with greater tenderness and affection, while their

quicker apprehension, enduring patience, expansive benevolence, higher purity, more delicate taste and elevated moral feeling, qualify them for excellence in all departments of learning, except perhaps the exact sciences. If this be true, how many a repulsive, bigoted, and indolent professor will, in the general improvement of education, be compelled to resign his claim to modest, assiduous and affectionate woman? And how many conceited pretenders who now wield the rod in our common schools, without the knowledge of human nature requisite for its discreet exercise—too indolent to improve, and too proud to discharge their responsible duties, will be driven to seek subsistence elsewhere? It is not, as is generally supposed, the female sex alone who suffer by this exclusion from their proper sphere. Whatever is lost to the other sex, of the advantages of their nurture and cultivation, is an additional loss to our common race.

Fellow-citizens, it is less the object of this discourse to give practical suggestions for the reform of education, than it is to excite an interest in its behalf; yet I will add, in order that it may not appear altogether without practical tendency, that if we would communicate an effective impulse to the cause, we are not to wait the action of the government. Our government acts only in obedience to popular influence, and in pursuance of popular direction. It is not in its principles to anticipate the one, or resist the other. Like all other reforms, this must be effected by a combination of individual efforts, to stimulate and enlighten the public mind. In the present case public feeling is not to be reached from a distant point. A more practicable course is offered. We must begin at home, with the schools around us, and among that portion of the community in which we reside. Let us revive the system of visitation and examination of our academies and schools. This all-important feature in every plan of public instruction has, during a long period, fallen into desuetude. The officers invested with the responsibility of discharging the duty, unfortunately, are selected as the favorites of some political party, and do not even make a nominal visitation of the institutions subject to their examination. The right of visitation, however, is not divested from parents and patrons of these schools. If, in addition to the examinations heretofore practised, there could be adopted some plan in pursuance of which, institutions of equal rank situated in the same vicinity could be brought

into comparative examination, competition would at once be produced between instructors, and emulation among pupils; increased interest would be excited on the part of parents, and a lively concern in the whole community.

I appeal to all patriots and Christians to consider the subject upon which I have presented these hasty remarks, and adopt such measures as shall be found expedient to discharge the responsibility they owe to their children, to the church of our Savior, to our common country, and to the great family of mankind. Although we are situated in a remote angle of this great and leading state, our position is not altogether obscure, nor will our influence be altogether unavailing. We are sure of sympathy and co-operation, for there is everywhere to be found solicitude concerning this important matter, capable of being kindled into intense interest, and auspicious of distinguished success. If to misemployed time and abused privileges of our own, we add the "deep damnation" of neglecting our children's moral and intellectual cultivation, the calamity will be immeasurable. But if by the same fatal error we suffer this glorious fabric of government, consecrated to liberty, to be abandoned by that blessed protectress, because we leave to expire the flame that ought to burn perpetually on her altars, there will then be no hope for our country for evermore. And if, after having undertaken the guidance of the human mind in this renovated age, we suffer our light to become extinguished, the misfortune for our whole race will be irretrievable, until God in his mercy shall raise up, in another age, and perhaps on another continent, a people worthy of the high responsibility.

To the pupils of this institution I address, as may be expected, a word of advice, with all the sympathy that a recollection of early studies, and regret of later privation of them, inspire. They will find, as they advance in life, that the pursuit of education, sure as it is, when perseveringly followed, to lead to usefulness, honor, and happiness, is continually open to seduction. In early life the graces of personal beauty, and the vigor of youth, will seem to say, "Put your confidence in us; we will conduct you to true happiness." Associations of friendship, and affection, natural and eminently desirable, and capable of being rendered holier and more endearing by mental and moral cultivation, yet erroneously formed or pursued, will divert them from the way that

leads to high attainment. Ambition for power, and the lust of wealth, will struggle hard for the mastery of their young hearts, when they shall have entered upon the stage of active life, and partial or temporary success will excite unreasonable and buoyant hopes, to give place too soon to disgust and despair. Let them remember, when these seductive agencies assail them, that the pursuit of knowledge must be persevering; and let them always remember that it must be persevering not merely while they remain pupils of this preparatory institution, or until they shall receive the parting benediction of Alma Mater, or shall have closed the probation of professional studies, but all their lives long. They only are secure against disappointment in the expectation of the adventitious advantages of education, whose motives are elevated above them, and who seek knowledge never for the honor or power that it is almost sure to bring, but for its own sake, and for the ability to be useful which it creates. The graces and vigor of youth do not fail and fade more rapidly than the mind ceases to derive pleasure from their possession, and the enjoyments they offer. All associations of friendship and love are sources of happiness only when they aid in elevating the mind and affections. Ambition for power and excellence becomes a consuming disease, when it transcends the limits assigned it, as an incentive to self-improvement. Wealth is a pageant that can never elevate an ignoble, or satisfy a generous mind, while poverty and misfortune can never debase a cultivated intellect. We must seek higher motives than all these, and to that end let us remember, that the beneficent Creator has given us all a moral sense to be enlightened and elevated; intellectual powers to be continually exercised and invigorated; social affections to be developed and refined; and religious aspirations to be cherished and purified: that all these faculties and affections are given to enable us to secure our own happiness, and promote that of others. And that he who shall most assiduously and perseveringly improve them in humble dependence upon the Divine protection and guidance; and with motives of the most extensive benevolence, will be most successful, most honored, most beloved, and most happy in this life; and when its sands shall be spent, will be best prepared to appear in the presence of the great Author of them all, and await there his gracious behest for the life that commences beyond the bounds of mortal vision and activity.

IRELAND AND IRISHMEN.

Fellow-Citizens: As well you who justly rejoice in the birthright of freedom as you to whom that felicity was denied — voluntary members of the state — immigrants from the banks of the Liffey and of the Shannon, of the Mersey, and of the Thames; from the shores of Lomond, and of Forth; from the valley of the Seine, and from the meandering pathway of the Rhine — from the plains of Italy, and from the declivities of Jura — of various lineage, education, and religion, but all of one baptism of American citizenship, and bound with your posterity, in the destinies of the American republic — we have devoted this day to the relief, the enfranchisement, and the restoration of Ireland.

And what have American citizens to do with the political condition of Ireland? The question involves not the action of the government of our country, but that of the people only. Prudence may restrain the action of the public authorities on subjects lawfully demanding popular consideration. Congress can pass no laws concerning establishments of religion; but who, therefore, insists that the people shall not maintain institutions of religious instruction and worship?

What, then, have American citizens to do with the revolution in Ireland?

We are freemen. What is our freedom — the freedom that distinguishes this from every other land under the sun? It is the freedom of a state organized by (not the subjection, but) the voluntary association of the people, in a compact devised and defined by themselves — continuing by their ever-renewed assent, and perpetual co-operation — ruling without power, yet unresisted and irresistible — undisturbed by anarchy, yet completely

Note.—This address was delivered at Albany, January 3, 1844, on the occasion of Mr. Seward's taking the chair at the simultaneous repeal meeting held in that city.—*Ed.*

obeying the will of the governed. This is freedom, which has not been enjoyed in any other period than now, nor elsewhere than here. It is freedom which none but an American mind, a mind American by education, or by conviction, can justly conceive.

It is essential, in this freedom, that all mankind, in whatever clime, country, or social condition, have equal natural rights, including the right to establish, subvert, and modify, their forms of government, for their own security and happiness. Give me the Declaration of Independence. It reads thus:—

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights; that among these rights are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

See here how the principle of absolute and equal natural rights breaks forth in almost the first sentence of the immortal apology for American liberty! The founders of the republic did not stop to demonstrate, but assumed their rights as self-evident. They claimed those rights, not as Americans, not as Britons, but as men. They derived them not from royal concession, nor from the British constitution, but from the Creator of mankind.

The people of Ireland—the men, women, and children of that island—an island more spacious than some of our own states, and even than some of the most ancient kingdoms in Europe—that island, the greenest in all the seas, teeming with human life, prolific of the elements of its support, and denying life to whatever is noxious—are not this people a nation with all the comprehensive individuality that makes a community? And are they not of the same race, endowed with the same inalienable rights by the same beneficent Creator? Their cause then is as sacred, and as dear to humanity—as precious in the sight of God, and of man—as our own; for it is the same common cause of all mankind.

It is also essential, in the very idea of American freedom, that the moral sentiments of mankind are paramount to the governments of states, and may rightfully be expressed to influence and regulate their action. All governments which have consistency enough to endure, have a tendency to increase their power, and oppress their subjects. Every government unequally constituted has a tendency to oppress dependent and defenceless portions of the state. When a nation or a province is oppressed by means

of the powers granted for its preservation, how can it peacefully obtain relief? The sympathies of the world are conservative of natural rights, and may lawfully be awakened and moved to their restoration. Give me again the Declaration of Independence. It reads thus:—

"The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having, in direct object, the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world."

"A candid world!" This was the tribunal, the only tribunal, acknowledged by thirteen feeble colonies, planted by exiles of whom Europe was not worthy. Observe how, with seeming haughtiness, but real and just self-reliance, they appealed from the British throne to the candid world. And the appeal was *thoughtfully* taken, not to the governments of the world, but to their constituents—to the world itself.

Ireland, yet, as well as then, a province of the same empire, appeals in a like controversy from the same throne to the same world. In that august tribunal, America has now an acknowledged, perhaps it would not be presumptuous to say, the highest place. Can we disallow to Ireland an appeal identical with that, by maintaining which, America acquired the right of umpirage among the nations?

But popular complaints are sometimes unreasonable. Is the appeal of the people of Ireland well grounded? They complain that the history of not one king, or of one queen only, but of all the kings, and of all the queens, and of all the regents, and of all the protectors, and of all the parliaments of Great Britain for more than six centuries, is a history of continued wrongs, and aggravated usurpations. This excited people, forgetting more ancient sufferings consequent perhaps on their subjugation by conquest in a barbarous age, complain especially of oppression during a period of high civilization and refinement. They allege that the sway of Elizabeth, recalled by Englishmen as one of triumph, repose, and general happiness—of James—of Charles, whom loyal subjects call the martyr—of Cromwell, variously regarded as a deliverer, and a regicide—of the second James—of William and Mary, distinguished as of "blessed and immortal memory"—of Anne—of all the Georges—and even of the present youthful and virtuous queen, however benign toward other portions of the empire—has, in regard to Ireland, been marked

with all the acts that define relentless tyranny. The people of that unhappy country submit facts to justify these high accusations before the "candid world."

I dwell not now on the rapine of the armies of Elizabeth, distinguished by the refined inhumanity of destroying, year after year, the growing corn in the fields, so as to depopulate the country by starvation — nor on the outlawry of the whole people, so that Irishmen, and Irish women, described in the royal proclamations as "Irish enemies," might lawfully be murdered by whomsoever the unhappy fugitives might chance to meet by the way-side; nor on the confiscation of a fourth of the island, and the expulsion of the inhabitants by the sword, and the terrors of the scaffold, under the first James; nor on the perjured verdicts, and bribery-procured judgments, under Charles I.; nor on the fierce and barbarous civil war, in which Ireland was punished by Cromwell with the deportation of eighty thousand persons for loyalty to the throne that England herself restored after a brief interregnum; nor of the spoliations committed by the Second James upon the faithful defenders of his imbecile dynasty in Ireland; nor of the treaty of Limerick, that guarantied to the Irish people the free and unfettered exercise of their religion, perfidiously violated by enactments which forbade the Catholic to charge his land with provisions for the support of his wife or his daughters, or even to dispose of his land by last will and testament; which denied him the guardianship and education of his children; which solicited the son to mercenary and corrupt confession of the Protestant faith, by offering him the estate of his living father; which transferred to the first Protestant who might meet the retiring purchaser, chattels, and even lands bought by a Catholic with his own treasure; which, for the consideration of one shilling, authorized any Protestant to deprive a Catholic of any estate acquired by devise or gift; which suppressed schools by confiscating the estate of the pupil, and banishing the schoolmaster on pain of death; which disabled the Catholic from all trusts, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, even for voting for his own representatives; for bearing arms as a common soldier in defence of his country, and for offering public prayers and sacrifices. I speak not of these enormous and atrocious wrongs, the incidents and consequences of sectarian wars in an age when Christianity so far forgot the precepts of her divine Author, as

to drive Charity from her side and surround herself with ministers of desolation. These wrongs have lately ceased, though their impress is still left on the social condition of Ireland, and their memory is still written in the mutual prejudices of the Celtic and Saxon races. I speak of Ireland as she is, and of her existing wrongs.

It is recorded among the grievances suffered by our forefathers, that the king of England had taken away their charters, abolished their most valuable laws, and altered fundamentally the powers of their provincial governments. The act of union, abolishing the Irish parliament, and conferring on the legislature of the United Kingdom exclusive power to legislate for Ireland — what was this but taking away the charter of Ireland, altering fundamentally its form of government, and abrogating the British constitution as to that part of the empire? And what was granted to Ireland in lieu of the power of self-legislation? Representation in a legislature whose sessions are confined to the metropolis of the conquering state. And what representation? Eight millions of people represented in both houses of parliament by one hundred and thirty-seven members, while the remaining sixteen millions within the United Kingdom have one thousand and sixty-one representatives. The Church of England, supported by the public treasury and by compulsory tithes, and its hierarchy installed as an estate spiritual in the senate; while the church of Ireland, that is to say, the church of three fourths of its inhabitants, coeval with the introduction of Christianity, is proscribed, oppressed, and despoiled. The aristocracy, or landed interest of England, represented in the house of lords by three hundred and eighty-eight peers; while the nobility of Ireland, having equal claim to veneration, if veneration be at all due to any aristocracy, are represented by twenty-seven barons. The commoners, the merchants, farmers, and artisans of England, Scotland, and Wales, having five hundred and fifty-three representatives, with the right of suffrage vested in one of every twenty-five persons, while the same classes in Ireland are limited to representation by one hundred and five delegates, and suffrage is exercised by only one of four hundred of the people.

Where fundamental laws are so radically unequal and unjust, we Americans have no need to inquire after their operation.

We at least know that there must be misrule, oppression, and suffering, where there are inequality and unrestrained power. And so it has happened in Ireland. With island shores, and with ports and harbors as accessible and capacious as any on the other side of the channel or on the shores of the German ocean, Ireland has only shopkeepers; while the princely merchants of England are conducting the commerce of the world. The flags of all nations wave over the docks of the Thames; but, if we except the constantly-plying passage-boat, almost the only vessel seen in the port of Kingston is the hulk employed to transport peasants degraded into the commission of crime, to the islands of the South seas. With a more benignant climate, and with capacity for more diversified production, Ireland has a wretched agriculture; yet in England, the interests of agriculture prevail in the conduct of the government. Workshops supplying more than half the globe with fabrics are maintained in England, while, with the exception of a not very prosperous manufacture of linen, the din of industry is scarcely heard in the towns and villages of the sister island. The earnings of the people, scanty as they are, are drawn away by foreign landlords, who return nothing in exchange but drafts for more; and the laborers, naturally contented and vivacious, are reduced to destitution of what in any well-ordered society are regarded as articles necessary for human subsistence. Irishmen constitute a large portion of the marine of Great Britain in every sea, and of her armies in every continent—in Canada, at Gibraltar, in Africa, in India, and in China. Exiled Irishmen have covered our own territory with a networks of roads and artificial rivers; and yet, of the eight millions who remain to enjoy the blessings of imperial legislation, two millions are paupers! What cause other than unequal legislation can there be for the inequality of social condition I have described?

And what have the people of Ireland to expect from continuing their present constitution? Let the course of past administration furnish the reply. Every melioration solicited has been resisted as an unconstitutional demand. Nothing has been yielded to petition however humble, to mere remonstrance however earnest, to debate however conclusive. Sedition alone has obtained concession, and concession has always been balanced by new restrictions and usurpations. The Catholic disfranchise-

ments were removed, but the franchise was destroyed; tithes were alleviated, but a coercive collection established. The support of the poor was rendered less onerous, but the people were disarmed. Even now, the ministry, yielding to fear of the popular movement they have affected to despise, offer bribes to the church whose existence has furnished the chief apology for long oppression, but they take care at the same time to fill the island with soldiery and encircle it with ships-of-war.

Do the ministry plead that Ireland can only be governed by arbitrary power? Away with that pretence. We know, for we have proved, that power is only necessary to enforce unequal laws, and that mankind, in the love of peace and the earnest pursuit of happiness, submit only too patiently to misgovernment which can be endured.

For less than the least of all the wrongs of which Ireland complains, and only complains, America rebelled, and subverted (not a despotism like that under which Ireland is subjugated, but) the British constitution modified by colonial laws — the best, the wisest, and the most liberal form of government that, until then, the world had known.

In what spirit does Ireland urge her demands? She asks no reprisal, no indemnity, no atonement for injuries past, for wealth wasted and despoiled, and for blood, the blood of her sons, shed in vain efforts for her freedom, on the scaffold, in every city, and in a hundred battle-fields, and by assassination in the highways throughout all her borders. She asks only guaranties of future security and melioration — guaranties so imperfect as to seem to us a mockery. Those guaranties consist in the restoration of her own provincial legislature, while the throne shall stand unshaken, abridged of none of its power or influence, and continued in the same exclusive succession. And this reform is sought to be obtained, not by aid of foreign intervention, nor by insurrection, nor even by sedition; but by appeals to the sympathies of mankind and to the magnanimity of England — in perfect conformity with the existing constitution, and with complete submission to the existing courts of justice. The noblest spectacle of national moderation ever witnessed was when Daniel O'Connell submitted to arrest, and dispersed to their wretched homes the excited assemblage at Clontarf.

Survey for a moment, fellow-citizens, this Doric edifice beneath

whose arches we are assembled, and from whose portals we look down upon the confluence of the rivers with the tides of the sea. Is it not venerated in our memories and dear to our affections? And why? It is our capitol. Within its halls were framed our organic law, which restrains the power of even our own representatives; and here, by those representatives, we make laws as the varying condition of society requires, for the greater security of our property, our lives, and our liberty. Here Jay's gentle and benevolent influence worked out the abolition of domestic servitude within our borders; here Tompkins matured his plans of public defence, and Clinton his mighty schemes for the physical improvement and social advancement of the state of New York. Ireland, in population, in wealth, in historic fame, excels all that we have attained. And Ireland has her capitol. The college-green lends as cheerful a shading to its massive walls, as does the foliage of your beautiful park to this seat of our own concentrated republican authority. The Corinthian columns, lofty arches, and heroic statuary, of the Irish parliament-house, express a memory of national achievements and renown, such as for us are only in prospect. Suppose now, if a supposition so violent be possible, that the American Congress, in which we enjoy a just representation delegated by our own universal suffrage, should obtain by fraud or force, or even without either, a surrender of legislative power from our representatives here, and usurp exclusive power of legislation; suppose a banking corporation installed within these walls, with its hoarding vaults and the tables of its money-changers; suppose this usurpation so recent that its injurious effects had not begun to be disclosed, and that the state was still going forward, apparently unchecked, in its course of prosperity and fame:—think you that we should therefore rest content under the great calamity? No! you and I would be repealers. Every man and every woman would demand repeal. Instead of mottoes of prudence, of peace and submission, such as meet my view here on every side, the one word "repeal" alone would be inscribed on the banners of the masses that would be in motion in every region of the state, from the sandy shores of Suffolk to the verge of our inland seas. Our children would be taught to repeat the word "repeal," and the echo from every voice be the only answer given to the miserable apology that we were betrayed by our own representa-

tives, or that we were incompetent to legislate for ourselves. Yet such a usurpation as I have vainly asked you to imagine, was committed against the people of Ireland by the passage of the act of union, and such a restoration as you would demand or enforce in such a case is the very restoration which that people ask, but have not demanded until after forty years' experience of their privation.

What, then shall repress our sympathies for the people of Ireland? Shall consanguinity to England? We have found that the ties of kindred could not secure ourselves against oppression. Shall they prevent us from being just to those who suffer oppression?

Shall we fear to give offence to England? That country would need only such a manifestation of American pusillanimity to encourage the spirit of aggression that has survived her power to hold us in subjection. England is herself the foe of tyranny. It is from her we derived our passion for liberty, and the impulsive spirit of social advancement. It is from her Hampdens that we learned the value of legislatures responsible to the people. She hates all oppression except that which she inflicts. She will respect and honor us the more, the more we show that the instinct of liberty has survived our separation from the parent state.

Are we afraid of retaliating sympathies which may disturb systems of oppression lingering among ourselves! And what if this be the consequence? Let it come! Let freedom, universal freedom come over this hemisphere, as we desire to extend it over the other. The sympathetic love of liberty pervades the family of man in a mysterious manner, and reveals itself in the singular results that the restoration of Ireland connects itself even by contrary and opposing agencies with emancipation in America, and the liberator of Ireland becomes, by unforeseen necessity the champion of universal freedom.

But a sickly humanity sometimes warns us to repress these sympathies lest we excite Ireland to insurrection, which will provoke her desolation from the sister-island. The argument of such humanity as this is, that a repeal of the act of union can not be effected. And why? Not because the parliament of Great Britain can not be moved, for you will bear me witness *that* is never said; but because the monarch will not consent—the queen has declared that she will not assent to the repeal. Thus,

then, it is the will of one person only, and that person a woman, that prevents the restoration of the natural and inalienable rights of eight millions. How absurd does this seem to Americans! No wonder that the Liberator perseveres, and that the people place faith, and hope, and confidence, in his promises, the royal veto to the contrary notwithstanding. In limited monarchies, at least, the royal will is only the will of the prevailing party in the state, and, therefore, is very flexible. Queens have been known to relent, and kings too. A king of Great Britain signed the reform bill; a king approved the Catholic emancipation act, and the most inflexible monarch of them all acknowledged the independence of the United States.

And yet all had as firmly declared their never-to-be-ended opposition to these revolutionary measures, as Victoria has her determination that the act of—union shall be perpetual. Mankind have learned how to soften royal wills, and happily Ireland is showing how it can be done without such human sacrifices as have heretofore made the attempt fearfully calamitous. Ireland wants no civil war, nor England either. Such a war might indeed complete the exhaustion of Ireland, but the bereaved state could not long survive. *We* want no civil wars in Great Britain or elsewhere. The mission of America among the nations is indeed one of republicanism, of liberty—but it is, nevertheless, one of peace and good-will to men. It is for this reason that we invoke the censure of mankind against England. She knows its power, for she has often excited and directed it, and with auspicious results, to her immortal honor be it acknowledged. She dare not, and will not, defy it. We know, indeed, her vast military power. We know that the drumbeat of her armies begins with the morning, "and keeping company with the hours, encircles the earth with one unbroken strain of the martial airs of England." But we know, also, that the era of military despotism is passing away—that a greater and more beneficent power has arisen. The moral power of mankind waits not to be awakened by the sun—it halts not for the dilatory progress of the hours, nor does it die away as they pass on. It pervades camps not only, but cabinets, and courts, and cities, and towns, villages, hamlets, and rural fields; it defeats the designs of tyranny in their conception, and converts hostile armies into embassies of benevolence and civilization.

This is the only foreign agent invoked and relied upon by the people of Ireland. They exhibit the first instance of a revolution begun and prosecuted under the influences of humanity, and in harmony with the injunctions and sanctions of the gospel of peace. Shall we, who achieved our freedom by sacrifices of blood, our own and freely-drawn from other lands — we, who have liberally lent sympathy, money, arms, and men, to other revolutionary states, refuse our sanction to the peaceful, heroic, sublime revolution of Ireland? Freedom, magnanimity, humanity, Christianity — blessed memories of the past, irrepressible impulses of the present, lofty hopes for the future, throughout all generations, in all climes — earth and heaven forbid!

Fellow-citizens, I take this chair deeply affected by the kindness which assigns me so honorable a place. These halls have for me, some associations of profound interest. Be assured that I shall cherish the recollection of this occasion with as grateful satisfaction, as the remembrance of any of the associations which I may rightfully recall with pride or pleasure. Language fails to supply me with a more grateful form of acknowledgment.

AGRICULTURE.

Fellow-Citizens: The display of animal and vegetable productions, the expositions of culture and the trial of implements of tillage, under the patronage of the New York State Agricultural Society are completed; and it only remains to confer the civic prizes which have been so honorably won.—Shall scenes so animating though so peaceful, so instructive though so simple, pass without comment?

If our country has a citizen imbued with the philanthropy and learned in the philosophy of agriculture, eminent in political wisdom and transcendent in eloquence, here are his forum and his theme. Such a citizen you have expected to hear.* Let my temerity in assuming the place he has left vacant and others have declined, find an apology in the gratitude which the abundant kindness of my fellow-citizens has inspired.

In that time-worn tower which tells many a deed of treachery and of tyranny, the British government exhibits the armor and arms of kings, nobles, knights, soldiers, and seamen, who have borne the standard of St. George around the circumference of the globe. France, with pride more refined, displays in the galleries of the Louvre, the *chefs d'œuvre* of her artists with what she yet retains of the productions of the pencil and the chisel of which Napoleon despoiled the nations of Europe. These monuments excite admiration, but they leave generous and grateful sympathies unmoved; while the benevolent mind recognises in the axe, the plough, and the loom, agents of civilization and humanity, and exalts them above all the weapons that ambition and

Note.—This address was delivered at the capitol in the city of Albany, on the 29th of September, 1842, on the occasion of the annual Fair of the New York State Agricultural Society.

* Daniel Webster.

rapine have forged, and even above all the embellishments of social life that arts merely ornamental have ever produced. Nor need we overvalue our agricultural inventions, or bestow exaggerated praise upon their authors. Admitting the inferiority of our schools to the universities of Europe, and the deficiency of our artisans in learning and experience, we may yet maintain that all scientific acquirements here, and all inventions, pass immediately to the general use and contribute directly to the general welfare. Such are now our means of diffusing and preserving knowledge, that no really useful invention can either be lost or fail to be employed in every region of our country. Let this festival—

> 'Pastorally sweet
> And rurally magnificent"—

be continued, and the increasing emulation of our yeomanry and mechanics maintained, and the effect will be seen not only in the improvement of agriculture, but in the melioration of the character of the people. Thirty years before the Revolutionary war, at a celebration in Massachusetts, the matrons and maidens of Boston appeared on the Mall, each industriously plying the busy spinning-wheel. Need it then excite surprise that our sister-state now excels with the shuttle, and extorts wealth from the floods, the ice, and the rocks? The character of a people may be studied in their amusements. The warlike Greeks fixed their epochs on the recurrence of the Olympic games. The husbandmen of Switzerland at stated periods celebrate the introduction of the vine. Well may we, then, continue ovations in honor of Agriculture, which, while they give expression to national rejoicing, promote the welfare of our country and the good of mankind.

Farmers of New York: you do wisely in collecting from every district and every region the various species of plants, and adopting such as find our soil and climate most congenial; in introducing new branches of culture and mechanic industry; in choosing out of domestic and foreign stocks the animals which propagate most rapidly, with the least expense of subsistence, and yield the largest returns for the husbandman's care; in stimulating invention to the discovery of new principles of tillage, machines, and implements, for increasing the fertility of

the soil and the productiveness of human labor. But these efforts alone, well conceived and beneficent as they are, do not fulfil the responsibilities of the American farmer.

Similar exertions, though less effective, have been made by the tillers of the earth in every age, however benighted, and in every country, however subjected. The God of Nature has given us a territory stretching through fifty degrees of longitude with almost the breadth of the temperate zone, embosoming numerous lakes and traversed by capacious rivers. Every variety of soil north of the tropics, and every mineral resource, with mountain, forest, and plain, are abundantly supplied. We stand in relation to this wide territory not unlike the progenitor of our race in regard to the earth over which he received dominion from the Almighty. He has permitted us to learn wisdom from the rugged experience of almost sixty centuries, and to establish a system of government new and peculiar, which, while it effectually secures personal rights and domestic tranquillity, does not favor war, and is not adapted to aggression, which chastens avarice and represses ambition, which favors equality, subdues individual power, and stimulates, strengthens, and combines the power of the masses — a system resting on the consent and kept in action only by the agency of the governed. To these advantages is added a social organization which rejects in every form the principles of involuntary or reluctant labor and gradation among the members of the state, and by offering equal rewards calls forth the equal industry and enterprise of every citizen. These peculiarities of our political and social condition indicate an era in civilization, and inspire a generous confidence that it may be our privilege to open for our race the way to a brighter and better destiny than has yet been attained.

Hitherto civilized men, enslaved or oppressed, have doubted whether advancement from the savage state of existence was a blessing, and have struggled for liberty as if mere liberty was the end of human achievement. But we have learned that civil liberty is only one of the conditions of human happiness, and is desirable chiefly because it favors that social advancement which is the ever-fulfilling destiny of mankind. In every stage of that advancement hitherto, agricultural improvement has been last, though it should always be first. By agriculture, nations exist; it supports and clothes mankind; it furnishes the resources for

protection and defence, and the means even of moral improvement and intellectual cultivation. Portions of a community, cities, and even states, may exist by exercising the mechanic arts, or by going down to the sea in ships, but there must nevertheless be somewhere some larger agricultural community to furnish the productions and fabrics indispensable even in such forms of society. The necessary minerals, iron, lead, copper, and others, are beneficial only because they are employed in aid of agriculture, or in preparing its productions for our use, and even the metals which by consent of mankind are called precious, have no value except as representatives of the fruits of industry. Other interests may rise and fall, and other masses may combine, dissolve, and re-combine, and the agricultural mass be scarcely affected, but the whole body politic sympathize when this interest is depressed and this class suffers.

> "Princes and lords may flourish or may fade,
> A breath can make them, as a breath has made:
> But a bold peasantry — their country's pride —
> When once destroyed, can never be supplied."

It is an obvious responsibility of the American people to restore the natural and proper order of social improvement, by renovating agriculture — for this is the tendency of our institutions. It is a maxim in other countries that society necessarily consists of two classes — the ruling few and the governed many. The latter are designated under the most liberal forms of government as "the laboring poor;" in the polished countries of the South as "peasantry," and in the ruder North as "serfs." Here we know not as a class, serfs, peasantry, or poor; and the laboring many constitute society. — Whether designedly or not, they who apply to our condition analogies derived from monarchical or aristocratic states would mislead us, and those deceive themselves who expect that our government will operate otherwise than for the security and benefit of the masses. The legislators of our country are its citizens; and since the predominating mass of citizens consist of tillers of the soil, the American farmer is the American statesman. The government, therefore, necessarily tends to sustain and promote agriculture.

In Europe the cost of land fit for tillage is twice or three times greater than here; the price of labor here is more than double

that in Europe. Our land is therefore cultivated imperfectly, and its productions are seldom equal to one half its capacity.—Thus one of our great advantages is counterbalanced by a deficiency of physical force. Notwithstanding our population augments with unprecedented rapidity, by domestic increase and immigration—yet such is the demand for labor and service in commercial towns, and in the improvement of roads and rivers, and so attractive are our new settlements in the west, that the deficiency of labor continues the same, and its value under ordinary circumstances constantly increases. Immigration therefore is an auxiliary to agriculture. The condition of society in Europe favors emigration. The nations are reposing after long and exhausting wars. The masses increase in disproportion to their territory and subsistence; and although a democratic spirit is abroad, slowly renovating their institutions, there is still a restless desire to participate in our social advantages, and enjoy our perfect liberty.—But with the sturdy, enterprising, and virtuous immigrants, there will also arrive on our shores, the infirm, the indolent, and the depraved, while a change of home and country is always liable to be attended by accident and misfortune. These circumstances increase the charges for public charity and justice in our populous cities, and hence their inhabitants often regard immigration as itself a calamity.

But, aside from all questions of humanity—if we compare this incidental misfortune with the addition to the national wealth and strength derived from the one hundred thousand immigrants who annually disperse themselves over the country, and take into consideration the increase of our physical strength by their descendants, we find every principle of political economy sanctioning the policy of our ancestors, which freely opened our ports and offered an asylum to the exiles of every land. Nor need I urge before such an enlightened assembly that prejudices against immigrants, and apprehensions of danger from their association, are as unwise as they are ungenerous. The experience of mankind has proved that mutual intercourse and very intimate relations between the various branches of the human family are indispensable to the progress of civilization and humanity.

The agricultural interest, though the last to suffer, is always slowest in recovering from any national calamity. Associations in other departments deranged may be renewed. Capital de-

stroyed may be supplied, and masses overborne may recover. — But agriculture, once embarrassed, is with difficulty restored. War, however justifiable or necessary, or however it may stimulate production for a season, is always a national evil, and in its least desolating form is destructive of agricultural prosperity. To cultivate the disposition and the arts of peace, and to guard against domestic disturbance and civil discord, are important therefore, not merely to the improvement, but to the prosperity of agriculture.

Agriculture can never flourish where its rewards are precarious or inferor in value to those obtained in other departments of industry. Perpetual care is necessary to diminish the burdens to which it may be subjected. Hence the necessity of an economical conduct of public affairs — of improving those inland communications which serve for the conveyance of agricultural productions to places of exchange and consumption, and of such commercial regulations as secure advantageous markets either at home or abroad. But these considerations are so familiar that they need not be dwelt upon, notwithstanding their acknowledged importance.

The preservation of equality among the people in regard to constitutional and legal rights, and perpetual adherence to the policy which by laws regulating descents, devises, and trusts, prevents the undue accumulation of estates, are indispensable to agricultural prosperity. It is this policy co-operating with the natural advantages of our position, which has made the agricultural class here a community of freeholders, in contrast with the systems of other countries under which lands are cultivated by tenants, the rewards of whose labor pass to the benefit of landlords.

Not only was the "primal curse" of labor universal, but acquiescence in it was wisely made a condition of health, happiness, wisdom, and virtue. This condition, however, implies that equal rewards are allowed to mankind, while equal labor is exacted from them. Whatever institution, then, on any pretext, relieves any portion of a community of the necessity of labor, or withholds its incentives or excludes them from equal competition for its rewards, not only is unequal and unjust, but by diminishing the whole amount of social labor, increases the burdens of those on whom the subsistence of society depends. We all are accus-

tomed to recognise this important truth in the operation of domestic servitude. But every form of unequal legislation, every custom and every prejudice which causes any mass or any portion of a mass to abate their efforts to secure independence and wealth, operates in the same manner, although to a less extent.

While the patrons of agriculture will keep steadily in view these principles, their most strenuous efforts must be exerted for the diffusion of knowledge. To knowledge we are indebted for whatever of ease or security we enjoy; and the safety and happiness of every civilized community not overborne by foreign oppression are exactly in proportion to its intellectual cultivation. So also, as a general proposition, individuals prosper and exert influence according to the standard of their attainments. This truth applies also to masses in a community. The agricultural class here, as well as in every other country, notwithstanding their numbers, enjoy comparatively inadequate compensation and abated influence, because they have a lower standard of education than other classes. There is not, as is often supposed, a certain amount of knowledge which it is profitable for the farmer to possess, and dangerous to exceed. Learned men sometimes fail in this honorable pursuit, but not in consequence of their acquirements, and the number of such is vastly less than of those who fail through ignorance. It is a fact, which however mortifying, can not be too freely confessed or too often published, that an inferior education is held sufficient for those who are destined to the occupation of agriculture. The standard established for them is seldom as high as the full course of instruction given in our common schools, and consists in an ability to read, but scarcely with pleasure or advantage, to write without facility or accuracy, and to perform simple processes in the art of numbers. Higher attainments than these are allowed to all other classes. The mechanic and the artisan are at least instructed in the nature and properties of the substances which they use, and in the principles and combinations of the mechanical powers they employ, while each profession jealously guards against the intrusion of any candidate who, however skilful in its particular mysteries, has not completed a course of scientific or classical learning.

There is no just reason for this discrimination. The domestic, social, and civil responsibilities of the farmer are precisely the same with those of every other citizen, while the political power

of his class is irresistible. The preparation of the soil to receive a germ, the culture of the plant, its protection against accidents, and the gathering of its fruit—each of these apparently simple operations involves principles of science more recondite than do the studies of the learned professions. Every other department of industry has willingly received aid from science. In mechanism the laws of power and motion are so well understood that achievements to which human energy was once deemed inadequate, are easy and familiar. The hand is now almost unnecessary in the fabrication of cloths. Animal power is beginning to be dispensed with in locomotion on the land, and the intercourse between nations separated by seas, heretofore so difficult and uncertain, is rendered speedy and regular by the use of steam. But agriculture is regarded as involving no laws of nature, requiring no aids, and capable of no improvement. Physical power is considered the only suitable agent, and that power is most wastefully expended. Admitting the beneficent effects of the cotton gin, the improved plough, the cultivator, the thrashing-machine, and other implements which have been instrumental in effecting a slow advancement in agriculture, it must still be confessed that while other arts are more rapidly improving, this of human arts the first and last, whose cultivation leads to plenty and is cheered by health and contentment, remains comparatively unassisted and stationary.

But, independently of the aid which mechanical science owes to agriculture, if the principles of economical geology, of agricultural chemistry, and of animal physiology, which have been laid open by Lyell, by Priestley, by Davy, Leibig, Johnson, and Dana, and our own Buel, were universally known and applied, the productiveness of the soil would be incalculably increased. Regarding the education of the agricultural class, then, only in the light of economy, its importance can not be over-estimated. But this is its least interesting aspect. Education is necessary to elevate the agricultural masses to their just eminence, and to secure their enlightened action in the conduct of government, and of the various interests of social life. Praises of agriculture, and acknowledgments of the purity, patriotism, and wisdom of those who pursue that most peaceful calling are the never-failing themes of all who court their suffrages. Yet it is a sad truth that the interests of agriculture, and of those who subsist by it

are often considered subordinate, and sometimes injuriously neglected. The avenues to preferment are open to all, but they are seldom travelled by the farmer. Questions of peace and war, of revenue, of commerce, of currency, of manufactures, of physical improvement, of free and foreign labor, of education, are too often discussed and decided, without just consideration of their bearing upon the interests of agriculture. The reason is obvious. The art of agriculture is learned by imitation and habit. Those who are destined to that pursuit are not early instructed in the principles of the government, or its relations to other states, in their own legal rights, their civil duties, the pathology of the human constitution, the nature of the substances with which agriculture is concerned, or their properties, or the laws regulating their development, or even in the simple art of tracing geometrical lines and calculating their contents, not to speak of the range of physical and exact sciences, history and ethics, classical learning, the philosophy of language, and the art of eloquence.

These attainments, though open to all, are reached exclusively by other classes, and the farmer in mature years, is sent to the press for political instruction, while he must yield implicit confidence to the clergy, and must depend upon the lawyer for the defence of his simple rights, upon the physician for information whether he is diseased, upon the professor for explanations of the properties of the soil he cultivates, and upon the civil-engineer for even the measurement of his acres. When such dependence upon these various classes is established, can it be a matter of surprise that precedence is conceded to them in the various departments of society? Let me not be misunderstood. I deprecate not the influence of the learned classes, and I would promote by every proper means their higher improvement — nor would I excite jealousy against them, or in the least diminish the respect or confidence they enjoy — but I desire to see the agricultural class equally elevated, and for that purpose I would stimulate them to corresponding attainments. This is the true theory of republican institutions. When it is carried into practical and complete operation, and not until then, shall we enjoy a regular, safe, equal, and enlightened administration of civil government.

Your task, then, is nothing less than social revolution — a revolution, however, which, like all your pursuits, will be peaceful and beneficial. You aim no blows at the government of the

country, or the power, the prosperity, or the influence of any class of its citizens. On the contrary, you will render them all the aid, and all the support they need. Nor will you justly encounter the opposition of any class, for all are equally interested with yourselves in the great work you have undertaken, and upon which depend the stability and permanence of our institutions, and the hopes of mankind.

The agency required in this great work is already prepared, and awaits your adoption. The primary schools, the voluntary religious establishments, the academic seminaries, and the universities which you require, are already founded, and liberally endowed. In our school-district libraries, an auxiliary is furnished, whose efficacy is scarcely surpassed by the invention of Cadmus, of Faust, or of Fulton. With pride and pleasure I add, that this agent was called into action by a farmer of New York, James Wadsworth. These libraries, which are placed at almost every angle of our thoroughfares, and byways, and contain treasures richer than those the world lamented in the destruction of Alexandria, may be made the vehicles of not merely the literature which adorns, but of the science which elevates, and of that moral and political wisdom which gives beneficent direction to the human mind.

Little remains for you but to guide the rising generation to the improvement of these facilities, nor will that task be difficult. Science, though repulsive to the ignorant, is attractive to the initiated, and its attraction increases just in proportion as truths are presented, which are adapted to the comprehension, and satisfying to the curiosity of the young mind. In the dark ages, the system of instruction was so contrived, as to present to faculties undeveloped, the deductions of science without their explanation, and recondite truths without their illustrations. Whatever was simple and easy of apprehension, was thought unworthy to be known, and the philosophy which explains the formation of the earth, and its perfect adaptation to the subsistence and happiness of our race was not then conceived. Something of this strange error still remains, but a change has commenced, and we may soon hope to see a system of education which will lead the mind by an easy and natural process through the truths of external nature, to the mysteries of mind, and the study of the Supreme Author.

Let it be your effort to hasten this change, and thus divest knowledge of its repulsive features, to excite the emulation and stimulate the patriotism of the young by making known to them the attainments of which they are capable, the advantages they may acquire, and the responsibilities they are to assume. The desire for knowledge once excited will increase, and will find ways to continue its pursuit. Then the youth destined to agricultural occupations, instead of being employed in perpetual labor, will be allowed to acquire the knowledge which renders those occupations cheerful, dignified, and successful; and parents, instead of hoarding their gains to be divided among their offspring to relieve them from the necessity of enterprise, will devote their wealth freely in bestowing that better patrimony which can not be lost. Need I point out to such an audience how this work shall be commenced? Let it be the task of individual effort to awaken the attention of our fellow-citizens to the importance of keeping the common schools open during a greater portion of every year, of a more careful regard to the qualifications of teachers, of the introduction of the natural sciences into the schools, of allowing the children of the state, at whatever cost, to persevere in the course of education commenced; and, above all, of removing every impediment and every prejudice which keeps the future citizen without the pale of the public schools. The state has been munificent to the rising generation. She has not only founded a system of universal instruction, but she has at great cost explored the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, and exposed their mysteries. The benefits of these discoveries, though diffusive, will be experienced in an eminent degree by agriculture.

You have already wisely employed the agency of association; but the principle is susceptible of more varied and comprehensive application. Be not content with organizing a state society and county associations, by which you excite the efforts of the few who least need improvement, but organize an agricultural society in every school district, and thus secure the co-operation of all our citizens. Such associations, while they would promote agricultural fellowship and vigorously second efforts immediately tending to improvement of the art, would apply themselves diligently in exciting an interest in the important subjects which have been discussed, and in circulating treatises

upon proper studies, and watching over the interests of education and of agriculture in the schools, in the primary action of society, and in the legislative councils.

But, gentlemen, in whatever direction your efforts may be made, you will encounter difficulties and discouragements. You will be opposed by that contented spirit which regards every improvement as innovation, and which perpetually, though falsely, complains that mankind degenerate without making an effort to check the progress of error. You will be regarded as visionary by those who consider skill in acquiring and success in retaining wealth as the perfection of human wisdom; but you will remember that such as these seldom bestow their countenance upon the benefactors of mankind, nor does Fortune always distinguish them by her favors. Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution, died a bankrupt. Christopher Colles, our most efficient advocate of inland navigation in the last century, was interred by private charity in the Stranger's burying-ground. The essays of Jesse Hawley, which demonstrated the feasibility and importance of a continuous canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson river, were sent forth from a debtor's prison; and De Witt Clinton, whose name is written upon the capital of every column of our social edifice, was indebted to private hospitality for a tomb. It is the same generous and patriotic spirit which animated these philanthropists, and sustained them in their struggles with the prejudices of the age in which they lived, that I desire to invoke in favor of agriculture. This spirit, wisely directed, can not fail, for it has been irresistible in every department it has hitherto entered. But let us all remember that the only true way to begin reform is to find the source of error; and that if we cultivate man, the improvement of the animal and vegetable kingdoms will surely follow.

IMPROVEMENT OF FARMS AND FARMERS.

Citizens of Vermont — Ladies and Gentlemen:

A schoolmaster from Middlebury taught me to read the glowing praises and simple maxims of Roman agriculture recorded in the pages of Virgil. Natives of Rutland and Bennington were among my youthful companions and early patrons, still affectionately and gratefully remembered. Long ago I seemed to myself to have imbibed — I know not when nor how — many principles, sentiments, and sympathies, from fountains of philosophy and feeling which had been opened early, and which are yet flowing freely here in Vermont. Longer than I can recollect, my hopes for my country and mankind have had their anchorage in the ever-widening prevalence of those maxims of political justice and equal liberty which have been always maintained with unyielding constancy in this state, the Tyrol of America. I have wondered often, when such memories as these have come over me, that although I had not been quite unused to travel, and had lived always near, yet I was nevertheless a stranger in Vermont. Long-delayed wishes of mine are now gratified. I am at last in Vermont. I pay to her mountains the homage which the sublime in nature exacts; and to her mountaineers I confess that my motive in coming was not so much to instruct them as to seek their personal acquaintance, and to thank them for precious and cherished instructions which they have long since imparted to me.

These, then, are "the grants" sold by New Hampshire without title, and won by force from New York when she perverted title to purposes of oppression. In lime and marble they are rich, and in forest-growth and in pasturage at least they are fertile; and the vigorous play of the elastic air upon lungs which had become

Note.—This address was delivered at the agricultural state fair of Vermont, which was held at Rutland, September 2, 1852.

languid under southern skies, assures me that they are as healthful as they are romantic and beautiful. Nevertheless it must have been no easy task that the settler performed here when he removed the sturdy trees and massive rocks, and opened the dank and festering soil to the light and heat of the morning sun. It was no common bravery that kept the savage Indian at bay while exterminating the wolf and the panther; and no common heroism that, while engaged in the foremost ranks of the Revolution for the deliverance of New York and the other colonies from British power, effected a revolution also against New York, and established the independence of Vermont herself. I think, indeed, that at this day, men as hardy, brave, and heroic, as ETHAN ALLEN and his followers — if there be such — would pass by regions as rugged and wild as of old these must have been, to find, with less fatigue and danger, easier and more attractive homes on the Mississippi prairies, or on the golden terraces of California and Oregon.

Certainly the descendants have carried on with perseverance and success the enterprise their ancestors so bravely began. Their fields are clean, and a stiff stubble shows that they have been covered well with grain; their pasturages carefully drained, and trodden by sheep, horses, and cattle — than which I am sure there are none better; their villages embellished with gardens, and crowned with schools and colleges; and their statesmen discharging useful and honorable functions in the national councils and in foreign courts. I can not, indeed, suppress repining regret that so fair a portion of my native state was lost for ever by the obstinate persistence of her authorities in claims which, although based on royal constitutions, were without necessary foundation in equity. Nevertheless, looking upon the scenes that stretch out before me, as we may suppose an Englishman, who loves his native land well, but loves freedom and humanity still better, may look upon the growing greatness and spreading dominion of our common country, I say again, with cheerfulness and enthusiasm, hail to Vermont! Her independence was justly and bravely won. She has chosen a peaceful and beneficent mission, and she fulfils it faithfully and generously. May her prosperity continue, and her glory increase for ever!

The implements of rural labor — the peaceful trophies of the field, the meadow, and the mountain — the sleek and graceful

herds around me, bearing witness to the sagacious guardianship of the farmer — call me away from the contemplation of the past, to speak of the present, but of the present as we must always speak of it when regarding it philosophically, only as it bears upon the quickly-coming and forever-growing future.

To improve agriculture is wise, for all the reasons commonly given, and for one, moreover, that is perhaps seldom thought of. As is the culture of the fields and flocks in any community, so is always the culture of the men and women by whom it is bestowed: —

> "*Certemus, spinas animone ego fortius, an tu*
> *Evellas agro, et melior sit Horatius, an res*" —
>
> "Let us inquire if you, with happier toil,
> Root out the thorns and thistles of the soil,
> Than Horace tears his follies from his breast,
> Whether *my farm or I* be cultured best."*

Leaving to others better qualified to indicate the best practical measures for improving your farms, your horses, and your sheep, I shall therefore be content with suggesting how the American farmer may improve, and strengthen, and elevate himself, and the higher and more general motives which should urge him forward in so noble an emulation.

It is essential to the improvement equally of farming and of the farmer, that the occupation should be made more lucrative and profitable. All profit depends on the cheapness of production, of manufacture, and of access to market. It is the office of invention to substitute mechanical power for human labor, equally in production and in conveyance, and in manufacture. The farmer, then, is interested not merely in the improvement of the axe, the plough, the harrow, and of the sowing, cultivating, mowing, reaping, and thrashing machines, but also in the perfecting of the mill, the gin, the brake, the spindle, the loom, the forge, the steam-engine, the railroad and its locomotive, the ship, and even the magnetic telegraph. And so you are well aware that a constant and uniform relation must always be maintained between the state of agriculture (and, indeed, of society itself) and the cotemporaneous state of invention in the arts. The necessities of industry in every department sustain and stimulate the activity of invention.

* Horace.

If, therefore, you would have invention free, bold, persevering, and comprehensive, what have you to do but to establish and maintain the different processes of manufacture, as well as the departments of agriculture and commerce? For nearly twenty years, and until a twelvemonth ago, we flattered ourselves with a belief that we equalled—if, indeed, we did not excel—other nations in invention. An opportunity then came to test the bold pretension. England, in a generous spirit, invited the civilized states of the world to assemble under an edifice which she had reared for their reception, which, in architectural magnificence as well as in extent, surpassed the Coliseum of ancient Rome—and to bring together, exhibit, and compare, whatever machines they had contrived and perfected for the melioration of human labor in all its comprehensive variety of application.

Certainly the games of Greece, the triumphal processions of the Cæsars, and the tournaments of Christian and Saracen knights on the plains of Palestine, fell infinitely short of the panorama of the World's Fair in moral grandeur and heroic achievement. You all remember how cheerfully—nay, how even boldly—we accepted the challenge. I am sure also that you can not have forgotten the mortification we endured when our inventions, having been arranged with studied care to expose them with effect, their limited extent and narrow variety nevertheless showed us inferior in the broad range of invention to not only England, but France, Italy, Prussia, Austria, and even semi-barbarian Russia. True, we retrieved at the end, by the demonstrated superiority of a lock whose mysterious wards baffled the skill of the world's artisans; of St. John's adjustment of the magnetic needle, so as to overcome metallic attraction; of M'Cormick's reaper, which enhanced by a twentieth the value of the English harvest; and of Stevens's yacht and our East India clippers on the element where England had before defied competition.

But these triumphs, nevertheless, only indicated our genius for invention, while they left undisturbed the distinct, impressive, and painful fact, that it was inadequately encouraged and but very partially exercised among us. Thus was revealed to us the reciprocating cause and consequence of our dependence on foreign nations so largely for the clothes we wear, the implements we use from the family table, through the woollen, cotton, and silk manufactures, up to the philosophical lecture-room, and for

a thousand other fabrics, which, in so high and luxuriant a state of civilization, we employ and consume. Happy will it be for us if the instruction shall not be forgotten. It was simply this: We had failed to encourage and so to procure the establishment among ourselves of the manufacturing processes which in other countries had given birth to those manifold inventions. I shall not urge here the common arguments for the institution of varied manufactures; but it is germain to the occasion to show you how what is called an application of free-trade in a country yet unprepared for it, has operated to fetter and bind down among us the highest and most beneficent faculty of the human mind—the faculty of utilitarian invention. Here, then, is a national loss, over and above, and indefinitely exceeding, all the waste of freights, commissions, and risks incurred, in purchasing in distant markets articles which abound in our own fields, forests, and mines, with the further waste of freights, commissions, and risks, outward and inward, on the transportation of our own abundant raw materials to English workshops, and on their reconveyance to our own shores, charged with the cost of manufacture, to be paid in provisions and gold. Beyond and above all these losses, here is a stinting and stifling of the very life of all national growth, development, and perfection. Look, then, ye true men of Vermont, to the correction of this great national fault, as you value your own welfare and prosperity, the advancement of society, and the greatness, power, and glory, of your country.

Who does not desire that the generation to which he belongs shall be wiser and greater than those which have gone before it? Fellow-citizens, if you would thus distinguish the generation to which you belong, of which you are a part, you must have a wiser and more enlightened system of agriculture than that of your predecessors. I appeal to the learned men whom I see around me—is the science of agriculture peculiarly difficult to explore and perfect? Quite the contrary. Chemistry, mineralogy, botany, and physiology, the ancillary sciences, have already given up the secrets of the composition of the soil and of the atmosphere, and the laws which regulate the germination and growth of vegetable and animal organisms. What remains seems to be little more than the reduction of truths already known into methodical forms, for the purposes of instruction, with guides to their application under the widely-varying circumstances of soils,

climates and seasons. Notwithstanding these obvious truths, and notwithstanding that agriculture, as it was the first, has also always been the most general pursuit of civilized men, yet it is nevertheless true that it has been, more than all other sciences and arts, neglected. Mankind learned the motions of spheres lying far away beyond unaided vision, and applied the discovery to the practical purposes of geography and navigation; they laid bare, also, the subtlest of all laws—the laws of the human mind—and subjected them to the formation of systems of religion and government; while the simple processes of vegetable organization and development, until very recently, remained altogether hidden and unknown. Unhappily, too, what has been at last acquired by Philosophy, still remains close in her keeping. The general mind has not received it, nor sought for it, nor been willing to accept it. We generally plough, we sow, and we reap, not with enlightened knowledge of the processes we prosecute, but by habit, and with a blind following of customs established before that knowledge had been gained. We suffer disappointments which we might have prevented, and, charging the misfortune to accident and destiny, we perseveringly renew our culture in the same—I had almost said wilful—ignorance, and at the risk of the same ever-recurring disasters.

Permit me to say plainly and with some emphasis, that this indifference to agricultural science can not be suffered to continue. While commerce, aided by vigorous and well-sustained invention, is reducing the dangers and diminishing the cost of navigation, and thus bringing the similar productions of various nations into competition in common markets, population is crowding on subsistence in many countries, so rapidly as to oblige them to study intensely how to increase the fruits of the earth which constitute that subsistence. The statesmen of Great Britain and continental Europe have already employed science to check the tide of an impoverishing and exhausting emigration. Even, therefore, if we should continue to neglect agricultural improvement, England, Ireland, France, Spain, Italy, Germany, and Russia, would not. They must improve, are improving, and will continue to improve, agriculture; and if we neglect to follow—ay, and if we fail to keep up with them in that improvement, they will not only exclude us from foreign markets, but will even ultimately undersell us in our own. A pretty figure we should

make in that case. This is what they are already doing in manufactures, and by the process I have indicated.

I think that there is no lack of schools and seminaries and professorships, adapted and qualified for advancing and disseminating agricultural science. Our present seminaries and the teachers of natural science in them, are quite sufficient; and text-books, guides to experiment, and laboratories, are not wanting in the country. What then is wanting? Only pupils. The students in all our seminaries, intent on—not agricultural pursuits, but what are called the learned or liberal professions—rush by the agricultural chair, to attend to instructions in mathematics, rhetoric, and classical literature. Certainly the professor ceases to explore for new acquisitions, when no one will listen to his expositions of what he already has. A desire to communicate to others, is always combined with the passion for the pursuit of knowledge.

Why then are there no pupils? The fault—again I pray you—pardon my boldness—the fault is chiefly with the farmers themselves. A farm, of course, is necessary to him who is to be a farmer. Generally, only farmers' sons have or expect farms, and so they are the class who must supply the candidates for the profession of farming. But the farmers' sons are generally averse from scientific study. There is a general prejudice that agriculture is a simple, easy art or trade, which can be taken up and practised without academic instruction or systematical apprenticeship, and that theoretic precepts serve only to mislead and bewilder.

On the contrary, Nature has left all the human faculties in one sense incomplete, to be perfected by general education and by training for special and distinct pursuits. She has left those faculties not less incomplete, and without adaptation, in the farmers' case than in any other. Her laws are general and inflexible. Brutes only have perfect instincts. Man can do nothing well, and indeed can do nothing at all, but by the guidance of cultivated reason. Notwithstanding admitted differences of natural capacity, and of tastes and inclinations, it is nevertheless practically and generally true, that success, and even distinction and eminence, in any vocation, are proportioned to the measure of culture, training, industry, and perseverance brought into exercise. So he will be the best farmer, and even the best woods-

man or well-digger, as he will be the best lawyer, the greatest hero, or the greatest statesman, who shall have studied most widely and most profoundly, and shall have labored most carefully and most assiduously.

There is another prejudice even more injurious than that which I have thus exposed. The farmer's son is averse from the farmer's calling. He does not intend to pursue it, and is always looking for some gate by which to escape from it. The prejudice is hereditary in the farm-house. The farmer himself is not content with his occupation; nor is the farmer's wife any more so. They regard it as an humble, laborious, and toilsome one; they continually fret about its privations and hardships, and thus they unconsciously raise in their children a disgust toward it. Is not this at least frequently so? Is there a farmer here who does not desire, not to say seek, to procure for his son a cadet's or midshipman's warrant, a desk in the village lawyer's office, a chair in the physician's study, or a place behind the counter in the country store, in preference to training him to the labors of the farm? I fear that there is scarcely a farmer's son who would not fly to accept such a position, or a farmer's daughter who would not prefer almost any settlement in town or city, to the domestic cares of the farm-house and the dairy.

Whence is this prejudice? It has come down to us from ages of barbarism. In the savage state, agricultural labor is despised, because bravery in battle, and skill in the chase, must be encouraged; and so heroism is still requisite for the public defence in the earlier stages of civilization, and the tiller of the soil, therefore, rises slowly from the condition of a villein, a serf, or a slave. Nevertheless, ancient, and almost universal, as this prejudice is, I am sure that it is unnatural to mankind in ripened civilization, such as that at which we have arrived. Of all classes of men, we practically have the least need of hunters; and we employ very few soldiers, while the whole structure of society hinges on the agricultural interest. A taste, nay, a passion for agriculture, is inherent and universal among men. The soldier or the sailor cares little for learning, mechanism, or music; but the solaces of his weary watchings and his midnight dreams are recollections and hopes of a cottage-home. The merchant's anxieties and the lawyer's studies are prosecuted patiently for the ultimate end of graceful repose in a country-seat; and lunatics, men and women,

are won back to the sway of reason by the indulgence of labor in the harvest-field, and the culture of fruits and flowers in the gardens of the asylum.

I know that frivolous persons, in what is called fashionable society, who sleep till noon, still continue to depreciate and despise rural pursuits and pleasures. But what are the opinions of such minds worth? They equally depreciate and despise all labor, all industry, all enterprise, and all effort; and they reap their just reward in weariness of themselves, and in the contempt of those who value human talents, not by the depth in which they are buried, but by the extent of their employment for the benefit of mankind.

The prejudice, however, must be expelled from the farmer's fireside: and the farmer and his wife must do this themselves. It is as true in this case as in the more practical one which the rustic poet had in view:—

> "The wife too must husband, as well as the man;
> Or farewell thy husbandry, do what thou can."

Let them remember, that, in well-constituted and highly-advanced society like ours, intellectual cultivation relieves men from labor, but it does not at all exempt them from the practice of industry; on the contrary, it obliges the universal exercise of industry; and that, notwithstanding the current use of the figures of speech, "wearied limbs, sweating brows, hardened sinews, and rough and blackened hands," there is no avocation in our country that rewards so liberally with health, wealth, and honor, a given application of well-directed industry, as does that of the farmer. If he is surpassed by persons in other pursuits, it is not because their avocations are preferable to his own, but because, while he has neglected education and training, they have taken care to secure both.

When these convictions shall have entered the farmhouse, its respectability and dignity will be confessed. Its occupants will regard their dwellings and grounds, not as scenes of irksome and humiliating labor, but as their own permanent home, and the homestead of their children and their posterity. Affections unknown before, and new-born emulation, will suggest motives to improvement, embellishment, refinement, with the introduction of useful and elegant studies and arts which will render the paternal roof, as it ought to be, attractive to the young, and the

farmer's life harmonious to their tastes and satisfactory to their ambition. Then the farmer's sons will desire and demand education as liberal as that now chiefly conferred on candidates for professional life, and will subject themselves to discipline, in acquiring the art of agriculture, as rigorous as that endured by those who apprentice themselves to other vocations.

Then, with the certain improvement of agriculture, we shall have the improvement and elevation of the agricultural class of American society. Have you considered how much that class renounce in denying themselves the self-improvement I have urged? Have you considered, that in practice they widely renounce the functions of representation in the conduct of the government in favor of other classes, no more privileged than their own? This is unnecessary, unwise, unsafe; indeed, it is not republican—it is not American. In nearly all civilized states, the farmers, or those who cultivated the soil, have constituted far the greater part of the population, The chief control of society and government, then, it would seem, should of right have been vested in them. Yet in truth, they have never, since the age of the patriarchs, attained any such control, except just here, and just now. In Great Britain they divide authority, but are overbalanced by merchants, manufacturers, and privileged classes. Notwithstanding modern constitutional concessions to them in France, they are nevertheless ruled there alternately by the city population and the army. In Germany, by the army. In parts of Italy, by the church; and in Russia they are slaves.

It has always been otherwise here. Farmers planted these colonies—all of them—and organized their governments. They were farmers who defied the British soldiery on Bunker Hill and drove them back from Lexington. They were farmers—aye, Vermont farmers, who captured the fortress at Ticonderoga, and accepted its capitulation in the name of the "Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress," and thus gave over the first fortified post to the cause of the Revolution. They were farmers who checked British power at Saratoga, and broke it in pieces like a potter's vessel at Yorktown. They were farmers who reorganized the several states and the federal government, and established them all on the principles of equality and affiliation. In every state, and in the whole Union, they constitute the broad electoral

faculty, and by their preponderating suffrages the vast and complex machine is perpetually sustained and kept in regular motion and operation. That it is in the main well administered, we all know by experienced security and happiness; that it might be better administered, our perpetual and intense passion for change fully proves; that it is administered no better, results from what? From the fact that the electoral body, the farmers, intelligent and patriotic as they are, may nevertheless become more intelligent and more patriotic than they now are. The more intelligent and patriotic they become, the more effective will be their control, and the wiser their direction of the government. Is there not room? Nay, is there not need for more activity, energy, and efficiency, on their part, for their own security and welfare? In the federal government commerce has its minister and department, the law its organ and representative, and the arts their commissioner and bureau. But the vast interest of agriculture has only a single desk and a subordinate clerk in the basement of the patent-office. It is scarcely better in the states. An empty charter of incorporation, with a scanty endowment, constitutes substantially all that has been anywhere done for agriculture. Gentlemen, I like not that it should be so. Our nation is rolling forward in a high career, exposed to shocks and dangers. It needs the utmost wisdom and virtue to guide it safely; it needs the steady and enlightened direction which, of all others, the farmers of the United States can best exercise, because, being freeholders invested with equal power of suffrage, they are at once the most liberal and the most conservative element in the country.

Let me urge this duty of self-improvement by a consideration of the nature of the great national crisis through which we are passing. One word describes it—expansion. Expansion within our borders, to people and organize not less than forty states, each as great and populous as those which now constitute the Union—expansion beyond our borders to bring in states more numerous than one dare to conjecture. Do you question the existence of this crisis? Recollect, then, how soon you have become familiar with the yet new states of Wisconsin, Iowa, Florida, Texas, and California; and how fast the territorial form of government, only preliminary to that of new states, is extended under names before unknown, in Minnesota, Oregon, New Mex-

ico, Utah, and Nebraska. Do you doubt the tendency of expansion beyond your present borders? Only sixty years ago, all our settlements clustered between Cape Ann and St. Mary's river on the Atlantic coast. Where are they now? On the east and north, they overhang the Bay of Fundy and Lake Superior; southward, they stretch away quite round the peninsula of Florida to the banks of the Rio Grande; on the west, their setting sun extinguishes his fires in the waters of the Pacific. By purchase and conquest, the boundaries of the republic have been made to advance equally with this gigantic but voluntary expansion of population. And are we now content? Not at all. On every side there are signs of the chafing of the people against the rigid and unyielding frontier. What do these controversies with the maritime British North American provinces about the fisheries, and with the inland provinces about restraints on trade indicate, but discontent? What these ill-suppressed and desperate expeditions from Louisiana and Florida against Cuba, but covetousness of the sugar-plantations, and coffee-grounds of that beautiful island. What this new and ominous diplomatic controversy with Mexico, about a route for a railroad across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, but a further dismemberment, if not a complete absorption, of that prematurely-declining republic? And lastly, what these explorations and expeditions about Japan, and the Sandwich islands, but the necessity of naval stations in the Pacific ocean? Mark, also, that in nearly all these coveted countries, not only have the principles of American republicanism worked out practically institutions substantially similar to our own, but there are already organized in the native populations, parties strong enough when seconded by efforts on our part, to deliver them into our hands. How significant, indeed, are the facts that Great Britain has practically relinquished government in the provinces adjacent to us, to their inhabitants, and that simultaneously with the fixed establishment of society in Australia, indications of the rise of a republic appear? It is happily true that, these desires for immediate annexation of adjacent regions are local, and in some measure what we call sectional, and so counteract and balance each other; and that the expanding forces are also further modified by conservative apprehensions widely prevailing in the country. Nevertheless, these are only checks—not absolute restraints. All such restraints have ultimately given way, heretofore, and

must do so sooner or later hereafter. Nor may it be believed that any American colony, planted beyond our borders, will contentedly remain without, or will, with the national consent, be left to remain independent of the republic. Experience has taught us nothing well, if it has not taught us that, wherever the American people go, they will draw the American government over them; wherever an American colony establishes itself, there the American people will extend the constitutional roof over them. Indeed, there is nothing new in all these movements, neither those within nor those across the national borders. Expansion and incorporation were laws impressed on the American people two hundred years ago, and they yield to those laws now just as they have hitherto done, because they have arisen out of circumstances above national control, and are inevitable. Let me not, however, be misunderstood. I advocate no headlong progress, counsel no precipitant movement, much less any one involving war, violence, or injustice. I would not seize with haste, and force the fruit, which ripening in time, will fall of itself into our hands. But I know, nevertheless, that the stars will come out, even if the moon delay its rising. I have shown you then that a continent is to be peopled, and even distant islands to be colonized by us.

These grand movements will draw largely on the moral, social, intellectual, and political resources of the existing states. Other countries and other continents will, as they have done hitherto, contribute great and rapid emigrations; but the elements of American society, the two elements of the federative republican system of government, will be derived from the agricultural population of the established states already within the Union. Such supplies can not be adequately furnished, unless the residuary forces be perpetually renewed and invigorated. If they be not adequately supplied, so as to sustain not merely a pervading community of interests, but even a thorough homogeneousness of national character, sentiments, and sympathies, political, moral, social, and religious, then expansion, instead of proving a means of union and aggrandizement, will prove the cause of disunion and decline. Confessedly we have signs, though not alarming ones, of disunion now. They appear in southern states; in the organization of an isolated, peculiar, hostile colony in the valley of the Salt lake; and they appear, also, in the res-

tiveness of a state on the Pacific, only three years old, under the supposed neglect, or disregard of her interests, by the federal government, which is now no longer a central one. In every case you see that the cause is the same—the absence of entire and perfect assimilation. How shall such assimilation be effected and maintained? The answer is simple, obvious, and practical. The tree, whose branches thus continually multiply and spread, and which, even now, covers nearly all of the regions of the continent lying within the temperate zone, and casts its shadow over distant islands, stands here, and we tread upon the very earth out of which the majestic trunk has risen. If we would cherish and preserve it, we must continually loosen the soil, and supply new streams of its native and accustomed moisture. While it is thus manifest that the responsibility for the preservation of our own necessary power and influence, and even of the preservation of the republic itself, rests chiefly on the agricultural population of the established states, and that responsibility involves a demand for improvement, progress, and elevation on their part, it is scarcely less apparent that, indirectly, by the influence of our tone and example, and directly by our growing connections with other nations, we must either check or accelerate, the movement of universal human society. We hear the almost stifled utterance of its aspirations; we see its often convulsive struggles; we sigh over its frequent reactions and disappointments, and so we learn and know that its tendency is toward freedom, self-government, peace, and ultimate brotherhood. How necessary is it that every action of our government should be such as at least to encourage, if it do not aid, the attainment of desires and hopes so natural, so necessary, so just, and so beneficent. But how can the corporate action of a nation —especially of a republic—be wiser, better, or more beneficent, than the temper and dispositions of the people who constitute the republic? The flowing stream always declines from the level of the fountain. Did you experience disappointment, mortification, and shame, when the great and good Kossuth, whom the nation welcomed as the overborne champion of liberty in Europe, was dismissed with coldness, neglect, and contumely, because he avowed that he had resolved to renew the lost conflict? I know you did; but where was the fault, the crime? It was the fault and the crime of the people, that they had not, with sufficient

earnestness and unanimity, adopted the principles of the unity of the human family and the indivisibility of their destiny. So unwavering are the laws of Providence which punish human vices, and reward human virtues, that every vice indulged, and every crime committed, not only brings danger and suffering upon the delinquent, but works an injury to his country and his race; while every virtue practised, and every generous effort made for even self-improvement and elevation, is followed by personal advantages not only, but by benefits, to society, and to mankind.

Farmers, friends, citizens, we are young in the old age of time; green amid the sere and falling leaves of ancient civilization. Let us cultivate and improve ourselves, and so save and impart to the world the elements of a new and happy renovation.

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SPEECHES AND ADDRESSES.

THE UNION.

AUBURN, JULY 4, 1825.

To one who has not been a witness of the progress of the improvements in the condition of our country since the Revolution, they must seem like the work of enchantment. We are established here at a vast distance beyond where the most visionary enthusiast of that time had placed the confines of civilization for a century to come. Cities and villages have grown up and are flourishing in vigorous maturity where the Indian hunter forty years ago roamed in idle security in the native forest. Steamboats and ships are seen now bearing the commerce of a great inland country upon lakes which thirty years ago had never borne any vessel but the bark canoe. Canals are seen winding through the vales, and roads crossing the mountains in every direction, where civilized man at that time had never wandered.

The operations of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, are going successively forward, and, in the words of the venerable guest of the nation* at the table which your hospitality lately spread for him at this place (for each of his words is a legacy to this people), "more and more giving a splendid lie to the enemies of freedom and self-government."

* La Fayette.

And while, on this occasion, we dwell upon the glorious events of our past history, and our present happy situation, we can not leave the theme without one glance into futurity, to inquire into the probable duration of these institutions.

Party-spirit, it was once said, would, before a half-century should have elapsed, have severed this Union. It has, indeed, raged with its utmost possible violence. At the reorganization of the government, two parties arose, differing widely upon cardinal principles, nearly equal in numbers, and each ranking among its members men of stupendous and energetic minds, and of tried bravery and patriotism. And, as if the confusion of the moral world were added to endanger the untried bark just committed to the waves, the French Revolution and a war with Great Britain mingled their excitements with the already exasperated feelings of the partisans. Through all this excitement and through all these dangers our country nevertheless kept on her career of glory. The virulence of the parties has ceased; the one has forgotten its triumph, and the other its fall; and good men of both parties are burning their animosities on the altar of the common good.

Men who are determined to see a separation of the Union have argued it from analogy to the ancient republics; but let it be remembered that the analogy is in name only — that the government in no other way resembles the stormy democracies of Greece, or that ill-balanced government, the republic of Rome.

It was early predicted that the government we have established was not calculated for so extensive a territory. Yet our limits have been extended till they now reach from the lakes to the gulf of Mexico, and from ocean to ocean; and there has in no case been a want of legislative care or executive protection in any part of the territory.

How often have these prophets of evil predicted — when some important question has been agitated in Congress, bearing unequally upon the northern and southern states — that a separation would take place between them! Yet the Missouri question is settled, and almost forgotten; the tariff bill has become a law; the sceptre has passed from the Ancient Dominion, and the union of these states is still unshaken. Believe me, fellow-citizens, those men's wishes for confusion far outrun their wisdom who believe or profess to believe that parties upon cardinal principles

will again arise. The time and the occasion for these parties have alike gone by, and the attempt to rouse the vindictive feelings of those which once existed, is as idle as the hope to "call a spirit from the vasty deep." New parties are yearly formed, and as often dissolved, because they arise upon questions of limited extent, or out of regard to men of differently-estimated merit. And such parties will succeed each other, "as in rolling seas wave succeeds wave;" but there will at times be a calm, and such light and transitory excitements will only serve to keep the political waters in healthful motion.

Those, too, misapprehend either the true interests of the people of these states, or their intelligence, who believe or profess to believe that a separation will ever take place between the north and south. The people of the north have been seldom suspected of a want of attachment to the Union, and those of the south have been much misrepresented by a few politicians of a stormy character, who have ever been unsupported by the people there. The north will not willingly give up the power they now have in the national councils, of gradually completing a work in which, whether united or separate, from proximity of territory, we shall ever be interested — the emancipation of slaves. And the south will never, in a moment of resentment, expose themselves to a war with the north, while they have such a great domestic population of slaves, ready to embrace any opportunity to assert their freedom and inflict their revenge. And very much does that misguided man, the governor of Georgia, misapprehend the wishes of his constituents and southern neighbors, when he invites them to raise the standard of civil war for no other reason than because the general government *is suspected* of wishing to contribute to the melioration of slavery, and of being unwilling to give up the lives and lands of a few Indians to some brutal speculators, in violation of solemn treaties and of the laws of humanity.

If, indeed, these states were to be divided by a geographical line, that line would be drawn along the Allegany mountains, or the Mississippi river. For the north and the south will soon forget all animosities in the necessity of holding the balance of power against the young and growing west; and successive political controversies have proved that the sympathies of the west are not exclusively with the north or the south. A separation between the eastern and western states is the most distant of all

evils. The eastern states will not soon be willing to lose the advantage of western commerce, and expose their frontiers to so hardy and numerous an enemy as the militia of the west were proved in the late war with Great Britain; and still less will the western states be willing to give up the great revenue of eastern commerce, and, without a seaport, expose themselves in a contest with a nation whose naval power would ever be augmentable at pleasure.

But there is one ground of security which I have not mentioned. It is that the ashes of WASHINGTON rest in this land, and from the silence of his tomb there comes a voice which commands his children to be united and invincible.

In truth, fellow-citizens, time has but added firmness and stability to our institutions. It is the decay of our republican virtue alone which can shake them. Let us, then, remember that to us it is given to preserve the Union of these states — the ark of safety in which are deposited the hopes of the world. If we preserve it, it will bring down blessings upon us and our posterity. We shall inherit glory more imperishable than Grecian or Roman fame, and shall leave to the world a legacy more valuable than aught but the treasures of inspiration. Abandon it, and the desolation of tyranny will cover these lovely plains; the curses of posterity will fall upon us, and the last experiment thus ended: for man there will be no political redemption till the last trumpet shall sound, to call the nations to their dread account!

FOR GREECE.

AUBURN, FEBRUARY 26, 1827.

When that appeal in behalf of the Greeks, which was heretofore made to the people of the United States, was so generously answered, it was confidently hoped that, long before this time, the liberty of Greece would have been established, and that peace and happiness would have been restored within her borders. But those hopes have failed. The war of desolation waged by her oppressors, though resisted by her sons with a degree of devotion and heroism which prove them not unworthy of their ancestors in the better days of Greece, has left the land in a state of wretchedness unparalleled by human suffering, and beyond the power of language to describe or the reach of imagination to conceive. The fortress of Missolonghi, which so long resisted the power of the Turks, in which centred all the hopes, and for the preservation of which arose all the prayers of the Greeks, has yielded. The greater part of its brave defenders were murdered, with all the female captives and children, save those few whom the cupidity of the conquerors reserved for a slavery more dreadful than death.

Though much of the naval force of Greece has escaped the general destruction, and the survivors of her armies still occupy a few fortresses, as yet impregnable by the enemy; yet throughout almost the whole of the beautiful territory and islands, the vassals of Mohammedan power now meet with no living enemy, as they roam in savage exultation over fields laid bare and desolate, the ashes of cities, villages, churches, hamlets, and dwellings, and the unburied bodies of massacred men, women, and children. The bleeding heads of the bravest defenders of Greece are posted on the gates of the Turkish fortresses, to excite the fury of the Saracen mob, and the fairest of her daughters are sold into the harems of the mussulmans. The remnants of her population have escaped to the mountains; and there — subsisting upon the scanty

fruits of the woods, and the precarious means afforded by the occasional advantages they gain in descents upon their enemies — they are resolved to remain until death shall save them from the fate of their brethren, or until relief shall reach them, and they shall be able to descend from their fastnesses and sweep their oppressors from the soil which covers the ashes of their fathers.

It is for these wretched fugitives that I pray your charity. Let me not be told that it is better they should submit. The inhabitants of Scio submitted, upon receiving an assurance that they should be spared: they submitted, and the treacherous enemy immediately began an indiscriminate slaughter, which left not a living Greek upon that once-blissful island! The Greeks war with an enemy who has sworn their extermination: how dreadfully that oath would be kept in the case of the submission of the wretched remnant of the nation, its fulfilment thus far may prove. There is, then, no resting-place for them, between that liberty for which they have fought, and the same destruction which has already fallen upon their brethren. And may we not hope that it is not ordered that they shall submit — that assistance will be sent them — and that, as it has always been, so in this case it will be, that —

> "Freedom's battle, once begun,
> Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son,
> Though baffled oft, is always won!"

I ask not, fellow-citizens, for arms and munitions of war, or the means to procure them. The necessity for these has given way to the more dreadful necessity for the means of subsistence. I ask now only provisions and clothing, or the money to purchase them, because these are all which will be of service to the Greeks. To them there are now neither flocks nor herds, neither seed-time, nor harvest, nor vintage. Their appeal is made to a people abounding with all the necessaries and luxuries of life. How small is the relief required, and how cheaply can it be granted! We are a free people, the only one enjoying unmolested rational and religious liberty; and the sympathy of every lover of freedom throughout the world must be accorded to this remnant of that nation in which liberty was cradled, suffering now the extremity of human misery for no other crime or fault than having bravely fought for that liberty without which we consider life itself not worth possessing. We are an enlightened people; and shall we

withhold our charity from the descendants of that illustrious race from whom we have derived so much of all that is wise in government, profound in science, ennobling in philosophy, useful in arts, and delightful in song? But, above all, we are a Christian nation: shall we discharge our duties to Him through whose good providence we are so, if we withhold so small a charity from that land where, by the express command of our Savior, the gospel was first made known unto the Gentiles — that land which, through more than eighteen hundred years, amid the persecutions of paganism and Mohammedanism, has held fast to that common faith in which we place our hopes — that religion which, while it enjoins "faith, hope, and charity, these three," declares also that "the greatest of these is charity"? No, fellow-citizens, this is an occasion in which our charity is alike called forth by all the generous feelings of our nature, and commanded by our religion. We had the gratifying acknowledgment that our former donations were received, and were of great and essential benefit, although they were insufficient to avert the calamities which then hung over Greece. Let us now make one more generous contribution; and let us indulge the hope that, while we exhibit to the world the interesting spectacle of this great, free, and Christian nation, sending its ships bearing relief to the immediate sufferings of Greece, these offerings may be among the means which will be sanctified by that Power in whose hands are the destinies of nations, for her emancipation.

PATRIOTISM.

SYRACUSE, JULY 4, 1831.

Among civilized men, the love of country is principally affected by moral influences, and by no other moral influence so greatly as that of the love of freedom. Though nature and reason teach all men that liberty and equality are inalienable rights, yet the comforts and security of social life, have most frequently been purchased by the almost absolute surrender of native independence. The inhabitant of almost every civilized land under the sun, hath found, so soon as he came to the age of moral responsibility, that he was the subject of despotism over mind and person, so long and so closely riveted upon his country, that he has deemed all exertions hopeless, and has thenceforth gone on, as his forefathers had done before him, despairing of emancipation from the hour when he first felt the pressure, until he sunk into the dust whence he sprung, leaving the memory of his own sufferings to swell the aggregate of his country's wrongs. The impulses of a heart, beating with aspirations for freedom, are continually wearing away the ties which bind man to an enslaved soil. Another land may be dear to him, because it contains the spot where he was born, the home of his childhood, the haunts of his youth, the field of his labors, the graves of those whose memory he loves and venerates; but that land which he most loves, is the land where his limbs are unshackled, and his soul is free.

Americans have been often accused of an exaggerated estimation of their country and its institutions; and it is said that on festive occasions like the present, this weakness of national character is conspicuously displayed; but if I have correctly stated the influences by which the love of country is governed, and if liberty be justly esteemed the most invaluable right of man, and boon of Heaven, then who shall condemn the citizen of this republic for glorying in his native land? Whoever will study the

character of the earliest immigrants to this country, will find that they were all alike unquiet under ecclesiastical and civil abridgment of their rights, he will find the same indomitable love of liberty among the Episcopalian adventurers on the Roanoke, the Puritans, who, in the fear of God, established their congregation upon the rock of Plymouth, the Quakers on the Schuylkill, the Catholics on the Susquehannah, the Netherlanders on the Hudson, the Germans on the Lehigh, and the Swedes and Fins at Cape Henlopen. He will be ready to say, that God in his providence, seems to have collected from the nations of Europe, men of sturdy limbs, free minds, and bold hearts, to lay broad and deep the foundations of a state, which for the benefit of the human race, was to prove, under the most propitious circumstances, the experiment of a popular representative government. More elevated, more enlightened, and no less ardent devotion to liberty, distinguished the actors in the heroic struggle by which the colonial relation to Great Britain was severed. Degenerate descendants of such ancestors should we indeed be, did we not value above all other blessings the boon of liberty — above all other distinctions, that of self-government.

The charge to which I have referred has been made almost solely by English writers and tourists; but has been so often and so pertinaciously urged by them, and withal has found so much favor among their countrymen, as to warrant us in regarding it as the expression of the English people. We reverence the constitution and laws of the British nation, as the model of our own; we love its fame, and claim to participate in it as a common inheritance. Its enterprise in commerce, its discoveries in science, and skill in the arts, we in common with the benefited world acknowledge; but if Englishmen accuse us of national vanity, may we not thus reply to them: —

'If you rejoice in the immunity of your persons from arbitrary arrest, and of your houses from unlawful search, secured by the check of your commons upon your hereditary king and aristocracy, may not we rejoice in the same immunity, guarantied to us by a government, every department of which proceeds from our choice, and is directly responsible to our will? If the English husbandmen have reason to be content with the certainty of a sufficient return from the soil for the necessaries and comforts of life, though the first and best fruits of the year go to swell the

riches or feed the luxury of landlords, have the farmers of Onondaga no reason to be grateful that a sky no less benignant, a soil no less fertile is theirs, and that the land which they till is their own, with all its fullness? If you have reason to boast of the freedom of your religious belief and worship, though it is purchased by a tithe of your income, have we no reason to boast of our unbounded and untithed liberty of conscience? If you proudly say that, standing before the English law, the humblest Englishman is equal to the proudest peer in the realm, may not we as proudly assert that here, with laws as equal, courts as learned, and juries as intelligent, all men are peers? If you claim the world's homage for the discoveries of your countrymen in the sciences and arts (and they have outstripped the world beside), though those discoveries illumine the walks of a favored part of your people only, do you find nothing worthy of admiration in a country where universal education enables every man to understand the constitution, laws, interests, and relations of the state, and subjects the sciences and arts to the practical use of all classes of citizens? If you glory in the renown of your military achievements, though your own land and foreign lands have been often flowed by English blood unprofitably shed, may not we glory that, while the force of our arms has been acknowledged even by yourselves, no drop of American blood was ever spilled in war waged for other cause than for freedom's sake? If you boast of commercial and agricultural prosperity, though your statesmen are employed in devising, by taxation least tending to produce insurrection, how to pay the *interest* of your national debt, must we confess ourselves destitute of wealth and enterprise, while our statesmen are discussing the question how to distribute the *surplus* funds of a treasury into which a stream hath scarcely ever flowed from direct taxation? If you claim the blessings of Christendom for the emancipation of the church from papal dominion, have we no claim to your respect for the practical demonstration to the world that religion best flourishes where the hierarchy is severed from the civil authority? If you magnify the valor of your ancient barons who extorted *Magna Charta* from King John, read the Declaration of American Independence, and say, were they a servile race who, "with war in each breast and freedom on each brow," wrung the treaty of recognition from the reluctant hand of George III.? Do you boast of British enterprise? Sur-

vey, then, this land, from the northern lakes to the southern gulfs —from where the Hudson yields up the superabundant fruits of the soil to where the Columbia brings the furs from its deep forests; ask the number of its population; count its cities, towns, and villages, its canals and mines; view the cattle upon its thousand hills, and the grain upon its ten thousand plains—and say, have the few adventurers and their descendants, who in two hundred years have wrought this magic change in the wilderness, degenerated from the standard of the people who in ten centuries have subjected Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Sodor, Jersey, and Man—have established St. George's victorious cross in Northern America and the two Indies—have made London the queen of cities, and England the bulwark of freedom throughout Europe?'

Fellow-citizens, there is no danger of exaggerating the praise of our country. In the enjoyment of blessings, nations as well as individuals are more prone to forget than to overrate their value. It is rather an abuse of terms, than sound reasoning, to censure the national pride of any people. That prejudice in favor of those persons, their possessions, merits, and interests, who are related to or connected with ourselves, which in the limited social circle is deemed illiberal—when so extended as to include the community among whom our lot is cast, the land in which we live, and the institutions established by our fathers, assumes all the characteristics of patriotism; and though it may be indulged in an unreasonable degree, still it has the excuse of generous impulses, and a tendency to holy and elevated purposes. When did France see a more glorious era than when she inscribed on her national palace the motto, "Earth has no nation like the French, no city like Paris, no king like Louis"? When was the most brilliant age of Spain? Even in the days of old Castilian pride. When did Rome cease to be free? When the charm had fled from the words, "I am a Roman citizen."

Such generous pride it becomes us—it is lawful, it is profitable—to indulge on occasions like the present, and to cherish, by the aid of this, and all the other virtuous motives which can operate upon the human heart, the love of our common country—forgetting not, indeed, to acknowledge the mercy of that overruling Providence in whose hand are the destinies of states, and who maketh the nations of the earth to differ from each other "as one star differeth from another star in glory."

And let us not check the generous sympathies which flow forth unbidden, and mingle with those of the survivors of the Revolution — that gloomy period whose despondency and suffering we too often forget in admiring its glorious consummation. Military habits formed in early life create a ruling passion strong even in death; the hand long accustomed to the sword, refuses to obey the unexciting emotions of agricultural pursuits. Hence, most of those survivors, though descending to the grave rich in meritorious achievement, are pensioners upon our munificence. Let us cheer, then, the venerated few who are fast disappearing from the eminence which divides and yet unites the age of heroism with our own. Let us supply their wants, smooth their way, and support their steps even unto the end of their honored pilgrimage. So shall their blessing and the blessing of Him who hath numbered every one of their gray hairs, descend upon us, that our days may be long in the land which the Lord our God hath given us. And when the venerable little band shall no longer grace the simple pageantry of our annual processions, then let their memories and those of their compatriots be hallowed in our public assemblies; let the story of their deeds be inculcated in the earliest education of our children, and let their names go down to posterity familiar in all our dwellings as "household words."

We are admonished, fellow-citizens, by all the considerations, by all the recollections, by all the glowing anticipations which give interest to the employment of the day — by the demonstrated superiority of our government, by the blessings we enjoy, by the blood of our fathers shed for freedom, by the scars of these their survivors, by the claims of posterity, ay, and by the universal struggle of man in the Old World for emancipation — to look well to the stability of our institutions. Are we sure that the simple, beautiful, yet majestic fabric of our government, can never be undermined? Are we quite sure that neither we nor our children shall ever come to drink of the bitter waters of slavery? By no means. There is a law of dissolution to which all the works of man are subject. Even this land, like Italy and the Peloponnesus, like Carthage and Syracuse, must one day own the sway of tyrants. Then the glowing record of our present condition will be read in sad contrast with our then estate, and our land will not, as now, be thronged as a highway cast up for the re-

deemed of the nations, but will be visited in search of monuments of the people who once were free. It is ours to do all that in our day and generation may be done, that this catastrophe may be long postponed; and to that end, it is of the last importance to revive, renew, and invigorate the national feeling of the republic; that national feeling which effected the establishment of our government on the basis of common interests and mutual concessions, and bound together all its parts with common affections; that national feeling which is aroused to scrutiny anxious and untiring, to action bold, patient, and persevering, by every innovation upon the constitution, or the principles upon which it is founded. Dr. Franklin wished that he might be permitted to revisit his country at the expiration of a century after his death. Could he now return, after the lapse of much less than half that period, I fear he would find lamentable evidence of the decline of this national feeling since the Revolutionary age. Methinks Carolina would throw away her pencil and brush out her figures, should her eye encounter the stern look of the patriotic philosopher, while rashly calculating the value of the Union; and New York, I can not but hope, would blush to be found at the fortune-tellers, consulting the chances of a verdict in her favor, in order to determine whether to resist the supreme court before trial of a cause for a few feet of tide-water. These humiliating exhibitions, however, he might say, are the fruits of the temporary success of faction. But what unmitigated indignation would cloud his venerable brow, as he should look upon the picture in the background of which are seen the remnant of the Indian race pausing on their retreating exile into the wilderness, and seeming to say to the sisterhood of free states—'We fought your battles, we spilled our blood in your defence, we relied upon your treaties, we listened to the words of your ministers, and believed; but ye have lusted for our fields and our mines, your chief hath broken our treaties, and abandoned us to the rapacity of the depraved of your people!'—while with few, discordant, half-stifled voices, the group thus addressed are singing pæans to the hero who hath thus violated solemn treaties, and trampled the constitution under his feet!

ANNIVERSARY OF THE TYPOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

ALBANY, MARCH 5, 1839.

I THANK you, Mr. President and gentlemen, for this compliment. While the toast* acquires much piquancy from its curious combination of technical terms, it is not difficult to discover that its sentiment is both sincere and generous. I am happy in the opportunity it affords of making my acknowledgments of the honor conferred by your invitation to participate in your festivities. The power of the press is always acknowledged; but it is not so with the claims of its conductors. Although their influence is everywhere diffused, they have not attained, even in this country, where factitious distinctions have scarcely an existence, the consideration to which they are entitled. It is obviously true that republican institutions, enlarged and adapted to the government of great and enlightened nations, are among the consequences of the discovery of the art of printing. I shall be greatly disappointed if, on the other hand, it be not a result of republican institutions that the management of the press, in its various departments, shall come to be regarded as a liberal profession. Why should it not be so? Although it involves mechanical employment, that employment itself perpetually exercises the intellectual powers, in a boundless range of study and contemplation. I should be unfaithful to friends I see here, and absent friends, always properly remembered on occasions like this, were I not to say that, so far as my knowledge of men extends, I have seen in no class of society patriotism more disinterested, a love of truth more pure, sentiments more elevated, a friendship more devoted, than among those engaged in the concerns of the press.

* "The governor of the state of New York—A new *foreman* in the *old chapel.* May he so *justify* his *head-lines,* that there will be no *squabbling* or *falling out.*"

If I might take a liberty with a verse of that delightful Quaker bard, Bernard Barton, I could say —

> "This I know and have felt, and thus knowing and feeling,
> Unjust and ungrateful I surely should be,
> If my heartfelt respect and obligations concealing,
> My friends of the press were unhonored by me."

I marvel not, gentlemen, that you find great satisfaction in contemplating the achievements of your noble art. It is a modern invention, and all its wonderful results lie within the period of accurate and uninterrupted history. Yet how imperfectly does history present them! Whatever we possess of philosophy, of literature, of liberty and religion, seems, if not to have been produced, at least to have been diffused among all our people, by the art of printing. If we reflect still more closely, we can scarcely conceive that this continent would have emerged from its obscurity, and civilized man have enjoyed a habitation here, but for the universal illumination of the world by printing.

Great as these achievements have been, they are inconsiderable when compared with the destiny of the noble art. It is a law of our condition that we are constantly employing, for temporary ends and immediate advantage, agents whose powers are yet but partially known, and whose results will astonish future ages. Of no agent is this more true than of the press. Imagine the time when the press shall have broken its fetters throughout Europe; when it shall have attained its full sway in South America; when it shall be enlightening a busy world on the coast of the Pacific ocean; when it shall have been established on the shores of the Nile and the Ganges, and in all the islands of the sea — and the philosopher's dream of universal liberty will cease to be considered a fond imagination, and the religious expectation of a millennium to be regarded as a superstitious delusion.

SUNDAY-SCHOOL CELEBRATION.

STATEN ISLAND, JULY 4, 1839.

My Friends and Fellow-Citizens:

We have come up here to rejoice that we are a free people, and that we live under the protection of republican institutions. Theorists of other countries may speculate upon the dangers which beset our constitution. The parasites of power and favorites of fortune may censure our principles and our manners; yet if the sense of mankind could be taken, by offering to the people of every nation, and kindred, and tongue on earth, the constitution, the franchises, and the condition, we enjoy, our fellow-men would everywhere rise at once from under long-endured oppression, and become freemen and republicans as we are.

It is right and proper to assemble ourselves together, to do honor to the memory of our forefathers. Our liberty and security were obtained by their privations and sacrifices; yet these privations and sacrifices were voluntary. The exactions of England were not yet extreme. The weight of her oppression was not yet intolerable. All might have been yielded that was demanded, and all could have been endured that was sought to be inflicted, and the people of the American colonies would nevertheless have remained more free and less oppressed than any other nation on earth. But modified liberty and comparative security were not enough to satisfy the demands of our ancestors. They had conceived the idea of absolute independence of foreign power, and had wisely learned that true freedom could only be secured by institutions of self-government. They never stopped to calculate how much of the cost was to fall upon them, and how small must be their share of the inestimable benefit of the Revolution.

It is a purpose worthy of our coming here, to render ascriptions of praise and thanksgiving for the Divine favor and protection. Nor could any other ceremonial of worship be so suitable as that you have adopted, of bringing hither the children and youth of

your great city, to relate to them here, beneath the forest-shade, and upon the hillside, the wonders that God hath done in our behalf. It has its precedents in the numerous injunctions of the prophets to transmit in like manner the traditions of his favor toward his chosen people.

But exultation because we are free, might well be the action even of minds selfish and ignoble. Gratitude to our forefathers, if it produces no beneficent result, is only an unavailing homage to the dead. Even ascriptions of praise to God merit no acceptance if they proceed from hearts that are not inspired with charity toward our fellow-men. When we adopt measures for diffusing throughout a wider sphere the freedom we enjoy, and extending its fruition to more distant generations, benevolence crowns all the other motives which render this a day of festivity and praise throughout our land.

And there is need enough, my fellow-citizens, for such benevolent action as this in which you are engaged. Our institutions, excellent as they are, have hitherto produced but a small portion of the beneficent results they are calculated to confer upon the people. The chief of those benefits is *equality*. We do indeed enjoy equality of civil rights; but we have not yet attained, we have only approximated toward, what is even more important—*equality of social condition*.

From the beginning of time, aristocracy has existed, and society has been divided into classes—the rich and the poor—the strong and the dependent—the learned and the unlearned; and from this inequality of social condition have resulted the ignorance, the crime, and the sufferings of the people. Let it excite no wonder when I say that this inequality exists among us, and that aristocracy has a home even in the land of freedom. It does not, indeed, deprive us of our civil rights, but it prevents the diffusion of prosperity and happiness. We should be degenerate descendants of our heroic forefathers did we not assail this aristocracy, remove the barriers between the rich and the poor, break the control of the few over the many, extend the largest liberty to the greatest number, and strengthen in every way the democratic principles of our constitution.

This is the work in which you are engaged. Sunday-schools and common schools are the great levelling institutions of the age. What is the secret of aristocracy? It is, that knowledge

is power. Knowledge, the world over, has been possessed by the few, and ignorance has been the lot of the many. The merchant — what is it that gives him wealth? The lawyer — what is it that gives him political power? The clergy — what is it that gives them influence so benign for good purposes, so effective for mischievous ends? Knowledge. What makes *this* man a common laborer, and the *other* a usurer — *this* man a slave, and the *other* a tyrant? Knowledge. Knowledge can never be taken from those by whom it has once been attained; and hence the power which it confers upon the few can not be broken while the many are uneducated. Strip its possessors of all their wealth, and power, and honors, and knowledge still remains the same mighty agent to restore again the inequality you have removed. But there is a more effectual way to banish aristocracy from among us. It is by extending the advantages of knowledge to the many — to all the citizens of the state. Just so far and so fast as education is extended, democracy is ascendent.

I wish you, my fellow-citizens, God speed in your benevolent and patriotic labors. Seldom does it happen to any citizen to render to his country any service more lasting or more effectual than that which is accomplished by the teachers of such schools as these. While they are at work throughout the country, we need indulge no fears of extending too widely the privilege of suffrage and the right of citizenship.

I present you my humble and grateful acknowledgments for the generous welcome you have given me. Although it may not be in my power to accomplish any good design which I have cherished, and by which I have hoped to contribute something to the prosperity of the state, I can never forget that, under circumstances so propitious, I had the privilege of raising my voice as an advocate for the moral and intellectual improvement of the people.

ADDRESS.

OGDENSBURGH, AUGUST 15, 1839.

I THANK you for the generous sentiments* you have expressed, and for connecting my name with two such important subjects as education and internal improvement. I know full well that this kind mention of my name, is not for anything I have been able to accomplish, but arises from a desire which I cherish, in common with my fellow-citizens, to advance and promote those great interests. Important as internal improvements must be regarded, it is still subordinate to general education. It is a law of nature that man shall labor and draw his sustenance from the earth, and knowledge is indispensable to his successful efforts. It is true that there is an intimate connection between these subjects. Education enables the people to judge of the value, necessity, and importance of internal improvements, and improvements stimulate enterprise and give impulse to the cause of education.

Many have expressed their fears for the perpetuity of our republican institutions, but for my part, while a judicious course of popular education is pursued, I cherish no such apprehensions. Our country embraces a wide extent of territory, and a great diversity of people; yet under all circumstances from the highest grades of moral and intellectual excellence, to the lowest grade of condemned criminals, all admit the justice of those principles on which our government is based. Of this general acquiescence in the principles of our institutions there is sufficient evidence in the fact that treason has not been named among our crimes for the last forty years. What then can shake the institutions of the country? Without a standing army we are able to maintain our territory inviolate. Our security arises from the fact that the bayonets of sixteen millions of freemen are ready

* This speech was a brief reply to the following sentiment:—

"The Governor of the State of New York—The ardent and devoted friend of UNIVERSAL EDUCATION and INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT, the two main pillars of the republican system."

to volunteer in the defence of our free institutions. When I contrast these facts with the condition of other countries, where a standing army is necessary to carry into effect the mandates of government, I do not hesitate to express my firm conviction, that in no country has such general and undoubted loyalty been manifested toward the institutions of a country, as in republican America. This is the loyalty which educated men cherish for a government founded on just principles, which protects them in their rights of property, social enjoyment, and religious faith and worship, and while every citizen is true to himself and alive to the importance of the two subjects with which my name has been so flatteringly connected, our institutions will not only continue, but must extend, and find new advocates wherever education and internal improvement are cherished. I have always, at all times and under all circumstances, been the sincere advocate of the development of our physical resources, and the extension of popular education, as measures paramount to all other political questions. There can be no improvement of the physical condition of a country which will not stimulate all the motives to moral and intellectual improvement of the people; and the increased intelligence of the country directs their attention to the removal of every physical barrier to the prosperity of the state. Education is constantly increasing the number of those who justly estimate the advantages and resources of the country. Internal improvement distributes to every portion of the state, and among all its citizens, the comforts and enjoyments of civilized life, in the absence of which knowledge is seldom extended, and patriotism rarely beneficially displayed.

While I am thankful that my name has been connected with these important questions, I assure you all that I am willing to abide the issue of the public judgment on these measures. It could not gratify a generous mind to fill any place in the public view, if that mind cherished no desire to contribute to the public welfare. But if the individual on whom important responsibilities are devolved, can see, as the fruits of his public action, one acre rendered more productive, one section brought nearer to the common centre, one new product offered in the common market, or one additional institution of learning opened to the children of the commonwealth, he may truly rejoice that he has not labored in vain. He may follow the consequences of such enlightened

action through a long course of years, and perceive them widely and more widely extending, increasing the aggregate of social and domestic happiness, and the stability of republican institutions.

Much as mankind cherish the love of liberty, it is not the only object of desire. Give them freedom, and they will demand improvement as the natural means of gratifying their rational desires. In this country the people are free in their political, social, and religious action, yet from one boundary to the other they are excited with the desire of improvement, and they will not be disappointed or delayed in their efforts. It is the object of republican institutions to encourage and stimulate improvement of the physical condition of the country, and to promote the moral and intellectual advancement of its citizens; to discourage military ambition, and shun the causes which produce stagnation of enterprise and promote personal faction, that engross the passions of the people, and arrest the progress of improvement.

If the theory of our constitution was fully expounded by its founders, its most complete security is to be effected by the highest attainable equality in the social condition of our citizens. Power will always unite with the few or the many, according to the extension or limitation of knowledge. The highest attainable equality is to be accomplished by education and internal improvement, as they distribute among the whole community the advantages of knowledge and wealth.

ADDRESS.*

OGDENSBURGH, AUGUST 20, 1839.

GENTLEMEN:

HAD I anticipated in past years that my present responsibilities would fall upon me, I should not have been until now a stranger in the northern region of the state. Late as it is, I accomplish a long-cherished desire in coming here to learn the resources, the interests, and the exigencies of this portion of the state, that I may be more able hereafter to contribute to its advancement, and the prosperity of its citizens.

I have come among you, neither seeking nor desiring any public demonstrations of kindness or respect. How much I am gratified by the welcome which has been extended to me by all classes of my fellow-citizens, I will not attempt to describe. I pray you, however, gentlemen, to be assured that no incident which has occurred to me here, and no incident which has ever occurred to me, has affected me more deeply than this acknowledgment of your favorable regard, growing out of my action in the painful case to which you have referred. I know that you have overrated the merit of that action, yet I do rejoice on every occasion to vindicate the democratic principles of our government; and I have seen that the principle involved in this last occasion is one upon which there is too often a tendency to encroach. I can not but feel that the expression to which I have listened proceeds from hearts as generous and unsophisticated as the expressions themselves are ardent and unmeasured. The principle of equal toleration of religious creeds lies at the base of our constitution, and side by side with it is that of equality of social and political rights. As I have understood the theory of our government, it was intended, not only to secure to native

* Address to the Catholics of Ogdensburgh, touching the matter of allowing their priests to visit condemned criminals. See letter to sheriff of Lewis county, Vol. II.

citizens life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, but to offer an asylum also to the oppressed of all lands.

With regard to those who avail themselves of the invitation thus sent abroad throughout the earth, I know, as a magistrate, of no rule of action but to practise that equality which the laws prescribe; as a citizen, none but to inquire what would be the rights and privileges I should think myself entitled to demand in a country whose institutions were established for the purpose of affording the greatest measure of social, political, and religious liberty, to all who might seek their protection. As an American citizen, I should certainly expect, in any such country, whether catholic or protestant, free toleration and enjoyment of my religious faith and worship. That toleration and enjoyment I would secure to you and to all others who may seek a refuge here; and our institutions are unworthy the veneration you have so justly expressed, and I entertain for them, if it can not safely be allowed.

Accept, gentlemen, my grateful acknowledgments, and my ardent wishes that your pursuits may be rewarded with success, and that the God of your fathers and mine may crown your lives with prosperity, peace, and happiness.

ADDRESS.

BATH, STEUBEN COUNTY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1839.

GENTLEMEN:

HAVING had many occasions to regret the want of an adequate knowledge of the physical formation, the actual condition, and the capabilities of improvement of the regions of the state lying along its boundaries, I have visited the shores of our northern lakes and rivers, and, after a journey of several weeks, have arrived here, in my progress through the region of the sources of the great rivers of the south. With the exception of a week spent among my friends in Chautauque county, I have denied myself the pleasure of intercourse with my fellow-citizens in any form. I shall, nevertheless, be compelled by previous engagements to relinquish for the present my purpose of visiting the southern tier of counties east of Tioga. You will please accept this explanation as my apology for that omission, as well as for the haste in which I shall leave the county of Steuben. It is to be desired that every citizen of the state engaged in public affairs should be intimately acquainted with all the different portions of its territory. If he could thus obtain a personal knowledge of the immense mineral resources and manufacturing advantages of the north, and of the agricultural and commercial advantages of the west and south, he would have a just conception of the greatness and power of the whole state, and the unity and harmony of its varied interests. He would no longer regard the state as weak and impoverished, or any portion of it as unworthy the fostering care of the legislature. He would no longer fear that the improvement of one section would impair the prosperity of another; nor longer doubt the ability of the state, with judicious and well-directed efforts, to accomplish the desired improvements of the whole.

If he were a republican, and understood the operation of equal

suffrage, he would learn how impossible it is to retain one section in a condition of inferiority to others which are enriched by the aid of the state; and how idle it is to believe that, while canals waft with certainty and rapidity toward the commercial emporiums of the states the productions and manufactures of the west, those of the north and south shall continue to bear the consuming expenses of conveyance upon common roads, and of the dilatory and precarious transportation upon the St. Lawrence, the Allegany, the Susquehannah, and Delaware, to more distant and less profitable markets. He would learn that while the central and eastern regions of the state enjoy the advantages of mails twice a day, conveyed by steam upon rivers and railroads, the citizens of the north and south will not and ought not to be content to receive their agricultural, commercial, social, and political intelligence, one, two, three, or four days later than that enjoyed by their fellow-citizens living at the same distance from the capitals of the state and the Union. He would acknowledge that Internal Improvement, instead of being a demon come to spread desolation over the land, is a beneficent spirit, whose sway he would invoke, until it shall bring the comfort and enjoyment of social life to every family in the state; that instead of raising a few to unequal and inordinate wealth, internal improvement distributes among the cultivators of the soil, and the laborers from every region, the hoarded treasures of our cities and of Europe. Instead of establishing a splendid government to oppress the people and exhaust their substance, it increases the individual knowledge and wealth of the agricultural class, and diminishes the influence and power of those who enjoy central and commercial locations. The Erie canal, the Champlain canal, and all our other canals and railroads, were made under the influence of those who were called enthusiasts. Much as is said about abandoning our public works already constructed, we have yet to learn which one of them the people are willing to relinquish. Improvements and inventions have often been effected by those who believed that more could be accomplished than was found to be practicable. But no useful improvement or invention was ever made by one whose prudence exceeded his enterprise. There is nothing mysterious in the matter of canals and railroads. It has been always known that burdens are more easily carried upon the water than upon the land. It has been but recently discov-

ered, or at least the invention has but recently been applied to practical purposes, that burdens are more easily and therefore more cheaply transported upon iron rails on graded planes than over the unequal and rough surfaces of common roads. Canals and railroads, like turnpikes and M'Adam roads, are but improved roads adapted to the increased business of the community, and the enterprise of the times. I can no more yield my assent to the arguments of those who oppose the construction of such railroads as the exigencies of the community require, than I can admit that the expenditures heretofore made in the construction of common roads, turnpike and M'Adam roads, were wasteful and injurious to the public welfare or the public morals, or dangerous to democratic government.

But there is this advantage in these improvements over common roads. The increased amount of transportation, and the diminution of its expenses, render them capable, as a whole system, of defraying the cost of their construction and maintenance without resort to taxation. The experience of this state, and the most careful investigation of its financial resources, warrant the conviction that every improvement hitherto admitted, as a part of the system, can be effected without taxation, or the creation of a debt which will now or hereafter render taxation necessary. The only questions are, whether our canals shall, by judicious means, be rendered as productive as possible, and whether their income shall be expended for the public welfare and the further improvement of the state.

I am not now, gentlemen, for the first time to express my views in relation to the New York and Erie railroad. At the time of the passage of the act incorporating the New York and Erie Railroad Company, I was of opinion that it was an enterprise *too* large for the capacity of such a corporation, and which, if intrusted to a corporation, would be likely to give it too great an influence. Other views, however, prevailed; and I have since that time cordially acquiesced in the policy which has been adopted of affording legislative aid to this and other companies. I have observed, however, with regret, that the company have not been able to prosecute the work with the energy necessary to secure its construction. Both houses of the legislature seem to have come to the same conclusion. It belongs of right to the legislature, and is foreign to the duties of the executive, to assume to

direct in regard to the manner of raising and appropriating public moneys. But there can be no impropriety in my saying—what has doubtless been well understood throughout the state—that the bill which was passed by the assembly at the last session, providing for the construction of the New York and Erie railroad, had my decided approbation, and that I should have signed it with the greatest satisfaction (had it passed the senate), not only as a measure justly due to the people of the southern counties, and wisely calculated to advance the prosperity of the state, but also as one which would honorably distinguish the period of my connection with the administration of public affairs. These views are confirmed by more intimate acquaintance with the region more particularly interested in the improvement, and I am satisfied that the expense of the work has been greatly and unnecessarily exaggerated, while its usefulness has been but imperfectly conceived. Entertaining these opinions, I shall be at all times ready and willing to co-operate in the same measure, and yield as I have heretofore done my best exertions for the accomplishment of this great improvement. I pray you, gentlemen, to receive and to make known to the citizens of Steuben county, whom you represent, my grateful acknowledgments for the kindness extended to me during my brief visit here.

SPEECH.*

ALBANY, MARCH 17, 1840.

Mr. President:

This kindness compels me to speak, although I had hoped to remain a silent partaker of your hospitalities. Having risen, I should be a churlish and ungrateful guest should I express other sentiments and feelings than those which the occasion inspires. I must speak, as every one will who shall follow me, of Ireland and Irishmen. Yet I have been admonished on more occasions than one, that, because it is my fortune now to be concerned in public affairs, I must not speak of your country and your countrymen as throughout my whole life I have spoken, and as I feel that every American citizen ought to speak, lest I may be thought unduly desirous of your good opinion.

Mr. President, I have followed a plain and simple rule thus far, and I think I shall not abandon it now. It is, to speak my honest opinions on all proper occasions, even when those opinions may be unpopular; and I certainly shall not, on such occasions, suppress the common feelings of kindness, gratitude, affection, or sympathy, because in any quarter they may be deemed affected or insincere. I say, therefore, in all plainness, that I am among you to-night because I think it is right to be here. It is a duty which, as a citizen, I owe to my country, to cherish and to manifest feelings of respect, of kindness, and of equality, toward adopted citizens. Why should alienation exist between native and adopted citizens? We are all of one race. We have the same passions, hopes, interests, responsibilities, duties, and affections. Distant as our native lands are asunder, there is no longer an ocean between us. God has not made us such that our moral and intellectual faculties must droop, or such that we must lose our virtues, when we leave the spot or the country where

* Address to the Irishmen of Albany, on St. Patrick's day, in reply to a complimentary toast given at the festival to which Governor Seward had been invited.

we were born. The whole earth is the home of man, and he may rightfully seek happiness and do good in any part of his broad heritage. As to us, however it may have been heretofore, we have now one constitution to maintain, one country to defend. You may exclude from the calendar of your saints, ministers whose teaching I venerate, and I may not revere all the Christian fathers acknowledged by your church; yet whatever there is right in the creed, or pure and acceptable in the worship of either, has the same Divine authority, and is imbued with the same precious hopes: and as to all the points whereon we differ, we are alike inhibited from judging each other. Why should the native American indulge prejudice against foreigners. It is to hate such as his forefathers were. Why should a foreigner dislike native citizens? It is to hate such as his children, born here, must be.

For my own part, I should be no true American if I did not feel toward your country and her sons as I always speak of them. I have had some opportunity to learn something of both, and therefore I know your motives and reasons for expatriation. I shall never forget the indignation with which I looked upon the monuments of the subjection of Ireland. Many of you may remember an equestrian statue which graces the College-green in Dublin, and bears an inscription purporting that it was erected to commemorate the restoration of liberty, and the establishment of religion in Ireland, by William of Orange. Protestant as I am, I could not wonder that such a monument should be regarded as a perpetual insult to Ireland and Irishmen, and that for more than one hundred years it has been necessary to surround it with a guard on the recurrence of every seventeenth of March, to preserve it from demolition. And that majestic palace, the parliament-house — the capitol of Ireland — when I saw it converted into a bank, and its spacious halls, that once resounded with Irish eloquence, now filled with money-changers, my mind reverted to the night when an Irish parliament, corrupted by British influence, betrayed their country into a provincial connection with England. I felt, that, had I had a seat there, I would rather have been dragged lifeless from the senate-chamber than have yielded to such a union. Were I a citizen now, I would "agitate and agitate," until that union was repealed, and an Irish parliament and Irish liberty were restored. I have heard Daniel

O'Connell proclaim his country's wrongs in the British parliament; and if he be as eloquent as you believe, and in truth I think he is so, how could I fail to sympathize with his efforts for her emancipation? When emigrants from such a country—a country of brave, generous, and intellectual men, conquered, degraded, and oppressed—seek liberty and happiness here, why should we refuse them a cordial and a generous greeting? Is it because most of those who seek our shores are poor and of low estate? Let such as *can* trace their pedigree through three generations, and find cause of pride in such an accident, indulge so mean a sentiment. I have no such advantage. Those who prosper upon Ireland's misfortunes, have no need to abandon her; and for myself, if I had the power to choose, whether to confer the rights of citizenship upon such, or upon the friendless laborers who crowd to our shores, I should on every consideration prefer the latter. They improve their own condition, they contribute to the improvement of ours; and they can know and appreciate the value of equal laws and free institutions. I have no fear of evil to our institutions from such accessions to our population. What power can overthrow institutions that enlist every citizen in their defence? Who can undermine a constitution whose foundations are jealously watched by every citizen of the state? I know that our institutions command, as they must, the respect and secure the affections of all men, and especially of those who have been trodden down in foreign lands, or sufferers by poverty or adversity in our own. So long as our legislature will provide from our ample resources for the education of all the children of the commonwealth, and so long as the Christian religion has sway in the land, popular suffrage may be left without any other limitation than those fixed by the constitution, universal as the masses that live under the protection of our laws.

But, gentlemen, I rose not to make a speech, but to thank you in the simplest manner for all your kindness toward me now and heretofore, and to make my apology for what I have spoken on other occasions.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY.

NEW YORK, MAY, 1839.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.—The twenty-third annual meeting of the American Bible Society was held at the Broadway Tabernacle, May 9, 1839, the Hon. John Cotton Smith, the president, in the chair, supported by Governor Seward and by Vice-Presidents Peter A. Jay and others. Governor Seward's brief remarks were made in seconding the following resolution, offered by Rev. Sylvester Holmes: "Resolved, That as ten years have now elapsed since the previous effort to supply the United States with the Bible, and as our population has greatly increased since that period, it behooves the auxiliaries in every section of the country to commence a second supply, and prosecute the same with vigor."—*Ed.*

I HAD no expectation of appearing in this place as the advocate even of such a cause as that of the American Bible Society. The only reason why I feel reluctant to do so is, that the abundant occupation imposed on me by my official duty has prevented me from bestowing any thought upon the subject of an address becoming this occasion. I had, however, agreed to second, as I now very cheerfully do, the resolution offered by the reverend gentleman who has just taken his seat, and I hope that measures may be taken for carrying it into full effect. I will offer to the assembly but one suggestion. The constitution of the United States established a republican form of government for the free people of this Union; and it has ordained that once in every ten years the number of souls under the protection of that constitution, and in the enjoyment of the freedom which it secures, shall be ascertained, in order that their political rights may be secured, and that each portion of the country shall enjoy its just and proper proportion of power. I know not how long a republican government can flourish among a great people who have not the Bible; the experiment has never been tried: but this I do know, that the existing government of this country never could have had existence but for the Bible. And, further, I do in my conscience believe that if, at every decade of years, a copy of the Bible could be found in every family of the land, its republican institutions would be perpetual.

SPEECH.

CHERRY VALLEY, JULY 4, 1840.

Introductory Note.—The centennial celebration of the town of Cherry Valley, Otsego county, occurred on the 4th of July, 1840. The occasion was one of considerable interest, and was observed with becoming demonstrations by the people of that ancient town. Addresses were made by Gov. Seward, Rev. Dr. Nott, of Union College, Hon. William W. Campbell, Judge Hammond, and others. Among the toasts at the dinner was the following: "Our fellow-citizen, William H. Seward, Governor of this State—of the Empire State. We hail his appearance on an occasion so interesting, and we appreciate the honor he does us by becoming our guest. No higher evidence can be furnished of exalted talents and distinguished personal merit, than an election to the first office in the state by the voluntary suffrages of a great, free, intelligent, and virtuous people." In reply to this sentiment, Gov. Seward made the following speech:—

Ours is a country in which all that is old is yet new. We may deceive ourselves with the belief that we have antiquity, but we nowhere find its ruins. I have been impressed with this in looking upon the celebration of the foundation of this beautiful town, while all around me are the evidences of youthfulness and prosperity. I have always desired to visit this place which was so long an outpost of civilization in the western forests. Your annals have been made interesting by the fortitude, energy, and enterprise of your forefathers, and memorable by the perils, privations, and desolations of savage warfare. I have desired to see for myself the valleys of Otsego, through which the Susquehannah extends his arms and entwines his fingers with the tributaries of the Mohawk, as if to divert that gentle river from its allegiance to the Hudson. If I could have chosen the time for a visit here it would have been on this occasion, when the political excitement, unavoidable in a country where the conduct of rulers is watched with the jealousy of freemen, is temporarily allayed, and the discordant elements of party strife are hushed under the influence of recollections of a common ancestry, and common sufferings in the cause of liberty.

Your gifted orator has given us your entire local and domestic history. Does it not seem strange that so many extraordinary changes, so many important events, and so many thrilling inci-

dents have occurred in the lapse of a hundred years. A hundred years! how short a period! That life is considered short which does not reach fifty years, and that one is only very long which comprises a hundred. A hundred years! A hundred times this period of twelve months which the earth requires for the irrigation of its soil and the production of its fruits; a hundred times this circle of three hundred and sixty-five days — days that so often pass like a dream, and are unnoted "but by their loss." Who, that places a tombstone in the village churchyard to the memory of a departed friend, would not sigh to think that that monument of his affection will fall to the earth, and his friend occupy an undistinguished grave, within a hundred years? Who, that establishes a constitution, invents an engine, teaches a new science, or founds a new sect, will be content that his community, his invention, his science, or his creed, shall give place to new discoveries within a hundred years? Yet a hundred years is no unimportant portion of time. It includes the periods of four generations. In a single century four thousand millions of human beings appear on the earth, act their busy parts, and sink into its peaceful bosom. A little more than half that period carries us back to the time when this great and free empire, now respected in every land, had no place among the nations of the earth. Only a hundred times has the scythe passed over this valley since your ancestors pursued their weary way up the Mohawk and over these hills, and planted here the first settlement of the Anglo-Saxon race west of the Hudson. They found the Six Nations here as confident of perpetual enjoyment of this fair land as we now are. And yet so soon the tide of immigration has flowed over this valley, and filled the valleys of the Ohio, and the Wabash, and the Mississippi, and the Missouri — and now scarcely the name of the Six Nations remains! Only twice a hundred years have elapsed since the first navigator entered the bay of New York, and not four centuries have passed since Columbus astonished the world with the discovery of this great continent. It is only ten centuries since all Europe, moved by wild fanaticism, poured her embattled hosts upon the fields of Palestine; and less than sixty times a hundred years, according to an accustomed chronology, carry us back to the epoch when there was no time, nor light, nor life, nor earth, nor heavens — and God said, 'Let all these be,' and they were.

We have reviewed the record of the last hundred years concerning the inhabitants of this beautiful valley. What is its more general history, and what is its promise of the future? Alas that it must be said that, although the spirit of Christianity has diffused a wider and warmer influence than ever before, yet the last century, like the fifty-seven that preceded it, has been filled with the calamities of mankind! It dawned upon one broad scene of war, extending throughout England, Russia, Prussia, Poland, Spain, Bavaria, Sardinia, and France. Through a period of eighty years, with the occasional intervals of partial peace, the fires of war burned over the continent of Europe, after extending desolation into Asia, Africa, and even into this new and remote continent, until, within our own recollection, the world's great disturber was confined on the rock of St. Helena, and the exhausted nations found repose and peace. No nation has escaped the evils of war, and few have been exempt from revolution. Hostile armies have overrun France, Holland, Saxony, Belgium, Bavaria, Sardinia, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Austria, Hungary, Prussia, and other German states, Poland, Russia, and Switzerland, Egypt and Persia, and all the states of North and South America. Some maintained their sovereignty, some received their independence, but others have gone down for ever. No wonder that the pious and benevolent poet exclaimed—

> "My ear is pained,
> My soul is sick, with every day's report
> Of wrong and outrage with which earth is filled!"

The occupation of man has been war, his ambition conquest, his enjoyment rapine and bloodshed.

Yet dark as the picture of the last century seems, it is relieved by lights more cheering than any that has shone upon our race in the previous course of time. The human mind has advanced with unparalleled rapidity in discoveries in science and the arts. Civilization has been carried into new regions, and has distributed more equally than ever heretofore the enjoyments and comforts of life. The education which a hundred years ago was a privilege of the few, is now acknowledged to be the right of all. What were luxuries a hundred years ago, are common enjoyments now. A renovating spirit is abroad in the world. The slave-trade, a hundred years ago regarded as lawful commerce by all Christian nations, is now denounced as piracy by most civilized states, and

the rights of man are secured by benign and wholesome laws. All expense and delay in passage and transportation from place to place are an incumbrance upon human labor. Yet it seems as if it were but yesterday since we learned that burden might be more cheaply carried on parallel iron rails than on the rough and unequal surface of the ground, and now railroads are common thoroughfares, and animal force is too feeble an agent for locomotion. Those who reflect upon the rapidity with which intelligence, social, commercial, and political, is diffused throughout our country and the civilized world, will hardly believe that a hundred years ago scarcely a dozen vessels arrived in all our ports from Europe, and that seventy-six years ago a mail-coach was unknown. The object of all government is the welfare of the governed, yet it is only sixty-five years since this model of practical, permanent, and free republican government was set up for the maintenance of American liberty, and to animate the hopes and efforts of mankind. The religion of the cross is carried further and more effectively now than under the banner of Constantine, or even the preaching of the apostles. The philosophy of Bacon, and the Newtonian and Copernican systems, were taught a hundred years ago; and alchemy, after long abuses of the credulity of mankind, had introduced the elements of chemistry: but the practical advantages resulting from all these sciences have been realized chiefly within a hundred years.

If the principles of civil liberty are imperfectly understood now, what could have been the condition of human rights before the day of Sicard, La Fayette, Wilberforce, Paine, Jefferson, Hamilton, and Washington? How obscure must have been the science of laws before Montesquieu, Puffendorf, Blackstone, Bentham, and Livingston, reduced it to form and symmetry! How limited would be our knowledge of history if we were deprived of the writings of Rollin, Robertson, Leland, Hume, Gillies, Littleton, Priestley, Marshall, Russel, Roscoe, Gibbon, Hallam, and Raynal! How has the human mind been enlightened in that most mysterious of all mysteries, itself, by the philosophy of Stewart, Reid, and Browne! How have theology and moral science been enriched by Edwards, Jenyns, Paley, Zimmerman, Johnson, and Ferguson! In natural philosophy, what a blank would be produced by striking out the discoveries of Herschel, Halle, Franklin, Davy, Rumford, and Delonti! How profitless would be our

researches in natural history without Linnæus and Buffon for our guides! What would we have known of political economy but for the writings of Malthus, Smith, and Say! We can scarcely conceive of literature destitute of the works of Cowper, Pope, Thomson, Beattie, Gray, Gay, Goldsmith, Johnson, M'Pherson, Roscoe, Scott, Burns, Goethe, Byron, and Moore. In even such a superficial review as this of the contributions of the last century to the knowledge, virtue, and happiness of our race, we forget that the human mind has been two thirds of the whole period stretched in extreme tension in the excitement of war, and that what it has accomplished in the way of science and art has been done in its occasional seasons of repose from the study and occupation of arms; that what has been expended in establishing schools, colleges, and seminaries, and in making roads and canals, has been only what has been saved from the prodigality of war. Happy, thrice happy will it be for us and for mankind if we extract from the history of the last century its true philosophy. Among its instructions are of a certainty these truths: that peace is indispensable to the improvement and happiness of man, that improvement is his highest duty, and arts, not arms, his right occupation; that republican government, resting upon equal and universal suffrage, can only secure an exemption from the ambition of conquest and the popular discontents which involve nations in foreign wars and civil commotions; that a republican government, resting upon universal and equal suffrage, can only be maintained in a community where education is universally enjoyed, and where internal improvements bind together the various portions of a country in a community of interest and affection. Let us, then, extend our system of schools and our churches, and take care that every child in the state, whatever be his faith, his language, his condition, or his circumstances, or those of his parents, is brought to the instruction of these schools and churches. Let us do this, and let us put on steam upon the land, and steam upon the river and the sea, and the glorious career upon which our country has just entered will continue to be more successful and more glorious still. Those who shall celebrate the next centennial anniversary will bless our memories, and the great prediction of our religion will no longer seem apocryphal, that a time is coming when the nations shall live in peace, and the knowledge of the Lord shall extend over the whole earth.

ST. PATRICK'S DINNER.

ALBANY, MARCH 17, 1842.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

I give you my grateful acknowledgments for this generous reception. I know now, if I did not before, what an Irish welcome is. Gentlemen, it was once my good fortune to sojourn for a brief period in your native country. I saw the features of that land which you are celebrating, and I witnessed the degradation and injuries which call forth your sympathies and the indignation of your countrymen. Educated as I had been at a period when the unsuccessful but glorious effort of the patriots of 1797 for the deliverance of Ireland was fresh in the recollection of the American people, and when the universal sentiment of our country was imbued with sympathy for the Irish exiles who had found an asylum among us, I sought out every spot in Dublin which was marked in the history of the insurrection. I found the son of one of the jurors by whom Robert Emmet was convicted, and listened with thrilling interest to the story of the remorse that juror suffered in after-life. I traced the path of the patriot to his prison, and to the court, and marked the spot on which he stood when he addressed that fearful reply to Lord Norbury, and I visited the place of his execution.

Gentlemen, the English are in many respects a wise as they are a great and powerful nation. They have obtained an empire and ascendency such as Rome once enjoyed. As the Tiber once bore, the Thames now bears, the tribute of many nations, and the English name is now feared and respected as once the Roman was, in every part of the world. But Rome waged no war with the customs, the manners, or the religions, of the countries she subdued. She derived wealth from conquered nations, but she left them their institutions and their altars. Her eagles were the couriers of her arts. She did not hesitate to adopt their phil-

osophy and their religion, when they were better than her own. Thus, while the Roman conquests were extended from the Palatine hill over a great part of the known world, they were formed into one mighty and consolidated empire.

England has been alike ambitious and alike successful. England, too, is prosperous, and her people are contented and loyal. But contentment and loyalty have not been universal in the provinces and dependencies of the English government. France was lost almost as soon as won. Scotland has been reconciled to the supremacy of England only after centuries of desolating war. The most prosperous of the English colonies on this continent, now constituting this great nation, cast off their allegiance in their earliest maturity. Other colonies are now retained in subjection by the constant exhibition of military power. The desolation which has followed English conquest in the East Indies has been lamented throughout the civilized world. Ireland has been deprived of her independence, without being admitted to an equality with her sister-island, and discontent has marked the history of her people ever since the conquest. Yet the Irish are a just, a generous, and in temperament and native disposition peculiarly a cheerful and happy people.

What other explanation of this can there be, but that England has not the generosity and magnanimity of the ancient Romans? She derives wealth from her dependencies, but lavishes it upon objects unworthy of herself. She achieves victories with their aid, but appropriates the spoils and trophies exclusively to herself. For centuries she refused to commit trusts to Irishmen, or confer privileges upon them, unless they would abjure the religion of their ancestors: —

> "Unprized were her sons till they learned to betray;
> Undistinguished they lived, if they shamed not their sires!"

Who can be surprised, then, that Irishmen forsake their own country, and seek freedom and equality here? Who will wonder that the liberty they enjoy renders stronger than ever their sympathy for their brethren in Ireland?

The government which would secure *loyalty*, must give *liberty*.

CROTON-WATER CELEBRATION.

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 14, 1842.

Mr. Mayor and Fellow-Citizens:

Accept my thanks for this flattering, this generous welcome. To be thus remembered at a moment like this, amid the heartfelt rejoicings, not only of the thousands who dwell in this proud city, but of the multitudes who have poured in from the surrounding communities, demands and receives my warmest gratitude.

You have well observed, sir, that these multitudes have joined in this majestic pageant not as curious spectators, but rather as joint owners of the great work whose completion we this day celebrate. It is indeed the triumph not only of the city, but of the country at large. Its results reach far beyond the narrow confines of the metropolis. An achievement like this, which casts a mantle of protection over the commercial storehouse of the continent, may indeed be a subject of felicitation for the whole American people.

We have this day enjoyed the spectacle, alike rare and sublime, of a vast community uniting in one common emotion called forth by the performance of a great act in the mighty drama of a nation's history. If the immortal bard spoke truly of individual man when he said—

> "All the world's a stage,
> And all the men and women merely players;
> They have their exits and their entrances,
> And each man in time plays many parts"—

how much more august the spectacle to him who meditates on social man acting his various parts upon "the broad and universal theatre of nations," and amid the shifting scenes of human society! And such a spectacle is this day presented. We cele-

Note.—The introduction of Croton water into the city of New York was the occasion of one of the most enthusiastic demonstrations of public rejoicing ever witnessed in that city.—*Ed.*

brate a work commenced and completed, indeed, within our day and generation, but extending its results far into the lengthening vista of succeeding ages. I will not attempt, now to embody the emotions excited by the event, nor even to depict the feelings of pleasure awakened by the physical change that has stolen over the city of our pride and affection. A new feature has been stamped upon the face of our metropolis. But yesterday it was the dusty trading-mart, unattractive and unadorned. To-day the pure mountain-stream gushes through its streets, and sparkles in its squares. To the noble rivers with which it was encircled by Nature, is now added the limpid stream, brought hither by art; until, in the words of the Roman poet, alike descriptive and prophetic, her citizens exult—

"inter flumina nota
Et fontes sacros."

But it is not for the purpose of dwelling upon the grandeur of this noble work, or even its manifold and beneficial influences upon the health and happiness of a vast population, that I have risen, but rather to draw from the occasion whatever of instruction it suggests.

I would, then, venture to remark, that this stupendous aqueduct and these splendid fountains, so worthy of being enjoyed, are equally worthy of being paid for.* They owe their existence to that mighty engine of modern civilization, public credit. With borrowed money they have been built. Is there one among us "with soul so dead" as to doubt that this debt will be paid to the utmost farthing? Is there one among this assembled multitude who would enjoy the benefit, yet basely shrink from the burden? The glorious work yet remains manfully to meet and punctually to pay the debt which has been so wisely, so beneficially incurred. Who will venture to predict that this sacred duty will not be fully performed? Who can believe that the foul blot of repudiation will ever come upon the pure, untarnished credit of this high-spirited community? Were this possible, the massive walls and lofty arches of this noble structure, now the city's pride, would stand as monuments only of her degradation and shame. It is

* At this period, it will be remembered, the doctrine of repudiation was openly proclaimed from high quarters; and the suspension of the public works of the state (among which was the enlargement of the Erie canal) was threatened, and eventually accomplished.—*Ed.*

not, because I believe it possible that under any circumstances or under any temptation our city or state could fail for a moment to maintain unsullied its public faith, but rather that it seems peculiarly proper on this occasion of rejoicing to declare our firm belief that the debt incurred for the public works, not only of this city and this state, but of all the American communities will be, as it ought to be, paid to the utmost farthing.

It is true, sir, that in some misguided portions of our country, breaches of public faith have occurred, injurious to the national character, and dangerous to public morals; but I can not doubt that each of the defaulting communities which shall steadily and manfully persevere to the final completion of its works, will find in the resulting benefits ample means for redeeming the faith plighted to the public creditor. It is in this point of view that the completion of the costly structures we this day commemorate is replete with encouragement and instruction. Sir, let us for a moment suppose that the municipal legislature, after incurring a heavy debt, had, in a moment of prejudice, passion, or fear, before the completion of the aqueduct, suspended its further construction. Could we imagine a spectacle more degrading than the dismembered work lying in fragments throughout its length of forty miles from the Croton lake to the confines of the city? Who could then be found "so poor as to do it reverence," and who so sternly virtuous as to submit without complaint to the taxation which such folly would render necessary? Let us, then, adopt as a cardinal maxim in the conduct of these great enterprises, that benefits must be made to keep pace with burdens—in a word, that works once commenced must be steadily and perseveringly prosecuted; and we shall thus afford the surest guaranty for the preservation of public faith.

The Croton aqueduct is but one of many works of physical improvement constituting portions of an extensive system, commenced in a season of great prosperity, and all, like this, tending to develop the resources and promote the honor and welfare of the country. Why is it that, while public confidence has forsaken all others, it has crowned the consummation of this? Can the cause be mistaken? Is it not that enlightened forecast, and steady, unflinching perseverance, have carried this work to its destined ends? The mingled emotions of pride and joy which have filled the bosoms of the vast multitude this day assembled,

afford but a foretaste of the feeling which will be kindled when our whole system of public works shall be brought into beneficial operation. With this bright example to encourage and lead us onward, shall we be told that we have not the ability to proceed further? Who dare say it?

Away, then, with unmanly despondency! Our state possesses resources and revenues, sure and unfailing, equal to the support of her government and the payment of all her existing debts; and I here proclaim that, without embarrassment or cause for embarrassment, she could, with the expenditure of a sum little exceeding that which the city of New York has expended on this aqueduct, complete to the utmost mile all her unfinished canals and railroads. If the city, with three hundred and twelve thousand inhabitants, can expend on a single undertaking twelve millions of dollars, can not the state of New York, with two and a half millions of people, and comprehending within its limits this very city, sustain the further burden of seventeen millions required to finish the works now in progress? The proposition demonstrates itself. We want only time, and not much of that. Let us dispel, then, the clouds which have obscured our vision, look at the brightening sky, and put forth every energy, and submit to every burden, even to each citizen's taking the spade in his own hands, to complete the New York and Erie railroad, the two unfinished lateral canals, and the enlargement of the Erie canal.

One more reflection, and I shall have done. This aqueduct, like all our other public works, was undertaken not only for the present but for the future. Its capacity is graduated, not to supply the wants of the present population of the city, but to meet the exigencies of the million who within half a century may be congregated upon Manhattan island. Shall that million be allowed to plant here their hopes and their homes? That result depends on the completion of the public works of this state and those of the communities with which we are connected. There are other Atlantic ports besides New York, other rivers besides the Hudson, other canals and railroads besides our own, other governments besides the city councils I address and the legislature of our state; and although the trade of the continent now flows in our channels, it has not worn them so deeply that it may not yet be diverted.

Believe me, fellow-citizens, that I speak for no temporary effect, and with no personal motive. I have reason to love the state of New York, not merely like all her sons, but I owe her a debt that few are permitted to incur. If, short of heaven, I have an object paramount to her welfare and honor, I know it not; and if I have a thought, feeling, or emotion, inconsistent with her best and highest interests, may this right arm drop off, and may this tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth!

With pride which none but a citizen of the state of New York can know, I offer to this vast assembly this sentiment:—

The city of New York — *One* American community which, through a trying crisis, and amid discouraging embarrassments, has prosecuted the system of physical improvement, at the same time maintaining its credit and completing its works.

ADDRESS TO JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

AUBURN, 1843.

Introductory Note.—In the summer of 1843, John Quincy Adams visited the state of New York. On his return from Niagara falls, he passed through Buffalo, Rochester, Auburn, Utica, and Albany. He had designed to devote only four or five days to this journey, with the hope of thereby recruiting his health, already much impaired by his arduous labors in the public service. But his progress was everywhere arrested by the spontaneous and enthusiastic demonstrations of the public. Greetings such as no man, except La Fayette, ever received, met him and accompanied him at every step of his journey. The people forgot their party ties, and received him with unmistakeble evidences of respect and veneration. The whole country sympathized in those outbursts of popular gratitude. After suffering numerous detentions on the route, he arrived in Auburn about ten o'clock in the evening, and was escorted to the residence of Mr. Seward by an immense concourse of people. The next day he addressed the assembled multitude in reply to the following address. It is said that Mr. Adams was deeply affected by Mr. Seward's speech, as a more than ordinary feeling of mutual respect had always existed between them.—*Ed.*

Sir: I am charged with the very honorable and most agreeable duty of expressing to you the reverence and affectionate esteem of my fellow-citizens assembled in your presence.

A change has come over the spirit of your journey since your steps have turned toward your ancestral seaside home. An excursion to invigorate health impaired by labors too arduous for age in the public councils, and expected to be quiet and contemplative, has become one of fatigue and excitement. Rumors of your advance escape before you, and a happy and grateful community rise up in their clustering cities, towns, and villages, impede your way with demonstrations of respect and kindness, and convert your unpretending journey into a triumphal progress. Such honors frequently attend public functionaries, and such a one may sometimes find it difficult to determine how much of the homage he receives is paid to his own worth, how much proceeds from the habitual reverence of good republican citizens to constituted elective authority, and how much from the spirit of venal adulation.

You, sir, labor under no such embarrassment. The office you hold, though honorable, is purely legislative, and such as we can

bestow by our immediate suffrage on one of ourselves. You conferred personal benefits sparingly when you held the patronage of the nation. That patronage you have relinquished, and can never regain. Your hands will be uplifted often during your remaining days, to invoke blessings on your country, but never again to distribute honors or rewards among your countrymen. The homage paid you, dear sir, is sincere, for it has its sources in the just sentiments and irrepressible affections of a free people, their love of truth, their admiration of wisdom, their reverence for virtue, and their gratitude for beneficence.

Nor need you fear that enthusiasm exaggerates your title to the public regard. Your fellow-citizens, in spite of political prudence, could not avoid honoring you on grounds altogether irrespective of personal merit. John Adams, who has gone to receive the reward of the just, was one of the most efficient and illustrious founders of this empire, and afterward its chief ruler. The son of such a father would, in any other age, and even in this age in any other country than this, have been entitled by birth alone to a sceptre. We not merely deny hereditary claims to civil trust, but regard even hereditary distinction with jealousy. And this circumstance enhances justly the estimate of your worth. For when before has it happened that, in such a condition of society, the son has, by mere civic achievements, attained the eminence of such a sire, and effaced remembrance of birth by justly-acquired renown?

The hand we now so eagerly grasp was pressed in confidence and friendship by the Father of our country. The wreath we place on your honored brow received its earliest leaves from the hand of Washington. We can not expect, with the agency of free and universal suffrage, to be always governed by the wise and good. But surely your predecessors in the chief magistracy were men such as never before successively wielded power in any state. They differed in policy, as they must: and yet throughout their several dynasties, without any sacrifice of personal independence, and while passing from immature youth to ripened age, you were counsellor and minister to them all. We seem, therefore, in this interview with you, to come into the presence of our departed chiefs. The majestic shade of Washington looks down upon us; we hear the bold and manly eloquence of the elder Adams; and we listen to the voices of the philosophic and

sagacious Jefferson, the refined and modest Madison, and the generous and faithful Monroe.

A life of such eminent patriotism and fidelity found its proper reward in your elevation to the eminence from which you had justly derived so many honors. Although your administration of the government is yet too recent for impartial history or unbounded eulogy, our grateful remembrance of it is evinced by the congratulations you now receive from your fellow-citizens.

But your claims to the veneration of your countrymen do not end here. Your predecessors descended from the chief magistracy to enjoy in repose and tranquillity honors even greater than those which belonged to that eminent station. It was reserved for you to illustrate the important truths that offices and trusts are not the end of public service, but are merely incidents in the life of the true American citizen; that duties remain when the highest trust is resigned; and that there is a scope for a pure and benevolent ambition beyond even the presidency of the United States of America.

You have devoted the energies of a mind unperverted, the learning and experience acquired through more than sixty years, and even the influence and fame derived from your high career of public service, to the great cause of universal liberty. The praises we bestow are already echoed back to us by voices which come rich and full across the Atlantic, hailing you as the indefatigable champion of humanity—not that humanity which embraces a single race or clime, but that humanity which regards the whole family of man. Such salutations as these can not be mistaken. They come not from your cotemporaries, for they are gone. You are not of this generation, but of the past, spared to hear the voice of posterity. The greetings you receive come up from the dark and uncertain future. They are the whisperings of posthumous fame—fame which impatiently awaits your departure, and which, spreading wider, and growing more and more distinct, will award to John Quincy Adams a name to live with that of Washington.

REESE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

MASS MEETING OF WHIGS.

AUBURN, FEBRUARY 22, 1844.

Fellow-Citizens:

Every man's memory is a depository into which no other man can look; a depository of pleasures and pains, joys and sorrows, precious to the owner, because they are all his own. These rise unbidden whenever the mind is excited, and with them come up from the heart, fears, hopes, and affections, as peculiar as the character and fortunes of the individuals to whom they belong. After an interval of almost seven years, I am again in a general gathering of my old political and personal friends. A thousand well-remembered voices call me to resume long-suspended duties; a thousand faces beam upon me with all that ancient kindness which always cheered me, when, if unsustained, I should have fallen by the way, and the memory of which, in all my wanderings, never failed to bring me home at last. Thanks to you, whigs, neighbors! success and triumph crown your labors for our country's welfare; peace and happiness, reverence and honor, attend you in your families and homes — such homes as none but enlightened American freemen ever had, but such, if whig principles continue to flourish, as shall be enjoyed throughout our whole country, and the world.

A return to the field of popular political labor is not altogether without embarrassments. Warren Hastings rose from a clerk's desk in a counting-room, to be governor-general of British India. The native tribes combined against him; his own government not only withheld supplies, but increased their exactions; and sedition in his councils enfeebled his administration and strengthened the public enemy. But he triumphed, though sometimes employing means which virtue and humanity could not approve. He extended the British empire further toward the rising sun than even English ambition had dreamed of. He established a lasting peace, and introduced the arts into British India, and re-

turned to England covered with the praises of his countrymen, and revered and beloved even by the nation he had subjected. Yet he was impeached by the British commons, and not until after a seven years' trial, acquitted. And this happened, because the merchant's clerk, who had wielded more than oriental power could not learn the politics of his native land. I have wielded no such power, had no such struggles, attained no such honors. I have had your principles for my chart, and I trust have lost none of the sympathies of citizenship. To those sympathies, and to the feelings of gratitude which now constitute the chief pleasures of life, I trust for my guidance in the performance of such duties, now and henceforth, as you shall command.

The two great political parties occupy equal vantage ground. Neither has announced its leader, and yet the leader of each is known, and awaits only the ceremony of announcement to enter the field. It is as certain as any human event, that Henry Clay will be the whig candidate for the presidency. The whigs have opened their convention to minorities as well as to majorities; and have invited representatives of every interest and of every principle throughout the land. Discussion has been free and amicable, because every member of the party knew that the decision would be fairly made; and thus in the result the party are unanimous. Throughout the length and breadth of the Union, not a delegate has been chosen who will not give his voice to Henry Clay, nor is there a whig, north or south, or east or west, who will not by his vote affirm, with heart and soul, this unanimous choice.

Henry Clay is a statesman in self-sought, contented retirement, after a career in which almost every stage has been distinguished by acts identified with the defence or with the advancement of this country. His wisdom sustained and animated his countrymen in war, and his moderation and equanimity were employed to secure the blessings of an honorable and lasting peace. His influence in the public councils mainly restored the American currency when it had been unwisely abandoned; and every mechanic, artisan, farmer, and laborer, throughout the land, hails or might hail him with reverence, as the restorer of the prosperity of his country. Always bold and persevering in urging the rightful policy his judgment approved, he has more than once had the greater virtue to yield cherished and useful objects, when opposition became factious and resisted beneficial

measures by laying disloyal hands on the ark of the Union. His sympathies are not bounded by his country, but are as comprehensive as the family of nations; and he is venerated hardly less in the rising republics of South America than in his own grateful land. He has suffered popular injustice deep and long, because he had the fortitude to resist popular delusion, and, relying on his own conscience, awaited the returning justice of his countrymen. And that justice has returned at last. It is felt in different degrees, but it pervades the American people. It disarms his adversaries, while it excites his friends and advocates to enthusiasm.

Who now accuses Henry Clay of duplicity or of unchastened ambition? Who talks now of triumvirates combining to overthrow the liberties of these states? Who dares to utter now the charge which even the hero of New Orleans did not scruple to sanction, that Henry Clay in 1824 made a corrupt political agreement with John Quincy Adams? The year 1843 witnessed the glorious vindication of the sage and philanthropist of Quincy. The year 1844 will be made memorable by the vindication of the statesman of Ashland. Calumny has learned prudence, and is silent. Do our adversaries wonder at their languor, or at our zeal? Here is the cause. Do they desire to foresee the result? Why, this is a republic. Elections are determined by ballots—I wish I could truly say by the votes of the whole people—and though ballots are deposited with the hand, the heart unerringly selects the ballot to be deposited. The fame of their chief is waning; that of ours is culminating. Gratitude, popular gratitude elected Washington, the first whig president: popular gratitude will elect Henry Clay the next whig president.

Fellow-citizens, I have spoken long enough: permit me now to give place to some more accustomed orator. [Cries of "Go on! go on! go on!"]

Thus far I have spoken of men. But the principles of our cause are more important. Men change and die; principles are unchangeable and eternal. I wish you could have been gratified with a discussion of those principles by your correspondents whose patriotic letters have been read—by Francis Granger, to whom I delight to render here among you my tribute of profound respect, and to acknowledge him a sound, unwavering, and generous statesman, the measure of whose reward I hope is not yet

filled; or by Mark H. Sibley, whose eloquence here as well as in the public councils is known to me, not by my own hearing, but by the enthusiasm which he kindled in my own behalf among my own friends, and by the discomfiture of unsparing assailants, when other advocates quailed before them, and I had not a right to speak in my own defence. Shall he not always be welcome here in Cayuga, and by you, men of Cortland? But since these worthy friends have failed us, and since you command me, I will speak briefly of the principles involved in the present contest.

The inhabitants of the banks of the Nile have a tradition that the greatest of the Egyptian pyramids was built by the antediluvians, and they venerate that great obelisk as the only work of that mighty race that has withstood the floods that changed and deformed the face of nature. Something like this is the reverence I feel toward the whig party. It was erected not this year, nor a few years ago. Its foundations were laid and its superstructure reared by the mighty men of ages now remote — by the Hampdens, the Sidneys, the Vanes, and the Miltons — by the Presbyterians, the Puritans, the republicans, the whigs, of England — those who first secured the responsibility of kings by bringing the tyrant Charles to the block, and the inviolability of parliaments by erecting, even in England, Scotland, and Ireland, a commonwealth. Then and there arose the whig party — that party which now, under whatever name, in every civilized country, advocates the cause of constitutional, representative government, with watchful jealousy of executive power. Of that race, who feared only God, and loved liberty, were the founders of Virginia and of New England; and the Catholic founders of Maryland and the peaceful settlers of Pennsylvania were worthy associates with them. Here they established governments of which Europe was not worthy, and to perpetuate them they founded institutions for the education of children and for the worship of God.

Thus early was promulgated the pure whig creed — equal popular representative government, jealousy of executive power, the education of children, and the worship of God. When the prosperity of these colonies excited the cupidity of the parent-state, and the king and parliament invaded the rights of the American people, there were two parties as there always have been since, and always will be hereafter. One of them adhered to the colo-

nies through perils of confiscation and death—the other clung to the throne of England. The one was whig—and the other was—I will not call a name that the error of ultra loyalty then rendered odious, and thenceforth and for ever infamous. [Great applause.] I desire to be understood. I by no means impute to our opponents that they have succeeded to the loyalists of the Revolution. I aver solemnly my belief that, as a general truth, all men of all parties are alike honest and patriotic citizens, and seek their country's good alone. Political life would have been unprofitable indeed if it had not taught me the virtue of candor in judging others, as well as the great error of always expecting candor in their judgments on myself.

But I maintain that, let other parties profess what they may, and assume to themselves what name they may, and while the principles of all parties assimilate often, and their policy still more frequently, yet the whig party always is found and known by these marks: jealousy of executive power, and strict adherence to a system of firm and equal representative legislation. The veto, the strongest bulwark of executive power, has always had an admiring party, but it was not the whig party. The veto has been upheld by the royal party in England as steadily as by our own opponents here, and has been defended with the same arguments. It has been practically abolished there by the whig party, and will ultimately be restrained or abolished by the whig party here. Legislative records have been expunged, to allay executive anger, and there was a party to justify the sacrilege—but it was never the whig party.

Judges have been censured, and their judgments virtually obliterated, as an offering to executive ambition; but never by whigs. Equality of representation is destroyed when many representatives are unnecessarily elected by a plurality of suffrages, instead of delegates being elected in single districts of equal population. This fundamental principle has been abrogated by Congress, and there is a party that approves the deed, but it is not the whig party. Legislatures have usurped the power of choosing the electors for president and vice-president of the United States, and a party among us has canonized the usurpers; but it was not the whig party. There have been limitations of popular suffrage, and exclusion of classes from the ballot-boxes, and there has been a party always to defend the exclusion; but it was not

the whig party. By these marks we know the whig party of 1688, of 1776, of 1824, and of 1840. There it stands, distinct and peculiar, in its primitive strength and purity, and uncompromising maintenance of the natural and equal rights of man.

Had the whigs of 1688 lived in our day and in our country, they would not have sustained the vetoes of Andrew Jackson and of John Tyler. Had the whigs of 1840 lived in 1776, they would have resisted the stamp-act—and in 1688, they would have been regicides. There stand the whig party—always abhorring tyranny and despising adulation, they defy executive power, and they break in pieces all institutions designed to defeat the will of the people—as well as the caucus system established to defeat the will of the people, as the veto, used to bring that will into subjection.

In this country the whigs are always identified, not only by these principles, but also by their policy, which changes not. The first Congress of the United States was a whig Congress. It established a national currency and a national tariff, and devoted the national domain to fortify the credit of the nation and of the states. The first Congress promulgated no such theories as that government had nothing to do with the currency, or that the people expected too much from their rulers. Those who signed the Declaration of Independence would have been shocked by the irreverence which transferred the name of that sacred instrument to the titlepage of a sub-treasury statute.

Nor were the whigs of 1787 less wise in their generation than the statesmen of this day in regard to free trade. They knew that it was a theory to be inculcated among men for their ultimate and universal adoption—that free trade, like the millennium, was to be preached for and prayed for, that it might be established throughout the whole world. But they knew that, until the rich and powerful states of Europe would relinquish their restrictions on our infant trade, it would be folly and madness for this new commonwealth to leave the industry and labor of its citizens unprotected. The American system has been ascribed to Henry Clay. Nevertheless, great as his merits in advocating it are, the system dates from the days of Washington, and comes down to us with the sanction of his immortal name.

The whigs of 1787 reinvigorated and restored the credit of the states and of the nation by devoting the revenues of the

public domain to the extinguishment of the public debt, and thus they ultimately secured the great achievement of the age, the payment of the principal as well as interest of a national debt incurred in the establishment of national independence—an achievement which boasting England never conceived of, and never has attempted to emulate. Had either of the two recent whig laws for distributing the revenues of the public domain among the states been allowed effect, there would not now have been an insolvent state, and the American people would have avoided the only reproach that has justly fallen upon their name.

Adhere to the federal Union, and assiduously strengthen it by all the means in your power, by opening roads and improving rivers which shall facilitate intercourse between the citizens of the several states, and incite them to cultivate relations of mutual interest and affection, was the parting injunction of the Father of his country. True to that injunction, the whigs of 1840 and 1844 wait to resume the public works which their adversaries have abandoned, and to aid and restore the feebler states, who, for want of their just shares of the revenues of the national domain, have failed in indiscreet but not unworthy enterprises. Then, as heretofore, public works will be completed which will be not only channels of trade, but fountains of revenue, and bonds of indissoluble union.

Which, then, is the whig party? which the republican? which the true democratic party—the party of liberty, of equality, of humanity? the party of hope, of progress, and of civilization? Let the history of the past, let the developments of the future, determine. The whig party has committed errors. Human nature can not but err. Individuals often err, and masses still more frequently. But the errors of the whig party are always on the side of law, of order, and of popular liberty. Let us take care to correct all our errors, and let us take care that no errors of conduct, no partial or temporary interests, no prejudices unworthy of freemen or of men, retard the progress of this great party of our hopes and our affections. Let it continue to occupy all its broad foundations—to offer security, protection, improvement, and elevation, to all conditions of men, as all conditions of men alike enjoy the impartial favor of God, and are entitled to impartial representation in government.

THE ELECTION OF 1844.

SYRACUSE, JULY 13, 1844.

PEOPLE of Onondaga — of the land of lofty hills, of mineral fountains, and of picturesque lakes — you have invited and received me as a guest — as a stranger. But I renounce these generous hospitalities. Though we have never met, we have for twenty years been neighbors, belonging to the same constituency. You were among my earliest patrons, and always among the truest and most faithful of my constituents when in public service. I am one of you — at home here, and distinguished only by the greatness of my obligations.

People of Onondaga! you are convened in council.* In compliance with the summons I bear, and after the manner of your predecessors, the real native Americans, you have gathered yourselves, not indeed in a walled castle, but in your own forest-shades, to receive the message; and, like them, you have brought the women and children. According to the traditions of the Onondagas, the behests of those ancient republicans were always expressed in the name of the "chiefs, head-men, warriors, and women, of the tribe." This is especially right in the civilized state, where women are so educated and so elevated, that their influence is as salutary as it is always effective. Well, you understand the summons. I come in the name and by the authority of the whig convention at Baltimore! The whigs of the United States — a vast and increasing host — have chosen HENRY CLAY, of Kentucky, for their leader, and THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN, of New Jersey, for his lieutenant. They are marching through the land, from Penobscot bay to the Rocky mountains, subverting all misgovernment, and restoring law, order, and prosperity. They have arrived on the borders of Onondaga. You hear their shouts, and see the vanguard descending your eastern

* This speech was addressed to one of the largest assemblages ever convened in western New York.—*Ed.*

hills. I demand for them a free passage through this valley. I demand the surrender of this county into their hands! I demand still more than this: I require you to join yourselves to their conquering hosts, and march on with them to the consummation of their victory! Well, then (Mr. President, with your leave), if you are sincere in this, people of Onondaga, express your decision by three cheers for Henry Clay!

Now we are ready to march! Let us set up our banners. But hold! here are the Cayugas, the Oneidas, the Senecas, the Ontarios, and the Oswegos. What say you, shall we organize the Six Nations, and set up our banner for central New York?

Well! well! what inscription shall we have upon our banner? Ah, there it is, embroidered as with fairy hand on that pure white canvass: "INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT." What say you, my friends, —has the enlargement of the Erie canal been suspended long enough? Well, then, "Resumption of internal improvement" is the word. But hold, fellow-citizens: shall it be resumption of the canal alone? or shall it be the resumption of all the useful public works — canals and railroads? the restoration of the policy of Clinton, equal and impartial — blessing not merely the centre, but the borders of the state — the dwellers on the bank of the St. Lawrence and in the valleys of the Susquehannah?

What next, fellow-citizens? It was the whig policy to complete the public works with the revenue derived from them alone, without taxation, and to divide the cost in just proportion, at least with the people of the western states, who use our canals for shipping to market productions which they raise on the lands we opened to them, and which cost them only ten shillings per acre, while ours cost us forty dollars per acre. Taxation for purposes of internal improvement is inevitably unequal, as it is unnecessary, under a judicious administration. What say you, then? Shall the canal policy be modified so as to relieve the citizens of this state from unnecessary and unequal taxation, if we can do so consistently with the public faith?

What more, fellow-citizens? In the eastern cities they are proscribing and disfranchising citizens, because they had the misfortune to be born in lands benighted and oppressed; and in one of those cities — the cradle of the equality of man — they expel, by the sword and the bayonet, women, children, and ministers of the gospel, from their homes, and light up their way to the woods

and fields by the fires of their dwellings, their houses, and their altars! And all this proscription is because the unoffending citizens were born in Ireland, and worship God and desire to educate their children in the faith and ritual of their forefathers! What do you say, men and women — Christian, Protestant men and women of Onondaga? Are not all men "born free and equal?" Is not this the asylum for the exile for freedom's and for conscience' sake? And shall not the exile enjoy the ballot, his just and only just weapon of defence against our own possible injustice? Shall he not be at liberty to educate his children according to the dictates of his conscience as fully as we do? Well, then, we write on our glorious banner, "Universal suffrage and universal education." [Cheers.] Thank you, my friends. The exile shall bless you. Rising generations shall thank you, and the world will hail our great army as the missionaries of Knowledge and Freedom.

What else? Oh! there, I catch the words from that banner that is half hidden in the leaves of the old ash-tree over your heads. "Home industry" — "Protection to home industry." Protection implies that we depend upon somebody else for protection. We will be our *own* protectors. We will say, "*Maintain* home industry."

Fellow-citizens, you would have me discuss the tariff. But even this long summer-day has been nearly spent in the gathering of the people. I have adopted the one-hour rule for your sake, and that of my associates, your patriotic orators who are to follow me. There is no time for argument. Good housewife from Otisco, if your bread was ready for the oven, and you had none, would you bake at home, or send it to your neighbor's? and if you had no oven, would you change works with your more fortunate neighbor who has one, or would you send to the distant market-town? You would do it at home, and always as near home as possible; of course you would. Now the principle of home industry applies just as well to the making of our own leather and of our own boots, our own cloth and of our own clothing, of our own salt, of our own knives and forks, of our own shovels and tongs, and of our own spinning-jennies and steam-engines, as to the lowly example I have set forth. But the European baker can not compete with the housewife; while the European mechanic, tanner, shoemaker, spinster, weaver, blacksmith, iron-

founder, and iron-monger, can. We must, then, have duties which shall secure equal advantages to our own mechanics.

These marshes were once filled with the miasma of pestilence; and the vicinity of the salt lake was as dreadful to the traveller as the sea of Sodom. Now your salt springs are sources of health and wealth. What has made this change? The tariff—home industry.

Well, but our opponents say that they are friendly to home industry—that Silas Wright saved it! Saved it from whom? From their own hostility! Saved it from themselves! But they want it *modified*, so as to give "equal protection to all." And what do they mean by that? Why, *no protection to anybody!* But they say they are now convinced that this tariff is right, and they will let it alone. It is a death-bed confession. Do not trust them. We trusted them once, and justly reaped the bitter fruits of our folly. We will trust them no more!

Why, what a miserable appearance do our opponents make here—claiming protection to the wool-grower, not to the wool spinners and weavers, when the wool-grower is receiving forty cents per pound—double what he received before the tariff-law was passed! They inscribe their deceptive mottoes on muslin for which they are indebted to whig hands and whig looms—brought into employment by the whig tariff.

But our banner is broad enough, and wants yet another motto. What shall it be? "Distribution of the proceeds of the public lands among the states?" That is the Clay policy! And a beneficent policy it is too. But what say our opponents? why, it is robbing the people, to bribe them with their own money! The land revenues are taken from the federal treasury, they say, and the people must be taxed to supply the amount so withdrawn. Well, but are they not brought into the state treasury? and are not the people to be taxed by the states, just as much as they receive from the federal treasury? Surely such exchange as this is no robbery. But the people are not taxed to supply the amount withdrawn. It is the foreign mechanic and artisan and capitalist, who are taxed for that amount.

Again, what are the imposts that are so much to be dreaded? Why, the duties by which we secure the prosperity of our own agriculture and manufactures. Let us, then, have the imposts, and let us devote the public domain to education, and the im-

provement of roads and rivers. This was the policy of Jefferson; it is the policy of the whigs. If our opponents are not satisfied with this, we will surrender it all to purchase and emancipate the slaves of the south. ["Ay, ay, the whole of it."] Nobly and generously said, fellow-citizens. And such generosity would be doubly blessed, for like the quality of mercy, it would bless them that received, and them that gave.

Once more, my friends, our opponents, since last they met us, have changed not only their leader, but their front. Their watch-words then were "Van Buren and no Texas," now their watchcry is, "Polk and Texas—Texas as soon as possible," which being interpreted by Andrew Jackson, means "Texas *now if ever.*" By adopting this new policy, they have forfeited for ever, all pretension alike to the name and to the principles of democracy. Henceforth their principle is, slavery; their name, the *Slavery party!*

When the constitution was formed, there were thirteen states. In seven of them the system of free labor was exclusively or prevalently established. That is the system we daily see and practise. Your hands and mine are free. They are moved by the assurance of rewards, of the enjoyment of all that they earn; and the desire of reward springs from the necessity and duty of supplying our own wants and the wants of our wives and children, and providing for our children's education and competence. In six of the states the system of involuntary or slave labor was supreme. What is that system? The fields are tilled and fabrics wrought by slaves. They toil without reward, and without even the pressure of necessity for their support. The fear of the lash, not the love of wife and children, is the only stimulant; for their bondage was inherited, and is transmitted to their descendants for ever. These six slave-labor states refused to enter the Union without a concession of undue political power. That concession was, that every five hundred slaves should count as three hundred freemen, and the master should vote for the slaves; so that, in effect, a member of Congress from the free-labor state has only one vote, while the representative of a slaveholding state has what is equivalent to one vote and three fifths of another. These master-slaveholders are an aristocracy. This principle of slave representation is the Corinthian pillar of the constitution. Its base is sunk deep, and serpents hiss among the leaves that entwine

its capital. Even we once had an aristocracy here in this state, an aristocracy of landholders, but we abolished it twenty years ago. Now the freeholder and the laboring man, the gentleman and his servant, are all equal. It was righteously and wisely done, for wealth is no test of worth, and the lowly and indigent have an equal natural right to suffrage with the landholder, and more need for its protection. But if the aristocracy of *land* was thus improper, what shall we say of the aristocracy of *slavery?* Both are the aristocracy of wealth. But the wealth in the one case consisted in acres—a portion of that earth which God has assigned to us for acquisition. The other consists in the bones and sinews, the life and blood, the bodies and souls, of men, women, and children. Yet such is the aristocracy of the federal constitution. It is now no matter how this aristocracy came to be established. Our opponents propose now to add Texas as a slaveholding territory to the jurisdiction of the federal government; thus increasing by one, two, three, or five, the number of the slaveholding states, and enlarging the foundation and dimensions of the aristocracy of the constitution, and increasing its strength so that it may never be shaken or severed from the glorious edifice of American freedom! Said I not truly, then, that this is a forfeiture of all pretension to the name and principles of democracy?

Now, fellow-citizens, what will it cost to secure the peculiar institutions of the south? Why, first, the assumption of the debt of Texas. It may be fifteen, it may be twenty-two millions of dollars. More or less, this ought to be an objection with those who deny the federal government constitutional power to assume the debts of the several states which are members of the confederacy. But I do not dwell on this objection. If Texas was desirable under present circumstances, I should not hesitate merely about the cost; and we see already that the Texas party find a wonderful elasticity in the constitution. Well they may. They were the party of repudiation; and a debt of *twenty-five* millions would be as easily paid off in that way as a debt of *one.*

But what will Texas cost? It will cost a war with Mexico—an unjust war—a war to extend the slave-trade and the slave-piracy—piracy in the judgment of Christendom. In such a war the nations of Europe and of South America would decide against us, and the Almighty has no attribute which would induce him to bless our arms.

You will not go to war for human slavery, will you? ["No! no!"] Let the advocate of Texas stand forth. See here fifteen thousand men enjoying the blessings of peace, freedom, knowledge, religion, and virtue: you can not have war without their consent! Think you they will forego these blessings to perpetuate and extend the domain of slavery? No! no! War is the game of kings—of despots; not of democracies—and, above all, not of the democracy of the American states. What has slavery done for us already, that we should hazard peace, prosperity, and honor, to secure or extend its hateful sway? It has once lost us our system of home industry; our public credit; cost us a long season of financial embarrassment; the abandonment of internal improvements; waste of the national domain; a sacrifice of the inviolate right of petition; the forfeiture of all consistency of public character, and the disrespect of civilized men. This is enough, and too much.

What should we gain by the acquisition of Texas? Land! Have we not a thousand millions of uncultivated acres already? Security against the invasion of the south? Let the south abolish slavery, and she may defy invasion as boldly as we who dwell almost within sight and hearing of British cannon. Extension of market for our manufactures? Does not the slavery we already have threaten to nullify the Union, to prevent our manufacturing at all?

Citizens—ye who have rejoiced under the name, and claimed the principles of democracy—I am one of you. If I know my own heart or life, I love and cherish, next to my religion, the equal and beneficent principle of democracy. I warn you not to be misled. Henceforth the whigs are by confession of the people of America—by confession of mankind—the party of freedom, of progress, and of civilization.

Friends of emancipation! advocates of the rights of man! I am one of you. I have always believed and trusted that the whigs of America would come up to the ground you have so nobly assumed. Not that I supposed or believed they would all at once, or all from the same impulses, reach that ground: but that the progress of events would surely bring them there, and they would assume it cheerfully. That consummation has come. All that is dear to the whigs of the United States in regard to policy, to principle, and to administration, is now involved with

your own favorite cause in the present issue upon the admission of Texas to the Union. You have now this great, generous, and triumphant party, on the very ground to which you have invited them, and for not assuming which prematurely you have so often denounced them. But you will say that Henry Clay is a slaveholder. So he is. I regret it as deeply as you do. I wish it were otherwise. But our conflict is not with one slaveholder, or with many, but with *slavery*. Henry Clay is our representative. You are opposed to the admission of Texas, and you admit and assert the duty of resisting it by the right of suffrage. Will you resist it by voting for James G. Birney? Your votes would be just as effectual if cast upon the waters of this placid lake.

But you say Henry Clay disavows abolitionism. Let him do so. What care you and I for that? He is opposed to the coming in of Texas. He is the candidate of the whig party. They are opposed to the coming in of Texas. They, not he, are to prevent the annexation of Texas. Let us bring New York up to the ground she held in the Virginia controversy. Then she shall have anti-Texas senators in Congress. Let us secure the election of anti-Texas representatives in Congress; and then let the ghost of the Texas treaty come back in what shape it may, we will question it and silence it for ever. If it come again by treaty, it will be rejected. If by law or joint resolution, it will be defeated. The security, the duration, the extension of slavery, all depend on the annexation of Texas. How, then, can any friend of emancipation vote for the Texas candidate, or withhold his vote from the whig candidate, without exhibiting the mere caprice of faction?

Democrats, liberty-men, and whigs, by whatever name you prefer to be called! the issue presents itself alike to all. Texas and slavery are at war with the interests, the principles, the sympathies, of all. The integrity of the Union depends on the result. To increase the slaveholding power is to subvert the constitution; to give a fearful preponderance, which may, and probably will, be speedily followed by demands to which the democratic free-labor states can not yield, and the demand of which will be made the ground for secession, nullification, and disunion.

NOTE.—Among the charges made against Mr. Seward, is, that he did not support Mr. Clay in the canvass of 1844. The speeches here presented, made during that memorable campaign, are the best answers to the calumny.—*Ed.*

IRELAND AND NATIVE AMERICANS.

UTICA, JULY, 1844.

You have assembled under a notice addressed to you as repealers, but I think I may safely address you by the title of fellow-citizens. I regret that it is my first duty to announce to so vast an assemblage that it is my purpose to disappoint their reasonable expectations. You have come here to listen to an oration for repeal. It frequently happens that the highest and noblest cause is impaired by the indiscreet ardor of its advocates. So it is now and here in regard to the revolution in Ireland. It involves more benefit and more of hope for the human race than any other cause which now engages the attention of the civilized world, except one, and that is the emancipation of that large portion of the human family degraded into domestic as well as political slavery. Every American concedes that the intense interest felt and manifested in favor of the repeal of the act of union by the people of Ireland and their brethren here is natural and right. But a suspicion of insincerity follows the native-born American citizen who betrays more than a conventional and customary sympathy for the people of a land so remote, and with whom he is connected by none of the bonds of immediate consanguinity.

Advocacy that is suspected of insincerity injures any cause. Hence it is that, though regarded as a friend of liberty in Ireland, I have not been among its efficient advocates: I have never pleaded that cause with half the zeal or effort that we are all accustomed to put forth, even in support of measures of mere administration at home. A letter here and there, drawn forth by inquiries that could not be disallowed, constitute all my advocacy of Irish repeal, except that by once or twice presiding at what were called repeal-meetings I gave to the cause the sanc-

NOTE.—Mr. Seward having been in attendance at the courts sitting in Utica, the friends of repeal conceived it an opportune time to respectfully invite him to address a public meeting at that critical juncture of Irish affairs.—*Ed.*

tion of my name and character, as does the respectable citizen in the chair on the present occasion. And yet the unmoved masses around me have marked even this cautious sympathy as exceeding the bounds of moderation. Irish-born citizens of Utica! such considerations as these induced me to decline the honor of meeting you a year ago. *Then* the revolution in Ireland seemed to be advancing rapidly and surely to a successful and glorious consummation. *Then* the American people held or seemed to hold their adopted brethren born in Ireland in due respect and consideration. You and your country had advocates, defenders, and orators, enough and to spare. But a reaction has come which has covered you with confusion and sadness.

Within a few months a portion of the American community, men, women, and children, were compelled by American citizens to flee from burning dwellings in the night-time, and found their way to the woods and fields by the light of the flames which consumed not only their dwellings, but also their libraries, their hospitals, their churches, and their altars. The offence was that they or their ancestors were born in Ireland, and that they worshipped God according to the creed and ritual of the Roman Catholic church. And this has happened in the city that was founded by William Penn, and endowed by Benjamin Franklin — in the city where the Declaration of American Independence was promulgated, and where the American constitution was established.

These great wrongs, the outbreak of long-cherished religious and political intolerance, were not its most fearful and alarming incident. Emboldened by popular forbearance, the spirit of proscription has approached Congress, with a demand for the full disfranchisement in America of all men not born on the American soil. I say disfranchisement — for twenty-one years' residence, which is now insisted on, as a condition of naturalization, would be virtual disfranchisement.

Exiles of Ireland for freedom and for conscience' sake, you are justly alarmed and grieved by such wrongs in the land to which you were invited as an asylum.

Simultaneously with these misfortunes here, the revolution in your own country has been arrested. The mass meetings which demonstrated the universal uprising of Ireland, and gave such hopes of her speedy restoration, have given place to subdued and anxious but fearful gatherings around the four courts where her

champions have been on trial for devotion to her cause. And O'Connell, the Washington of Ireland, is condemned and incarcerated within the walls of a prison. The obstreperous sympathy which cheered you a year ago is heard no more, and the apologists for oppression and intolerance rejoice over the subjugation of Ireland, and over the desolation of Irishmen in America. I obey your summons now because now you need sympathy, encouragement, and assistance. I am not, however, to plead your cause, for, if I could plead it with the eloquence of O'Connell, or of Shiel, or of Smith O'Brien, it would be unnecessary and unavailing. Those whom discussion could convince, are convinced already — convinced by sympathies and affections which are irrepressible; those who remain unconvinced can only be made the friends of Ireland and Irishmen by witnessing the constancy, firmness, fidelity, and patriotism, of the Irish people. I have not heard the loud and deep-toned censures upon the Philadelphia wrongs, and upon the recent acts of British oppression, which I expected from the American press and from the leaders of mind in America. Therefore in this hour of trial I come here freely to declare before my countrymen — and if my voice could reach the region of thrones, to declare before principalities and powers — that the injuries inflicted upon the Irishmen in America are a flagrant violation of law, of constitution, of liberty, and of humanity. I know, indeed, what this declaration costs. It may, indeed, give comfort to the poor and desponding exile, and awaken feelings of kindness toward me in his bosom, but it will offend very many of my own countrymen. Be it so. I desire the respect and regard of my own countrymen; but I would rather have the gratitude of one desponding and oppressed fellow-man, than the suffrage of the whole American people given to me in consideration of denying any true principle of free government, or repressing any impulse of humanity.

They tell us that an Irishman or Irishmen fired upon American citizens lawfully assembled and peaceably engaged in the discussion of subjects affecting the public welfare. No matter how offensive might have been the conduct of that assemblage, nor how unjust nor how irritating its discussions, if any Irishman did thus assail American citizens, I disavow him, I condemn him, I deliver him over to the law and to public execration, for he has committed an unpardonable offence against the law and liberty.

But the accusation is denied. They are the strong who accuse the weak, the victors who upbraid the conquered, the incendiaries who revile the sufferers; therefore I wait for the proofs, and suspend my judgment upon the accusation.

But grant that an Irishman or Irishmen did commit this great offence—how can it palliate the guilt of the retaliation? Women, and children, and ministers of religion, were hunted from their burning dwellings and churches. Did the library, the hospital, or the altar, excite to violence? Were they priests, women, and children, who fired upon the native Americans?

But they tell us, as an excuse for the native-American party, in whose name these crimes were committed, that the Roman Catholics of Philadelphia and New York endeavored, though by constitutional means, to exclude the Bible from the public schools. I know not how such a plea can bear upon the issue. But I affirm that on this subject I have ample knowledge and information, and I declare and testify before my country and the world, that the charge is unjust to the Roman Catholics, and is false and calumnious.

But why agitate these painful subjects? Because they involve immediately the rights and security of an important portion of the American family, and ultimately rights important to the whole American people and to mankind.

The Declaration of American Independence asserts that all men are free and equal, and have inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Liberty and the pursuit of happiness involve the right of free immigration. These rights are secured under the constitution and laws, by the power of suffrage, and not otherwise. No matter, then, where a man may have been born, nor how educated, nor how elevated, nor how degraded, unless by crime, wherever his lot is cast there he is a subject, and because a subject a member in the civil state; and, as a condition of obedience to authority, has a right to express his choice of those who make and those who execute the laws. This universal right of suffrage is acknowledged by our constitution and laws in regard to those born in foreign lands, with no other conditions than those of residence, morality, and loyalty, recited in the oath preliminary to naturalization.

If all this be not true, the Declaration of Independence is an invitation to deceive and to betray mankind. This right of suf-

frage, invaluable to every citizen, is most necessary to the indigent, lowly exile. It is the weapon put into his hands by society for his defence and protection against their own injustice and oppression. Tell me not that he was born in indigence, and is debased by ignorance, and by oppression, and by superstition. Grant it all. So much the more, then, do I demand for him the lawful employment of the means of self-defence and protection which the constitution has placed in his hands. Tell me not that he does not know how to exercise his suffrage wisely. Does he not know how to lift his hand if you menace? how to strike back if you assail him? There is an instinct which teaches this; and that instinct unerringly teaches the elector so to cast his ballot as to preserve his own domestic, social, and political position. For his own happiness, and for the security and peace of society, I would indeed wish him educated and instructed, and therefore I would render knowledge as universal as suffrage. But I would not stipulate for the knowledge as a condition of suffrage. Even despotism might consent to the principle of democracy with such a reservation. I have never known that state where the power was given, that knowledge did not soon follow. I have never known the country where, if the power was withheld, the knowledge was ever obtained. These are the principles, the only principles, by which liberty can be extended over the earth. You may hold the slave in bondage, domestic and social, if you can, but let me put the ballot in his hand, and you shall see him speedily rise to freedom, to knowledge, and to happiness.

Believe not, fellow-citizens, that this is a question which interests or concerns only the voluntary citizen. The work of disfranchisement once effectually begun, would not cease with the debasement of one class or condition of men; other classes would follow, and oligarchy be succeeded by despotism. Nor is this all. Let the wise men who favor this disfranchisement tell us how they expect to secure the subordination of the disfranchised classes. They can not be expelled; they must increase—they increase by virtue of the irresistible and unchangeable laws of God. They can not be degraded to domestic slavery, and unless so degraded, they can not be held in subjection to authority, except in one or two ways, by their own voluntary consent, or by military force. Standing armies no man dare defend: disfranchised men will not yield voluntary obedience.

The revolution in Ireland is the result of the same principles adopted by the people of that country as the remedy for evils long endured and now intolerable. In our judgment a mere restoration of the ancient Irish parliament, subordinate to the royal power, might be an inadequate security for liberty; and it might not work harmoniously with the British constitution. We have no responsibility on these questions. The movement of the Irish people is toward nationality and freedom. Their chiefs, not we, must define the object, and the manner and end, of the revolution. If they aim too high, they need our sympathy, that they may reach the attainable elevation. If they aim too low, our sympathy may well be rendered, in the hope that, as circumstances shall favor, they may ultimately pass the bounds now assigned, and reach the perfection of national freedom.

We need not prove the wrongs of Ireland. They are written on the careworn brows, and in the stooping gait and meek and humble demeanor, of her sons and daughters, received among ourselves. Nations are never depopulated by prosperity, and prosperity never humbles a people as these are humbled! We need not fear that the people of Ireland are incapable of self-government. To assert this, is to deny our own constitution. They have proved that they could do what no other people have done—reclaim themselves from national vices, and control themselves with moderation in the very excitement of political revolution. But I declared I would not argue the cause of repeal. Be of good heart, then, my friends: reactions are as unavoidable in the moral world as in nature. The storm follows the calm, and the sun breaks forth after the darkest night. Ignorance maintains an almost equal conflict with knowledge, and benevolence never enjoys uninterrupted progress. Take courage, then, for your cause in America, and for the cause of your country at home. O'Connell is clothed by the sympathies of mankind with new might in his misfortunes, and his voice will acquire the velocity and the power of electricity in the passage through the bars of his prison. The American people will be generous to the exile, because he has suffered injustice at their hands. The ruins of St. Augustine will be the grave of religious and political intolerrance; and its epitaph is read in the fearful inscription that remains undefaced on the crumbling walls of that temple: "THE LORD SEETH."

SPEECH AT A WHIG MASS MEETING.

YATES COUNTY, OCTOBER 29, 1844.

Fellow-Citizens:

The speech that should review, in sixty or ninety minutes, the great questions in issue before the people of the United States, must necessarily be superficial.

This is no time for praise or censure of men. Adulation of our own candidate is always indiscreet. Even just reflections upon opposing candidates prejudice their friends against our policy and principles.

Bolingbroke, who promulgated many pernicious theological opinions, wisely taught that it was the duty of statesmen continually to regenerate the first principles of the constitution. In a republic the statesman's responsibilities devolve upon every citizen. The present bearing of public measures is indeed important, but the ultimate tendencies of administration are of vastly greater consequence. Our forefathers well understood that they were laying the foundations of a vast empire, an empire which they hoped and trusted would be perpetual. We have inherited this ambition, and we dream and hope, like them, that our country is immortal. In this light, we twenty millions are but shadows, passing over the stage that is soon to be trodden by two hundred millions. We shall be none the less wise, in regard to immediate interests, for regarding all public questions in the light of the destinies that we fondly believe await our country.

A reference to cotemporaneous expositions would show that the founders of the constitution esteemed public order, peace, improvement of the intellectual capacities of the people, development and improvement of their agricultural, forest, mineral, and commercial resources, freedom from unnecessary and onerous burdens of debt and taxes, political equality between all the subjects of authority, and the union of the states, as indispensa-

ble conditions of the stability and success of the American republic.

Parties are incident to popular government. Two parties exist now, as two have always existed, and always will. Each of them as a majority, by turns, controls the administration of government, and, as a minority, exercises a salutary restraint upon the controlling party. We can only reach the administration, and influence its course, through one or the other of these parties. To attach ourselves to a third party, which has not and can not, while the others last, have a representation in the public councils, is to renounce, for the present at least, the right of interference in public affairs.

How stand the two great parties, then, in relation to the enduring principles of our government which have been set forth?

Public order is the first instinct of the whig party. They have never sacrificed order or written law, whether organic or temporary, to expediency. A popular mass, constituting a large portion of what is now the whig party, a few years since, vindicated the majesty of the law and the rights of citizenship, by one of those regenerating efforts which always give reliable assurance that "the rights and liberties of the people are destined to endure." Are the opposing party equally favorable to the ascendency of law and order? They exhibited no sensibility on the great occasion to which I have alluded. They trampled the broad seal of one of the members of the confederacy under foot, in the house of representatives, to secure a party advantage there. Their senators have in more than one instance refused to meet adverse political houses of assembly or representatives, as required by the constitution and law, to appoint senators to represent states in the senate of the United States. The whig Congress of 1840 enacted a law requiring that representatives should be chosen in single districts. The succeeding Congress, containing an adverse majority, nullified that great democratic law. South Carolina once arrayed herself against the government, and set her sister-states at defiance. The statesmen who projected this treason are high and honored in the ranks of the party with which we are contending. An attempt has been made to subvert the republican government of Rhode Island, and to erect another in its place, without sanction of the people, and by force. This treason was openly approved by our opponents, and its

convicted leader enjoys their sympathy in his lawful punishment.

Think not that the public order is of little moment. Tyranny, despotism, monarchy in every form, and even aristocracy, all have no plea but the alleged incapacity of democratic states to preserve public order. France, at the close of the last century, tried a republic, based like ours on the principles of liberty and equality, forgetting the element of order. Her consequent calamities constitute the saddest chapter in the history of our race. In 1830, France renewed the experiment, but she had not grown wiser. If you had visited France then, you would have seen that, under the teachings of the illustrious La Fayette, the republicans incorporated a new word in their revolutionary war-cry; and everywhere throughout France, even to this day, you will see displayed the motto of the glorious and memorable Revolution of the Three Days: "*Liberté et ordre publique.*"

The intellectual improvement of society by popular education seems to have obtained the unanimous favor of the people. It would be thought a bold allegation to assert that anything remains to be done, and an unjust charge to impute to any party indifference in regard to this great object. Yet I may nevertheless justly remind you that our boasted system of public instruction, even in our own state, has thus far only been effective in furnishing means and facilities for acquiring knowledge, while philosophical, moral, and political science, are at least very imperfectly disseminated generally by our schools and other seminaries. You all are witnesses for me, also, that recently necessary efforts to extend the benefits of popular education to classes of citizens overlooked and neglected, encountered religious opposition almost insurmountable. Nor can you forget that two and a half millions, or one eighth of our whole population, being held in domestic slavery, are by state policy denied even elementary instruction. I claim for the whig party that, under the auspices of such men as Adams and Clinton, universal education is made a prominent responsibility of government; and, while I do not say that our opponents disavow this responsibility, I submit whether you find them equally zealous and effective. Experience has shown that in the most enlightened condition of human society, any system of public education must have an adequate fiscal foundation. Such has been the fact in New York, and in

Connecticut, and in Massachusetts, each of which states has devoted large treasures to the support of public schools. Most of the states are destitute of such a system, and of available means to endow one.

The whig party, following the counsels of Washington and Jefferson, regard the national domain as a patrimony of right, divisible among the states, to be devoted by them first and chiefly to the foundation of systems of universal education. That policy has been partially adopted in this state. Four and a half millions of dollars, derived from that domain, constitute a large portion of the endowment of our common schools; and the state enjoys a library of a million of volumes, established with the same fund, and distributed throughout all the school-districts. The opposing party deny the lawfulness, right, or expediency, of such an application of that patrimony. They insist that what has been already appropriated does not of right belong to the states, but ought to be restored, and they make it a cardinal point of their policy to prohibit any further division of the lands or revenues of the public domain, while they maintain also that Congress can not and ought not to employ those lands or revenues otherwise than for the current expenses of administering the government. Let the people judge whether we have not richly repaid the confederacy for all we have received, and let them decide further to which party they can most safely and wisely confide the cause of popular education.

I am sure you will not think I exaggerate the importance of this subject. It not only appeals to us by the consideration of preserving public virtue, but also engages in its behalf the great national sentiment and principles of equality. Universal education is the great agrarian agent—the leveller we must use to prevent wealth and power from building up aristocratic institutions, and dividing society into unequal classes.

For the development and improvement of the natural resources with which God has blessed the land in which our lot is cast, the first element is population—population increasing by natural augmentation and by immigration. Both of these depend, in every country, upon the rewards of labor, or wages:—

> "Ill fares the land, to every ill a prey,
> When wealth accumulates, and when men decay."

To secure high rewards to labor, or high wages, it is manifest that all must not be confined to one department, but that the many and various departments of labor in civilized life must be opened. Agriculture is the most obvious and natural field of human labor, and all the producing mass of society must pursue it if mechanical avocations are neglected. But all other regions of the world are, as a general fact, capable of supplying their inhabitants with breadstuffs as cheaply or more cheaply than we can furnish them. The surplus we produce being therefore necessarily sold at home, exceeds the demand, and of course prices are low, and the rewards of the laborer are inadequate. For this evil there is no other remedy but to establish all the mechanical departments among ourselves. Those who are engaged in such departments no longer compete with the farming classes, and, on the contrary, depend on them for supplies, for which they yield liberal prices, because their own mechanical labors are liberally rewarded. I think this subject is well understood here in regard to one department. When passing through this flourishing village a few weeks ago, a voice called to me, and invited me into a long, low, ordinary building. When I entered, I found twelve shoemakers, each sitting on his shop-bench, plying the "waxed end." I passed among them, receiving the extended hand of each, and when the introductions were finished, the master-workman said, "Mr. Seward, these are all whigs."

By reason of the operation of the tariff, our boots and shoes are now made exclusively in our own country and by our own countrymen. Thus the shoemakers have good reasons for being whigs. Now suppose, on the contrary, that we depend on England and France for our boots and shoes: is it not apparent that our own mechanics now engaged in this manufacture would chiefly be employed in agriculture, and diminish its profits by being producers instead of consumers? What is true of the shoemakers is equally true of the hatters; for, although material abounds on our own continent, we should be dependent on European mechanics for hats, but for the operation of the tariff. Here, then, is another numerous class contributing to the rewards of agriculture, instead of depreciating them. Is there any reason why the same principle should not be applied in the supply of all our domestic wants? We have abundance of iron and coal; and yet, until the present tariff-law went into operation, we were

dependent on the mines of Sweden, and the mechanics of Birmingham and Sheffield, for not merely rails for our iron roads and for implements of art, but for shovels and tongs for our kitchen-fireplaces, and even for the knives and forks with which we ate our daily bread.

Now, to look up from this humble illustration to the great ends of American society, how obvious is it that without home manufactures our national independence must not only be incomplete, but that the increase of population, and the rapid settlement and civilization of our unoccupied territory, depend on the encouragement and protection of honest industry in opposition to labor in European countries! The great principle of the protective policy is, that home markets are necessary to sustain home industry. No one doubts this in the ordinary business of society. How often does the farmer take out a tavern-license, to secure to himself a market at the doors of his own grocery! The great object is to save expense of transportation and commissions. If you go to a distant market, you ask the question, 'How much will you *give?*' If the purchaser finds you at home, he asks you the question, 'How much will you *take?*'

The protective policy is a cardinal principle of political science as received by the whig party. No man denies this. On the contrary, the most that our opponents ever claim is that they are not unfriendly to the same policy. But they at least are not agreed. I do not say that every one of that party is an advocate of free trade, but I do say that every advocate of free trade belongs to that party. That party, and not the whigs, abolished the protective principle and established the revenue principle, by the compromise-law of 1832. The representatives of that party most generally opposed the present tariff-law in its passage, and those who gave it their support did so with qualifications. Mr. Van Buren, their late chief, declared himself opposed to both its principles and its details. Mr. Polk, their present leader, disowns the principle of protection, and insists on that of revenue. Last winter the whole party clamored against the present tariff because it did not produce revenue enough. Now a large portion of them denounce it because it produces too much. In short, the nullifier of Carolina looks to the same party for the overthrow of the principle of protection, that here in New York hesitatingly claim to be its supporters and advocates!

But I may not dwell on this subject, although it constitutes so important an issue in the present canvass. What I wish to impress on your minds is that, human labor is the great agent to work out the destinies of the country, and that in this country the laborers are of two classes—the white and the black—the bond and the free—that the opposing party deny protection and encouragement to the white and the free, while they insist on continuing, for ever, the ignorance, incapacity, and slavery, of the bondman.

Another fundamental principle of our democratic government was, that the country must be supplied with adequate facilities for defence, for travel, for migration, and for the purposes of inland trade. These facilities were to be afforded, in the language of Washington and Jefferson, by improving roads and rivers, which they regarded not merely as necessary for the growth of empire, but as means of binding the states in an indissoluble union of affection and interest. I need not show you how beneficently this great policy has operated thus far—you, the people of Yates county, owe four fifths of your present population, wealth, knowledge, and refinement, to the system of internal improvement, as established in the state of New York.

I know that this theme is not now in high favor. But I pray you to consider it, my fellow-citizens! Transfer yourselves to the point where we have tapped the lakes, or to the junction of the Ohio and the Mississippi, or to Albany, where Massachusetts has interlocked her iron roads with our own, then tell me whether the Union, established as a political institution, and secured at first by compact alone, has not been cemented, and converted into a lasting, social, connection, by internal improvements—by internal improvements not made or established by mere private cupidity, but by them as system commenced and to be perfected, under the direct care, and with the revenues of government.

How stand the parties in regard to this great subject? The whig party have abided by the policy in the federal and state governments, have adhered to it when it was popular, and gone down with it when it lost favor. The other party abandoned it, first in the federal councils, and then in this state; and now it is banished from among the responsibilities of government. I have not time here to review their arguments. Plausible pretexts are always found by every government, even the most arbitrary, for

any departure from wise, humane, or benevolent policy. Whatever calamities have befallen nations, the statesmen who brought them on were seldom unable to plead excuses, which, for the time, satisfied the people. There are, however, enduring monuments which reproach us with our departure from the fundamental policy of the government in this respect. The exhortations of Washington and Jefferson, were rhapsodies of political enthusiasm; and the fame of Clinton, that constitutes so large a part of our own renown, throughout the world, is a cheat and delusion, or else all the arguments of Mr. Hoffman, and of Colonel Young, are unsound, deceptive, and erroneous.

Freedom from unnecessary and onerous burdens of debt and taxes, is, by common consent, an indispensable condition of national progress. The nation commenced its existence oppressed with a great debt, a part of the cost of the Revolution. This debt, partially paid off in a long season of peace, rose again in the war of 1812, to two hundred millions of dollars. And yet in the year 1830, it was extinguished. How was it paid? By a tariff-law imposing duties on imposts, for the protection of home industry. But in turn, the tariff-law gave place to what was called a revenue-law, which rejected the principle of protection. What happened then? In the short space of half a dozen years, without the calamities of foreign war, a debt of thirty-five millions of dollars was incurred. The whig tariff system was re-established in 1842, and the debt is now diminishing as rapidly as it was created. If, then, you wish to secure the country against the evil of an overshadowing and exhausting public debt, the whig policy is the only reliable preventive.

The first want of every nation is peace, the last is peace. It wants peace always. So our forefathers understood the philosophy of government; for they established a system which dispensed with even the forces necessary for perfect defence, rather than cumber it with such as might tempt it to unnecessary collision with other states. A democratic government has no adaptation to war. War involves a nation in debt, and requires vast supplies of men and taxes, and self-taxing people will not, except when absolutely obliged by the exigencies of danger, vote either one or the other. Our government has not effective powers of conscription. No modern state has carried on, or can carry on, aggressive war without conscription. War, however

brief its duration, and however light its calamities, deranges all social industry, subverts order, and corrupts public morals.

The first element, then, of our social happiness and security, is peace. How stand the parties in this great question? The senate of the United States has refused to ratify a treaty for the engrafting of Texas into the American empire. Our opponents have appealed from that decree of the senate to the people. The whig party sustains it. The other party declare that the annexation of Texas is a "great democratic measure to be effected as speedily as possible." But war exists between the state of Texas and the republic of Mexico. An army was moved by the president of the United States, to repel the Mexicans from the territory of Texas, and a navy repaired, by his orders, to Vera Cruz, to engage with the Mexican navy in a conflict anticipated, on the ratification of the treaty. Mexico is now invading the state of Texas, and Texas is preparing to resist the invasion, with what ability it may. Now it is proposed that we extend our jurisdiction over Texas, making that state a member of our confederacy.

We should thus not only become a party to the war, but we should take the place of one of the belligerents. Am I answered that the Spanish Americans are weak and harmless, I reply that conflict with them is, nevertheless, war, and that is inevitable. In the judgment of the founder of the American empire, the world would not be worth to us the cost of a war of conquest with the weakest state it contains. But Mexico is inured to war, we to peace. The war would be unjust, and, therefore, would not engage the support of our own people, while it would involve us in the censures of Christendom. Whatever pretexts may be set up to excuse it, it would be a war to defend and perpetuate slavery. This is true of our government, as the object of annexation, and in such a war "the Almighty has no attribute which could engage him to favor our arms."

I will not exaggerate the case by supposing what, nevertheless, is probable, that Great Britain, as true to the instincts of liberty, as in such a war we should be false, as jealous of us as we are of her, must come into alliance with Mexico. If there be any truth in the alarm which the advocates of Texas sound in our ears in regard to the designs of Great Britain, and the principles of her interference, the mistress of the seas would desire no other pretext for such an alliance, than our adoption of Texas with its

slavery. But be the disposition of Great Britain, or other European states what it may, are we ready for war? Do we desire to draw down upon ourselves its calamities? People of Yates county! Citizens of western New York! are you weary of tranquillity, of prosperity, and of the blessings that God has crowned you with so abundantly? You, into whose firesides no emissary of conscription has ever entered, in whose fields the tax-gatherer is almost unknown, you, who have never seen soldiers, nor sentinels, even of your own government; you, who are founding, every day, new schools, churches, temperance associations, and missionary societies, do you want war? I know better. When this political excitement shall have passed by, you will wonder that you should ever have allowed a debate which involved such a catastrophe.

Our opponents often insist that women have no place in political assemblies. But I will tell them the secret why women are here, and why they will remain in our assemblies. A question of peace and war is thrust upon us. They, by their teachings of the young, and by their persuasions addressed to all, influence the decree of the people, which is registered in the ballot-box. I tell the advocates of war that their countrywomen are God's ministers of peace to our country; and in a Christian land, where universal suffrage prevails, their ministry will prevail, and this country will not, can not be plunged into war, unless the call to arms be made in a cause in which we can invoke the blessings of the Almighty.

Universal political equality among all the subjects of the government was proclaimed in the very outset of the Revolution as an element of this democracy. The principle was asserted, but it was only partially established. Some two hundred thousand of the people were held in political subjection and domestic bondage. But there was not one of the founders of the state who did not contemplate the speedy perfection of democratic equality by the abolition of African slavery. That humane and public expectation has been delayed. Our forefathers thought that slavery would languish and die when the foreign slave-trade, its life-spring, should be suppressed, and they provided for that suppression. But a domestic slave-trade has taken the place of the African commerce. Slavery is the bane of our social condition. It divides the empire into two portions, between whom it perpet-

ually prevents any harmony of fiscal economy. It arrays the south against the north. It exposes us to danger from abroad, and has once brought the country to the verge of disunion. All these evils happen because slavery is an aristocratic institution compared with our democracy. It secures to the owner of one hundred slaves political power equal to that of sixty freemen of the free states; and to twelve states, of less population than New York and Ohio, six times as many senators and twice as many delegates as those two great free states are allowed to send to the house of representatives. Notwithstanding the institution of the domestic slave-trade, and the purchase of the slave-territory of Louisiana, slavery languishes and approaches its end.

The conscience of the people is aroused. The laws of political economy, combining with the inevitable tendencies of population, are hastening emancipation, and all the labors of statesmen and politicians to prevent it are ineffectual. And now in this crisis, so auspicious to our country, to the cause of liberty, and to the cause of humanity, a new effort is made to re-establish and perpetuate slavery. The boundaries of the domestic slave-trade are found too narrow to encourage the home production of slaves. A slave-buying district, lying along the borders of a slave-breeding region, with a prolific soil and temperate climate, and ample for the domestication of six or seven millions of slaves, must be bought and annexed to the republic! It is hoped that slavery, which is now exhausting the soil it has cursed so long, will relieve that region by spreading itself over the new domain, while at the same time the danger of domestic insurrection will be diminished, and foreign instigation of the slaves will be effectually prevented.

The dangers to result from this alarming measure can scarcely be exaggerated. Besides the hazard of war to which I have already adverted, there are those of dissensions among the states. If the slaveholding states hardly submit to the administration of the government, dependent as they are on the free states, will they adhere when they shall have acquired such augmented forces? If the north and west are harassed to the utmost bounds of endurance by the evils of slavery, who shall answer for even their fidelity when their interests can be no longer protected? The constitution is now a democracy, with an aristocracy too feeble to derange the machine altogether. Then it will be a slave-

holding aristocracy, combining democratic elements of inferior force.

Fellow-citizens, are you willing to come under more complete subjection to such an aristocracy? As for me, if my children must bend their necks to an aristocracy, let it be the aristocracy of *family* authority, like that of the patriarchs of old, or of *clans*, like what until recently prevailed among the mountains of Scotland; or let it be an aristocracy of rank conferred for services to our country in the tented field; or for philosophical discoveries and inventions in science and the arts, as it theoretically is in the land whose barons extorted our *Magna Charta* from King John! But, in the name of all that is valuable in human liberty, let it not be an aristocracy of wealth. And if it must be an aristocracy of wealth, let that wealth consist in broad acres of our native soil — of forests, mineral and pasture land, and of lakes and islands — or at least let it consist in flocks and herds upon our thousand hills.

Whatever else may happen, let us be spared from subjugation to an aristocracy of wealth consisting of human bones, sinews, and veins — consisting of the bodies and souls of our countrymen!

And what is this slave-trade that we must favor and protect with such sacrifices? I have seen something of it. Resting one morning at an inn in Virginia, I saw a woman, blind and decrepit with age, turning the ponderous wheel of a machine on the lawn, and overheard this conversation between her and my fellow-traveller: "Is not that very hard work?" — "Why yes, mistress, but I must do something; and this is all I can do now, I am so old." — "How old are you?" — "I do not know; past sixty, they tell me." — "Have you a husband?" — "I do not know, mistress." — "Have you ever had a husband?" — "Yes, I was married." — "Where is your husband?" — "I do not know; he was sold." — "Have you children?" — "I do not know: I had children, but they were sold." — "How many?" — "Six." — "Have you never heard from any of them since they were sold?" — "No, mistress." — "Do you not find it hard to bear up under such afflictions as these?" — "Why yes, mistress; but God does what he thinks it best with us." Mothers! you who sit before me so happy in the innocence and joy of your children, was not that slave-mother a woman and your sister?

Heretofore they told us that we had nothing to do with slavery;

that it was no concern of ours. But now the slaveholder has brought it home to us. It is our concern now, God be praised! It is a national concern. The annexation of Texas to enlarge and fortify the slave-trade, is forsooth "a great democratic measure." Out upon such democracy! I have seen the time when I feared the effect of loud pretensions to democracy in a community accustomed to regard it as a watchword. But I now scorn them all. Democracy is brought to a test that no mock pretensions can abide. True democracy is equality and liberty. The democracy of the Texas party is aristocracy for the white race, and bondage for the black. Slavery is now on trial before the people, and must go down, and with it every power that interposes to protect or uphold the institution accursed of God and man.

What apologies are suffered for so great a wrong as this that we are invited to commit against our country and our race? Why, it is said that we once owned Texas. Grant it true: did we not sell it, or give it away? But suppose we had a right to demand it back again: who would have it with slavery polluting its soil, and blackening all that approaches it?

But a voice from the Hermitage tells us that we need Texas for defence of the south. If we are in danger, whence does this danger come? From our too-extended frontier? Shall we gain security by adding eighteen hundred miles to our imperfectly-defended borders? But how is the south exposed? Exposed to invasion from Great Britain. Is the south any more exposed than we are? Here we are on the very borders of one of the great continental colonies of England, with her standing armies, and yet who's afraid? Nobody. Why not? Because we are all free. Why is the south afraid? Because she holds two and a half millions of her people in slavery. Let her break their shackles, and she will be as strong and may be as bold as we are.

But we must needs annex Texas to extend the sway of democratic institutions! And has not Texas institutions as democratic as she would have when annexed? But she can not uphold them against Mexico! Well, let her make her institutions as democratic as ours are, restore her hardy laborers to freedom, and put the ballot into their hands as we enjoy it, and then we will treat with her as a republican state: but not before.

Again, we are told that our democratic confederative principle is adapted to extend our jurisdiction indefinitely, and that we

shall carry out its design by embracing other democratic states. Strange that the founders of the constitution, who saw everything favorable to human liberty, did not anticipate and provide for such enlargement of our empire! Do you know the capacity of our present territory? It is broad enough to support two hundred millions, a number equal to one fourth of the present population of the globe! Has it ever occurred to the advocates of Texas that this may be possibly as large a family as can be gathered and comfortably lodged under one national roof? But I will not stand on this objection; I will consent that our eagle be sent abroad to gather in the nations on the American continent. Only let not the eyes of our noble bird be hoodwinked, and his legs encumbered with chains and manacles. Let him go forth like the Roman eagle, the true bird of Jove, a harbinger of freedom and civilization.

But if we want more territory, what say the Texas party to going northward? We already enjoy a monopoly of the great river of the west and of its commerce. What say they now to the proposition of securing Canada, and making the St. Lawrence our own? Its banks are destined to be the seat of a great and free empire. No slave ever breathed or can breathe in that high and glorious temperate latitude. Ay! but Canada would involve us in war. Well, we are prepared for that, if we are prepared to annex Texas. But suppose that difficulty removed, what then? Why, Canada will *cost* too much. Well, then, let us buy *a part*. We have twenty-five millions in hand to buy Texas. What say you, gentlemen of the Texas party, to buying twenty-five millions' worth of Canada now, and making new contracts for more as we become able? No! no! you don't want Canada at all. How absurd, then, is the pretence that you want Texas, or want indeed any more territory!

And now how stand the parties on this great question of peace and war — of the constitution as it is, or of the constitution subverted — of union or of disunion? The one party pronounce the treaty a great national measure; the other denounce it now henceforth, and for ever, while slavery defiles the beautiful territory that solicits their acceptance.

Shall I be told that Henry Clay's position is not as strong as this? Be it so. I regret it. I would that Henry Clay were in the vanguard of emancipation. I should honor him ten thousand

times more than I can now. But Henry Clay's election is the only alternative so far as the presidency is concerned; and he is only the leading personal object in the foreground of the scene we have been contemplating. Let him come into the presidency under such pledges as will prevent Texas from coming into the Union while he is there. We will look out for the future. Present safety being thus secured, we will take care that Texas do not come in afterward, or ever, until she cast off the black robe that hangs around her, and thus renders herself worthy of adoption by the American sisterhood.

Fellow-citizens, the time for mass meetings has passed away. This is the last occasion on which I shall address any portion of the people in regard to the approaching election. I desire to say that, as I have spoken here, I have everywhere spoken — not as a mere apologist of the whig party, or of its leaders, but as an advocate of the interests and honor of my country, paramount to the interests of all partisans and of all parties. I do not claim that I have been the organ of any party. I have spoken my own sentiments; and, as you have loudly testified, I speak yours. Let others hereafter do what they may. I shall stand on the same ground I now occupy, always demanding the abolition of slavery in America by political argument and suffrage, and by the constitutional action of all the public authorities. I trust in the instincts of the whig party, that it will prove faithful to that cause; and when it shall prove false in any hour of trial, it will be time enough to look elsewhere for more effective agency.

SPEECH AT ST. PATRICK'S DINNER.

ALBANY, MARCH 17, 1846.

It is manifest, Mr. President, that I shall be allowed to be silent no longer. In the toast which has just been read I must say you have exercised your national privileges to flatter and to mistake. There are two or three errors in as many compliments.

First. You assert that I am not the most fortunate son of New York. Why, gentlemen, I am fortunate in my misfortunes. The frost and the ice, the floods and the tempest, perverse men and good, friends and adversaries, have been combined against me, ever since my arrival in this city, and have detained me so long, that I am able, for the first time in four years, to meet my too generous friends, the Irishmen of Albany, at that board whose pleasures once tasted, can never be forgotten.

Again, sir, is not your illustrious guest at your right hand, [Governor Wright,] the most fortunate citizen in the state—fortunate in the favor of the people? Yes, indeed. But the most fortunate event in the life of a governor of New York is his retirement. Is it not so, sir? I appeal then, to my distinguished friend if he will pardon the freedom, whether I am not more fortunate than himself, in having earlier passed through the storms with which he is buffeting, and in having found a calm and secure harbor? [Governor Wright smiling, bowed assent.] Then, sir, if I am more fortunate than you, I am the most fortunate son of New York.

The toast also asserts that I am honest. Now I will not directly contradict this sentiment. But you must allow me to say, that the time has been when my integrity was questioned more than my good fortune even by Irishmen.

But, gentlemen, I am honest always, at least in the pleasure and sympathy with which I greet you on the return of this festival. The day is consecrated to St. Patrick. And why should not St. Patrick be honored? True, we are not enlightened as to

any peculiarities of his creed; but if it be tested by his works it must have been a sound one. He was a stranger to Ireland. France and Scotland contend for the honor of his birth. He found the people of the green isle heathens and barbarians, and he brought them to the knowledge of the true God. He engrafted them a vigorous exotic, upon the true olive-tree planted by his master.

But the day is more a secular, than an ecclesiastical festival. St. Patrick's day is the holiday of Ireland, and St. Patrick is by common consent a personification of the virtues of the Irish character. Ireland claims the homage and the sympathy of mankind, especially of freemen.

Germs of liberty appeared earlier in that island, and more frequent, and grew more luxuriantly than in almost any other region, and yet they have always been more signally blasted. The states of Italy, Switzerland, France, Holland, England, and many German countries, have largely enjoyed the blessings of civil liberty, and sometimes of religious freedom. But Ireland for six hundred years has known neither national independence nor liberty, and yet Ireland was precocious in manifesting the impulse and spirit of freedom. When the island was divided into its five ancient states, Leinster, Munster, Ulster, Connaught, and Meath, these kingdoms like the members of our republic, were bound together by a federal union, not subjected to an imperial throne. At that early day the feudal principle of primogeniture was singularly modified in Ireland, not only in regard to the crown, but even in regard to honors, titles, and estates. The heir did not succeed unless he added superior merit to priority of birth. In this law, Mr. President, you readily recognise the *Tanistry* of your native land.

You recollect, also, that in Ireland, as well as elsewhere, the population was divided into tribes or *septs*. It was an institution peculiar to Ireland, which required an equal division of the wealth of the sept on the death of its chief. This principle of Gavelkind strongly resembled the jubilee of the Hebrews. The people of Ireland were distinguished for religion as early as for the love of liberty. This we are assured by no partial historian. In the twelfth century, when they had no arts, no commerce, no defences, they were gay, generous, ardent, credulous, vivacious, enthusiastic, and exhibited more than ordinary bias toward

religion. Such were the people who possessed Ireland when it was invaded by Henry II. Such a people he expelled from their native homes, and he parcelled out the whole country among his followers. Never among Christians has it been known elsewhere, that to be a native of a country was to live in perpetual alienage and outlawry. The Celtic inhabitants of Ireland were always described in the laws of Great Britain as the Irish enemy. Here is the record of a court held at Waterford, in 1311: "Quod Robertus le Wayleys sectatus de morte Johannis filii Ivor Mac-Gillemony, felonici per ipsum interfecti, etc. Venit et bene cognovit quod prædictum Johannem interfecit; dicit tamen quod per ejus interfectionem feloniam committeri non potuit; quia dicit quod prædictus Johannes fuit purus Hibernicus, et non de libero sanguine, etc. Et cum dominus dicti Johannis, cujus Hibernicus idem Johannis fuit, die quo interfectus fuit, solutionem pro ipsus Johanne Hibernico suo sic interfecto petere voluerit, ipse Robertus paratus erit ad respondendam de solutione prædicta prout justitia suadebit. Et super hoc venit quidam Johannes le Poer, et dicit pro domino rege, quod predictus Johannes filius Ivon Mac-Gillemony, et antecessores sui de cognomine prædictus a tempore quo dominus Henricus filius imperatricis, quondam dominus Hiberniæ, tritavus domini regis nunc, fuit in Hiberniæ, legem Anglicanam in Hibernia usque ad hunc diem habere, et secundum ipsam legem judicari et deduci debent." The plain English of this atrocious record is, that it was not *murder* but *excusable* homicide, to slay an Irishman, unless he had renounced his country and become an Englishman.

The liberty which mankind are enjoying in the nineteenth century, is a tree planted, watered, and cherished in the legislative assemblies of western Europe during the fifteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Ireland had a parliament at a period as early as parliaments were known in England, a cortes in Spain, or diet in Germany. And the Irish parliaments might have worked out the liberties of Ireland, although no native-born subject, and no Roman Catholic, was allowed a seat there. Henry VII. perceived this danger, and, therefore, obtained the passage of the memorable statute called *Paynim's* law. This constitution declared that "in future no parliament shall be holden in Ireland till the king's lieutenant shall certify to the

king, under the great seal, causes and considerations, and all such acts as it seems to him ought to be passed therein, and such be affirmed by the king, and his license to hold a parliament be obtained." What wonder is it that, after this statute the national religion was subverted by the sword, and a new one established by force, and maintained by pillage and exaction, and that civil wars desolated the island? At the very moment that Lord Bacon was prophesying the immediate exaltation of the British empire, and the decline of the kingdom of Castile, Leon, and the Indies, Ireland was thus described by Hollingshed: "The land itself which before then was populous, well inhabited, and rich in all the good blessings of God, being plenteous of corn, full of cattle, well-stored with fruit and many other good commodities, has now become waste, and barren, yielding no fruits, the pastures no cattle, the fields no corn, the air no birds, the seas—though full of fish, yet yielding nothing; every way the curse of God was so great, and the land so barren, both of man and beast, that in a distance of six score miles the traveller would meet no man, woman, or child, save in towns and cities; nor yet see any beasts, but the very wolves and foxes." Queen Elizabeth was assured that, "Sir Arthur Gray, the lord-lieutenant, had left little to reign over but ashes and carcasses."

Coming down to the close of the seventeenth century, England is seen with a constitutional monarchy, founded on principles of republican freedom, with colonies in Virginia, Massachusetts, and Maryland, flourishing under governments almost purely democratic. What was then the condition of Ireland? The Irish people possessed not more than a sixth, or a seventh of their native land. Humanity blushes at the code which had been established by William (one named "of immortal memory") and Anne; a code which interdicted religious faith on condition of absolute disfranchisement, civil, military, ecclesiastical, social, and domestic, which made education an evil, and Christian instruction a crime. It is true that during the present century this code has been somewhat modified, but the recent wrongs of Ireland exceed all the meliorations of her condition. Until the year 1800, Ireland had a legislature. It was composed, indeed, of aliens, strangers, and agents of British oppression, but it was, nevertheless, a parliament, and it sat in Dublin. It was a shadow of a constitutional legislature, and under the appeals of a Grattan

and a Flood, it sometimes gave faint evidence of national vitality. England, which had now become virtually a republic, grew fearful and weary of the poor mockery of liberty in the sister-island, and subverted the Irish parliament by bribery and corruption. She gave, indeed, a representation in the imperial parliament as an equivalent. But what representation? One hundred and thirty-seven members for eight millions, while England and Scotland had one thousand and sixty-one for sixteen millions. Britain had three hundred and eighty-eight barons in the senate, while Ireland had only twenty-seven. What is the trade of Ireland? She has none. Her ports are in England. Her merchants are there. Her capital is there. Even now, when the country is visited by a famine, not a cargo of wheat from the Baltic, nor of maize from America, can reach that unhappy country, except it be unloaded on the docks of England, and pay its tribute there. What is the agriculture of Ireland? With a soil of unequal fertility, and a climate peculiarly salubrious, she has laborers, but her landlords are in England, or in Italy. What is her political power? Compeer of England in all her battles, she is always chained to the car of victory, as the chief captive in all the triumphs of the conqueror.

I plead guilty, then, to the charge of being a repealer. I ask for Ireland a parliament, a free parliament—a parliament which shall be her own parliament. I ask for her people free and equal suffrage in the choice of representatives in that parliament. I may be told that Irishmen are incompetent to govern themselves. Let them *try*. It is certain they could not govern themselves worse than England governs them.

We can do little here to promote this great object, but our example is potential. Let us carry out the principles of equal legislation, and of universal suffrage. Let us thus prove the dignity and beneficence of our mission among the nations of the earth. But I am asked, would you give the ballot to every man, learned or unlearned, bond or free? Yes! I do not find this principle asserted in Magna Charta, or in any bill of rights adopted by the commons of England, or even in the Declaration of American Independence, but I do find in all the bills of rights that the people have a natural right to retain arms, to protect themselves when the government betrays its trust. But muskets are becoming obsolete. The ballot is a better weapon. Let the subject, or

the citizen everywhere have that. Some of our friends here imply that they advocate universal suffrage, upon condition of universal education. I would, indeed, prefer that the schoolmaster should precede the ballot-box, but the experience of six thousand years has proved that, the ballot-box never comes if we wait for the education which is supposed necessary for its safety. On the other hand, universal education is sure to follow universal suffrage.

I give you, then, gentlemen, in concluding these desultory remarks: Suffrage and education together. But suffrage at all events

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EULOGY ON JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

ALBANY, FEBRUARY 25, 1848.

May it please your Honor:

The capitol is deserted! The legislature have suspended their labors; the city is in mourning; a sudden blow has fallen on the master-chord in the heart of this nation, and grief is diffusing itself throughout the Union. The voice of John Quincy Adams has died away on earth, and he has resumed converse with John Adams and Jefferson, with La Fayette and with Washington, in heaven.

Death found the statesman where he wished to meet it—in the capitol; in his place; in the performance of his duty; in defending the cause of peace and of freedom. He submitted to the inevitable blow as those who loved and honored him foretold and desired that he would—saying only, "This is the last of earth—I am content."

I will not suffer myself to speak all I feel on this sad occasion. While the American people have lost a father and a guide—while Humanity has lost her most eloquent, persevering, and indomitable advocate—I have lost a patron, a guide, a counsellor, and a friend—one whom I loved scarcely less than the dearest relations, and venerated above all that was mortal among men.

I speak in behalf of my associates. Great as he was, illustrious as his achievements were, he was one of us. He was a civilian, a lawyer, a jurist. His great mind was imbued with the science of our noble profession, and enriched with all congenial learning; and to these he added the ornaments of rhetoric and eloquence. Trained in constitutional law, in the school of its founders, Washington called him in precocious youth to the kindred field of diplomacy. That mission discharged, he returned to his

Note.—Soon after the court of chancery organized, Mr. Seward rose and addressed the chancellor as above.—*Ed.*

profession, and devoted himself to it with assiduity until the people called him from the duty of expounding laws to the higher department of making laws.

Rising through various and very responsible departments of public service, he became chief magistrate of the republic. There he impressed on its history an enduring illustration of a wise, peaceful, and enlightened administration, devoted to the cultivation of peace, to its arts and its interests, and to extending the sway of republican institutions over the continent, and yet in all things subordinate to the law and regulated by the law.

When he had thus filled the measure of the world's expectation and of his own generous ambition, he resumed his place in the national legislature, and devoted what remained of life to a long, arduous, and finally-successful vindication of the constitutional liberty of speech, and of the universal inalienable right of petition. Nor can we forget that, while thus engaged, he set a noble example for us, by returning again to the field of his early labors, the unpaid, unrivalled advocate of the Amistad captives. Those unhappy fugitives, rescued by him from the oppression of two great nations, were restored to Africa, the first of the many millions of her people of whom she had been despoiled by the avarice of our superior race. Whatever difference of opinion there may be concerning the principles and policy of the deceased, all men will now agree that he won among American statesmen, and eminently more than any other, the fame accorded to the most illustrious chevalier of France — the fame of a statesman — *sans peur et sans reproche.*

It is fit that the death of such a citizen should be marked with all the testimonials of public grief, in order that his life may have its just influence on mankind. It is fit that it should be honored in this tribunal, the fame of which is not unknown throughout the world, and the records of which will remain for ever. In behalf of the members of the bar, therefore, I move that such an expression be entered on the record, and that the court do then adjourn.

HORTICULTURAL FESTIVAL.

BOSTON, SEPTEMBER 22, 1848.

Mr. President:

There has been a felicity in my life which assigned to me the duty of personating New York at every renewal of her fraternization with Massachusetts. I joined hands with her chief magistrate in the valley of the Connecticut, when we riveted the iron bands that bind the banks of the Hudson to the shores of the Massachusetts bay. I brought in my hands the cypress wreath which New York sent to grace the tomb of the statesman of Massachusetts who sleeps beside his honored sire at Quincy. There may have been a fitness in my part on these occasions but I feel that there is none now.

When I look around me and see a *Downing* from the shores of the Hudson and a *Prince* come down from his throne upon the sound, I feel that New York might better speak through their voices on this occasion than with mine. I am a truant to agriculture; a truant to the labor; I regret to say a truant to the enjoyments, of the garden. Still, Mr. President, I believe that under more favorable circumstances, I would not be a sluggish pupil; for I remember once ascertaining by experience the true philosophy of agriculture and with great deference to you, sir, and with great admiration for the excellent speech which you have delivered to-night, you will permit me to say that I do not discover the whole of that philosophy in that essay.

It happened that once in the month of May, I had leisure from other pursuits, and I undertook to improve it by setting out trees, and embellishing my grounds. I bought a large quantity of plants and trees from Prince's garden, but lo! the trees were in

Note.—Remarks at the third triennial festival of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society at Faneuil hall, September 22, 1848. The president stated that they were honored by the presence of Governor Seward from the state of New York, and proposed a sentiment: "The Empire State: Favored by nature, but more favored by the energy, intelligence, and enterprise of her citizens," to which Governor Seward responded.—*Ed.*

blossom before the excavations were dug in which they were to be set! My neighbors thought I was a strange man to set out trees in May. "Why didn't you set these trees last fall?" said they. Still I kept on digging, and digging with faith. At last a very aged and venerable man, who has an excellent garden, displaying great taste, came along, and stood and looked upon me as I set out the trees, and watered them, and braced them up for their struggle with the summer winds, "Well," said he, "*there is fun setting out trees even if they won't live!*"

Now I take it that the true philosophy of horticulture is, that there is a pleasure in the innocent pursuits of the care and culture of the earth, which is increased just in proportion as taste and refinement preside over labors instead of bare utility.

But Mr. President, what was said in honor of the state of New York? I should deem myself unfortunate if a compliment to that state, which is my native state, my native country, should find me obliged as a matter of compliment, or as a matter of interest, to affect a respect for the state of Massachusetts, which was foreign to my heart and foreign to my lips. It is true of the state of New York that she is distinguished for extent of territory, for greatness of resources, and for a vast population, but it is also true that she is a state founded, not by one homogeneous people, but that on the contrary she was a colony planted by the various nations of Europe; and that it is not her province, it is not in all her past history, to originate great enterprises in government, in literature, or in science, but that she follows, and follows kindly, and faithfully, and vigorously, those states which were planned by the pilgrims of New England.

And Massachusetts, I confess it here, I confess it on behalf of my own state as well as of Massachusetts, the state of Massachusetts has been the pioneer in all. She was the pioneer in agriculture. We saw the granite soften and the soil grow green under the feet of the people of Massachusetts, before agriculture became our care. We are a great commercial people; we learned our commerce from the town of Boston, I think we are not an unpatriotic people; but we followed with some reluctance the footsteps of those who were gathered in this venerable hall. We are not without pretensions to science and literature; but the school-master who educated us all, was sent from New England.

So it is in this last, and most gratifying demonstration of the

spirit of New England, this demonstration that Massachusetts has time to turn aside from rugged labors, and may devote a portion of the wealth, and of the time, and of the talent of its citizens, to the cultivation of the garden, and of fruit. Now, Mr. President, this is a subject worthy of Massachusetts. She is not doomed to it by any peculiar sterility of her soil, for the garden gives but few spontaneous fruits to man, while, on the other hand there is no place on the "footstool" upon which we are situated, to which we can not bring exotics from every clime. There is no land that "overflows with milk and honey" perpetually. France now the land of the vine and the olive, the land of fruits and flowers — France, as we all recollect, borrowed her choicest grapes from Cyprus, and the mulberry is an exotic within her borders.

It is therefore for Massachusetts to lead in the career of refinement of horticulture, which she has so nobly commenced. You have already adverted to the influence which so noble a career must exercise upon the welfare of her own people and it is only to consider that reflected, to know what must be its influences upon the whole American people.

I will advert to but one topic further. When I look around me upon this great and brilliant presence, it seems to revive the spirit of the middle ages, when woman was exalted to be almost the first in earth and first in heaven, when woman presided in the distribution of the wreaths which were given in honor of triumphs in every department of literature and poetry, and was elevated to preside over angels, and just men made perfect in the heavenly kingdom. Such a scene as this — how does it not contrast with the scenes which were presented in this land only one year ago, when the nation was rushing madly into a war for foreign conquest, and women were excluded from our councils, from our sympathies, and almost from our remembrance. It is the true and only way to preserve these institutions, to bring woman up to her proper influence in society. It is only by indulging in such enterprises as may appeal to her for a blessing, that we can expect to continue a great, a happy, a prosperous, and a peaceful people.

WHIG MASS MEETING.

BOSTON, OCTOBER 15, 1848.

Fellow-Citizens:

In the hour of darkness which hung over the Roman republic when Julius Cæsar, with his legions, flushed with the conquest of Germany, was on his march to subjugate the liberties of Rome, and when Pompey, upon whom all hopes were centred to take command of the army, had withdrawn and taken position in Africa — at that moment, when the people of Rome were divided and distracted, and while some were persuading to submit to Cæsar, and others offered other leaders under whom the republic might find safety — Cicero expressed himself in these words: "I can easily know whom I ought to avoid, but not whom I ought to follow."

Such is the nature of the question which the whigs of the United States are now called upon to decide. With an administration which has put forth a candidate who is in favor of war for conquest, and with others seeking to distract and divide the people, the Philadelphia convention has put forth the names of Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore, and invited us to follow them.

We whigs in Boston, in New York, everywhere, know whom we ought to avoid, but can not so easily determine whom we ought to follow. To this question, 'Whom ought we to follow?' you have invited me to address myself at the present time; and I will give you the reasons which have led me to determine whom I ought to follow, and whom I mean to follow, diligently, earnestly, and vigilantly. The question, then, is — 'Whom ought the whigs to follow?' The people must select a leader from among them, and who he shall be must be decided by the exer-

Note.—Remarks at a large and spirited whig meeting, held in the Tremont Temple, Boston, on Friday evening, October 15, 1848, on the subject of the Presidential Election.

cise of the right of suffrage. To determine who, from the great and good men of the land, shall be chosen the leader of the whig party, we must first decide upon what measures we want, or the course of policy which will be most beneficial to the country, and then select that leader who will best secure us our wishes.

But the whigs are not all agreed in this matter. If they were as easily united as their adversaries, it would not be difficult to establish a creed which would satisfy all. But the whig party is composed of independent, thinking men and masses, and no one is willing passively to subscribe to the creed of another in all points. While, however, there are some things on which they differ, in the main they are agreed upon the following general principles: They ardently desire that this republic may be prosperous; that the well-directed industry of the country may succeed; that a system of judicious internal improvements may be pursued, in order to develop the resources of our country. They fervently desire that the government may be administered for the security of peace. Being friends of education, they wish that the policy of the government may be so directed as to develop the intellectual power of the nation. Another point on which they agree, and in a certain degree the most important principle of all, is that the extension of slavery over portions of territory now free will exert an influence hostile to the welfare of this nation, and tending to subvert American liberty.

This institution ought to receive the least favor from our hands consistent with the constitution; and some whigs go further, and say that the laws in any portion of our land for the protection of this institution shall receive just that measure of obedience which they can compel, and no more. All whigs, then, if these statements are not exaggerated, are in favor of internal improvements, of protection to American industry, of the diffusion of knowledge, of peace, and of the non-extension of slavery. What they want is, that these principles shall be carried into effect and become the policy of the government. Having ascertained, then, what we want, it remains for us to select some leader who will carry out our wishes. Two candidates have been presented, between whom we must decide, and one of them will certainly be chosen: of this there can be no doubt. General Cass has been presented as the administration candidate. Shall we adopt him? We want peace with all the world, but he is the candidate of the adminis-

tration which has plunged us into war, and has declared himself in favor of swallowing the whole of Mexico, while the whigs are opposed to the occupation of any part of her territory. War is the bane of republics, and wars of conquest will inevitably transform them into despotisms. The whigs are in favor of protection to national industry, knowing that no merely agricultural nation can be permanently prosperous. We must be also a commercial people, and the consequences will be most disastrous if our own workshops are not protected. Shall Lewis Cass be adopted as our leader, who is the candidate of the party which has decided that national industry shall be discouraged? We are in favor of internal improvements, by means of which the citizens of Boston and New York meet on the plains of Connecticut, and are made brethren. To this system General Cass is also opposed, and is the chosen candidate of that administration which vetoed the bill making appropriations for this object. On the slavery question, to this extent all whigs agree, that slavery shall not be extended into any territory now free; and they are doubtless willing to go one step further—that it shall be abolished where it now exists under the immediate protection of the general government.

To these principles the whigs are already pledged, and I trust that they may be regarded only as incipient measures, and that the time will soon arrive when further demonstrations will be made against the institution of slavery. I am a believer in the moral power of the people, and think that the work of abolishing slavery will be finally accomplished by moral force, peacefully, and in full accordance with public opinion. The whigs must, then, select a candidate who will favor these great principles. General Cass, as is well known, was an advocate for the admission of Texas into the Union for the purpose of extending and strengthening slavery, and gives in his adhesion to the doctrines of the Baltimore convention, that the question of establishing slavery in a new territory belongs to the inhabitants, and not to the legislative department of the general government. The idea of voting for such a man must be repugnant to the feelings of every whig.

On the other side, we have General Taylor, nominated by the whig convention, and he is the leader whom for many reasons we ought to follow: indeed, the whigs have no alternative, for there are really but two candidates in the field, and these are the can-

didates of the two great parties of the country. Indeed, the nature of our government is such, that whatever local differences may arise, there can be but two great parties in the Union. The whigs can not follow General Cass, and it might be contended that the election of General Taylor would not secure the triumph of the principles for which the whigs contended. But it is my firm conviction that it will. The southern influence in our national councils and legislatures has ever sacrificed the interest of the north to the south; and this has its origin in, and is one of the great principles of, the opposing party. One of the great parties which now divides the Union is built upon the sands of South Carolina, and the other on the rock of Plymouth. The southern democracy is opposed to internal improvements, to the diffusion of knowledge, for knowledge makes men free; and they offer all the power and patronage of the government to induce northern men to support their odious policy. It was Jefferson who said that the natural ally of slavery was the democracy of the north. What, then, is the duty of the whig party of the north? I should have been glad if the whigs had at all times presented as a candidate for president a man who had never kept shackles on his fellow-men; and I hope the time will come, and that not far distant, when the citizens of the whole country, as well as Massachusetts, will select for their leader a freeman of the north, in preference to a slaveholder. I wish that all the whigs of the Union would agree with me on this point. But such is not the case. Yet I can not agree with those who can see no difference between a northern doughface and a southern slaveholder. In 1844, we were told that there was no difference between the slaveholder of Kentucky and James K. Polk, the slaveholder of Tennessee. But the result has shown that there was a marked difference; and had Mr. Clay been elected, there would have been no annexation of Texas, no war of conquest, no extension of slavery. We are in the same position now, but I must remind you that in this contest the election of president is not the only important question. The senators and representatives in Congress are to pass the laws on this question; and should General Cass be elected, and Congress vote on this subject of the extension of slavery, we should find in him a willing chief to carry out their measures—one who would prostitute all the patronage of the government to influence the members of Con-

gress in their votes. But let the other candidate be elected, and the executive power will not be used for such a purpose. And if men are not sent to Congress who are recreant to their trust, no such laws will be sent to the executive for his approval. Let General Taylor be elected, and he will not lend the power of the government to extend this fearful evil. I shall vote for General Taylor, because I believe him in all respects to be as worthy as any man who is a slaveholder. He is an honest man; I love to see the American people select for their rulers honest men. I am in favor of peace, and am willing to devote the best efforts of my life to secure it. But I honor the soldier as well as the civilian: each is necessary, and I believe each is commended on high, if his motives are pure.

Some say General Taylor is a whig, but not an ultra-whig; yet who would wish to have an ultra-whig chosen for president? I would much prefer a decided whig, like General Taylor, to an ultra-whig. If we desire a whig administration, we must take such a whig as we can elect, and it is the duty of every whig to do all in his power to secure this end. When I have been remonstrated with on former occasions, by members of the liberty party, for not joining them, I have always replied: "If you had not deserted the whig party, but had remained faithful to its principles, and imprinted on them more strongly your desires, it would have been a noble, generous party indeed. It is your fault if it is not so now." Let, then, this third party draw off all the advocates of liberty, and the two real parties will be left ready to bow before the slave power and influence of the south.

THE ELECTION OF 1848.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, OCTOBER 26, 1848.

My Friends and Fellow-Citizens:

The urgency of the invitations which have brought me here has overcome at least the objections arising from the presumptuousness which seems to be implied in going from my native state to debate political questions before a people from whose eloquent orators and honorable statesmen it has been my pride to imbibe enthusiasm and receive instruction.

If I shall be able to offer nothing that is valuable, I shall not throw before you any of those rhetorical wreaths which an indulgent audience is sometimes willing to accept in place of more important contributions.

The occasion invites to a consideration of many grave subjects. But the time is short. I shall waste little on the prejudices which constitute the chief capital of our political adversaries. The two ancient and obsolete parties originated in the debate upon questions of organic law, and waxed strong in the discussion of the principles of administration proper for a neutral nation during the conflict between European belligerents. Each performed its duties and fulfilled its destiny; each contributed enough to be remembered in lasting gratitude; and each was hurried at times into errors to be forgiven and avoided.

> "The knights are dust,
> Their swords in rust,
> Their souls in heaven we trust."

Our duties are to the generation which is living, and to the generations which are to come into life. It is a living faith, and

Note.—The certainty of an overwhelming whig triumph in New York rendered public speaking there well nigh superfluous. Mr. Seward, therefore, accepted invitations to address his fellow-citizens in other states where the prospects were less propitious. Among the numerous speeches made during the canvass of 1848, the "Cleveland speech" has been justly regarded as the most able and the most eloquent.—*Ed.*

not a dead one, that yields beneficent fruits. He who acts from prejudice or from passion is a slave. He who persuades another to act so makes him a slave. The ballot-box is an altar of independence, not of slavery:—

> "Thou of an independent mind,
> With soul resolved, with soul resigned,
> Prepared Oppression's proudest frowns to brave,
> Who will not *be* nor *make* a slave,
> Virtue alone who dost revere,
> Thy own reproach alone dost fear—
> Approach this shrine and worship here."

I am to converse with whigs only, and not with all whigs, but with some who propose to secede temporarily if not permanently from the association whose labors, privations, defeats, and triumphs, they have hitherto shared with perseverance and fidelity. I shall speak not for a man, not for men, not even for a party, but for the common cause which thus far has held us together, and which the seceders promise to advance more effectually by separation. To such I may say, perhaps, without presumption—

> "Hear me for my cause, and be silent, that you may hear; believe me for mine honor, and have respect unto mine honor that you may the better judge."

I shall ask you to consider, first, the principles and policy which the interest of our country and of humanity demand; secondly, how we can most effectually render those principles and that policy triumphant.

We never were, we are not now, and for a long time to come we can not be, a unique and homogeneous people. The colonies which preceded our states were off-shoots from an imperfect European civilization. England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, France, Spain, Switzerland, Italy, Germany, Holland, and Sweden, contributed the original elements of population; with these were mingled the natives of the continent, and compulsory immigration from the wilds of Africa. The disasters and privations of the Old World cause this flood of immigration to continue with daily-increasing volume, and our settlements on the Pacific will soon become the gate for a similar flow from the worn-out civilization of Asia. Our twenty millions are expanding to two hundred millions—our originally narrow domain into a

great empire. Its destiny is to renovate the condition of mankind.

The first principle of our duty as American citizens is to preserve the integrity of the Union. Without the Union, there would be not only a want of harmony of action, but collisions and conflicts ending in anarchy or probably in despotism. This Union must be a voluntary one, and not compulsory. A Union upheld by force would be despotism.

The second principle of American citizenship is, that our democratic system must be preserved and perfected. That system is founded in the natural equality of *all* men — not alone all *American* men, nor alone all *white* men, but all MEN of every country, clime, and complexion, are equal — not made equal by human laws, but born equal. It results from this that every man permanently residing in a community is a member of the state, obliged to submit to its rule, and therefore entitled equally with every other man to participate in its government. If it be a monarchy, he has a right to keep a musket to defend himself when the government becomes intolerable. If it be a democracy, where consent is substituted for force, he has a right to a ballot for the same purpose; and each should be placed in his hands (he being a resident) when he is able to speed the bullet or cast the ballot with discretion. Whatever institutions or laws we have existing among us which deny this principle, are wrong, and ought to be corrected.

A third principle of American citizenship is, that knowledge ought to be diffused, as well for the safety of the state, as to promote the happiness of society.

A fourth principle is, that our national resources, physical, moral, and intellectual, ought to be developed and applied to increase the public wealth, and enhance the convenience and comfort of the people.

A fifth principle is, that peace and moderation are indispensable to the preservation of republican institutions.

A sixth principle is, that slavery must be abolished.

I think these are the principles of the whigs of the Western Reserve of Ohio. I am not now to say for the first time that they are mine. I imbibed them from the philosophy of the American Revolution —

> "Soon as the charity of my native land
> Wrought in my bosom."

Whigs of the Western Reserve! we have maintained and promulgated these principles thus far together, through the agency, sometimes voluntary and sometimes reluctant, of the whig party of the United States. Some of you propose now to abandon that mode and adopt another. What is wisdom and duty for you, must be wisdom and duty for me. I have considered your reasons, and they are unsatisfactory.

And, in the first place, I confess a bias against your course by reason of an aversion to break faith and change relations. Man, though free to act, is nevertheless a minister of God, an agent of his providence! His happiness consists in the performance of appointed duties of beneficence. The Creator determined from the first, not only that it was not good for man to be alone, but also that he should never act alone. Hence the relations of life — the relations of the family, the relations of the church and religion; the relations of the army in war, the relations of party in peace. Through these relations, and not otherwise, we must seek our own happiness and serve our country and our race. The custom which attaches sanctity to each of these relations is the moral sense of mankind, which justly and severely condemns apostacy and infidelity. A change of such relations may sometimes be excusable, and occasionally necessary; but even in such cases it is always unfortunate, and, except for weighty causes, is always unjustifiable. Versatility and caprice are defects — vices. Perseverance and fidelity are among the chief elements of elevated character, and are indispensable to usefulness.

You expect to establish a new and better party, that will carry our common principles to more speedy and universal triumph. You will not succeed, in any degree, neither now nor hereafter, because it is impossible. Society is divided, classified already. It is classified into two great, all-pervading, national parties or associations. These parties are founded on the principles, interests, and affections, of the people. Society can not admit nor will it sustain a third party, nor will it surrender either of the existing parties to make room for a third. The interests, the sentiments, and the habits of society, forbid: —

"The stars in their courses war against Sisera."

It is in the power of a seceding portion of one party, or of seceding portions of both, to do just this and no more, to wit: to

give success, long or short, to one of the existing parties. Those who do this, whatever be their objects or motives, are responsible for the consequences. Theirs is the merit if the consequences are beneficent, and theirs is the blame if the result is calamitous. If all the whigs shall be true, the whig party will prevail in this election; seceding whigs can only give success to the party of Lewis Cass.

The elections which have already been held have rendered it certain, if indeed it needed demonstration, that Martin Van Buren, so far from obtaining an election, can not obtain the electoral vote of one state, or even one electoral vote.

What will be the consequences of the success thus to be given to the party of General Cass? These are to be ascertained, not from the specious exposition of that party, nor the perhaps over-cautious silence of the other party, but the known and irresistible bias and direction of the parties respectively.

There are two antagonistical elements of society in America, freedom and slavery. Freedom is in harmony with our system of government and with the spirit of the age, and is therefore passive and quiescent. Slavery is in conflict with that system, with justice, and with humanity, and is therefore organized, defensive, active, and perpetually aggressive.

Freedom insists on the emancipation and elevation of labor; slavery demands a soil moistened with tears and blood — freedom a soil that exults under the elastic tread of man in his native majesty.

These elements divide and classify the American people into two parties. Each of these parties has its court and its sceptre. The throne of the one is amid the rocks of the Allegany mountains; the throne of the other is reared on the sands of South Carolina. One of these parties, the party of slavery, regards disunion as among the means of defence, and not always the last to be employed. The other maintains the Union of the states, one and inseparable, now and for ever, as the highest duty of the American people to themselves, to posterity, to mankind.

The party of slavery upholds an aristocracy founded on the humiliation of labor, as necessary to the perfection of a chivalrous republic. The party of freedom maintains universal suffrage, which makes men equal before human laws, as they are in sight of their common Creator.

The party of slavery cherishes ignorance, because it is the

only security for oppression. The party of liberty demands the diffusion of knowledge, because it is the only safeguard of republican institutions.

The party of slavery patronizes labor which produces only exports to commercial nations abroad — tobacco, cotton, and sugar — and abhors the protection that draws grain from our native fields, lumber from our native forests, iron and coal from our native mines, and ingenuity, skill, and labor, from the free minds and willing hands of our own people.

The party of freedom favors only the productions of such minds and such hands, and seeks to build up our empire out of the redundant native materials with which our country is blest.

The party of slavery leaves the mountain ravine and shoal to present all their natural obstacles to internal trade and free locomotion, because railroads, rivers, and canals, are highways for the escape of bondsmen.

The party of liberty would cover the country with railroads and canals, to promote the happiness of the people, and bind them together with the indissoluble bonds of interest and affection.

The party of slavery maintains its military defences, and cultivates the martial spirit, for it knows not the day nor the hour when a standing army will not be necessary to suppress and extirpate the insurrectionary bondsmen.

The party of freedom cherishes peace, because its sway is sustained by the consent of a happy and grateful people.

The party of slavery fortifies itself by adding new slave-bound domain on fraudulent pretexts and with force.

The party of freedom is content and moderate, seeking only a just enlargement of free territory.

The party of slavery declares that institution necessary, beneficent, and approved of God, and therefore inviolable.

The party of freedom seeks complete and universal emancipation.

You, whigs of the Reserve, and you especially, seceding whigs, none know so well as you that these two elements exist and are developed in the two great national parties of the land, as I have described them. That existence and development constitute the only reason you can assign for having been enrolled in the whig party, and mustered under its banner so zealously and so long.

And now I am not to contend that the evil spirit I have described has possessed the one party without mitigation or exception, and that the beneficent one has on all occasions, and fully, directed the action of the other. But I appeal to you, to your candor and justice, whether the beneficent spirit has not worked chiefly in the whig party, and its antagonist in the adverse party.

The allusion to the inviolability of the Union recalls the conflict of nullification and its compromise — the battle of the giants, Webster and Hayne — Massachusetts and South Carolina in earnest struggle — the one for the Union, the other for its overthrow.

The mention of education brings up whig New York, with her thousands of common schools opened to Protestant and Catholic, Jew and Christian, alike, and the millions of volumes in their free libraries; and aristocratic Virginia, with a university for the sons of the rich alone, without schools or libraries for the slaves, or even for the poor.

The contrast between protection of American industry and the ruinous policy of free trade, which means dependence on foreign artisans, brings up before us Clay and his American system, and Calhoun with a South-Carolinian system of secession from the Union.

The topic of internal improvement calls before us the shades of John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson — the glorious epistles of Clinton to the legislature of New York, and the elaborate and explicit communication of General Cass to the Chicago convention. One can not think of the questions of war and peace without summoning before him the belligerent Polk, with the gasconading Cass, and the peace-loving whig Congress of 1848.

The subject of emancipation carries us at once to the fresh grave at Quincy, where the defender of the right of petition, of the freedom of debate, and of the inviolability of the postoffice, rests from his labors, and to Martin Van Buren, his great and unprincipled rival and adversary.

So marked is this contrast, that among the thousands of seceding whigs, from the bay of Fundy to the Rio Grande, only one has been found to enlist himself under the banner of Lewis Cass, although he is not a slav holder, and is the citizen of a state where slavery can not enter.

The first and most immediate consequence of the error of those that call themselves free-soil whigs will be the defeat of the only

measure which is avowed as the object of the new faction — the exclusion of slavery from the territories of California and New Mexico.

For, without establishing the ordinance of 1787 as a part of the organic law of these territories, you will, if as successful as you desire, effectually deprive us, your ancient associates, of the means of doing so. You give to slavery extension greater area than ever was demanded by Mr. Calhoun in the annexation of Texas.

The whig party, overthrown now by your desertion in the very act of defending the citadel of freedom, will not recover itself for new conflicts until you shall have proved by experience the utter impracticability of the attempt to create a new and more faithful party of freedom; and the further consequences will be, new desolation of industry, confirmed resistance to internal improvements, new conspiracies against the integrity of other nations, new annexations of slave territory, and new wars to defend them, until slavery shall have intrenched itself behind battlements which can not be broken down.

Your arguments for a course thus subversive of your own principles are, that the whig party has nominated a slaveholder; that their convention have not issued a manifesto declaring their opposition to the extension of slavery; that their candidate is not pledged against it — is silent — and may be in favor of it; and that he is a warrior, dwelling in his camp. From these assumptions you infer that the whig party has renounced its faith and abandoned its principles, and must dissolve, or is dissolved.

In all things in which the whig convention and party have differed from you, I have differed from them. I may, therefore, excuse them, without apologizing for myself.

And first, in regard to the objection that General Taylor is a slaveholder. I wish that the American people, or a majority of them, could see slavery to be as odious as you and I do. Then they would not consent to the administration of the government by any citizen who should justify slavery by precept or by example. But the age is not yet ripe for that. Neither I nor you can change in a day the habits of a whole people. Parties can be no better than the best spirit of the age in which they exist. George Washington, a slaveholder, was nominated to the command of the American army by John Adams, the Ajax of free-

dom. Thomas Jefferson, a slaveholder, was designated by the Congress of '76 to indite the immortal Declaration of Independence, which constitutes your own text-book. In later days, you, every one of you, would have closed my mouth as a seditious one if I had but whispered to you that Henry Clay was a slaveholder. You, more than any others, concurred in binding the whig convention at Philadelphia to a choice between two slaveholders. You know that the question is not a personal question between the candidates of the two parties, but that it is a question between the two parties themselves — between the party of liberty and the party of slavery. The slaveholding of the candidate is a personal matter, an ephemeral one; the error, if it be one, can be corrected; the principles of the whig party are national and eternal. The slaveholding of General Taylor is a subordinate issue — an immaterial one — a false issue. You take nothing for freedom by preventing his election on that issue. You can never retrieve what you will have lost by the triumph of the slavery party.

Secondly, you object that the whig convention issued no manifesto against the extension of slavery. Was such a manifesto necessary? Did not the whig party oppose the annexation of Texas — the dismemberment of Mexico? Did not they condemn the war?

Did they not incorporate your own ordinance of 1787 in the charter of Oregon? Did they not incorporate that ordinance in the charters of New Mexico and California? Have they not rejected all compromises upon that point? Would a pronunciamento have added any guaranty to these high acts of fidelity to human freedom? Were the phylacteries worn by the sons of Levi necessary to prove their devotion to God? The laws of freedom are "written in the members" of the whig party, and oblige them to oppose the extension of slavery.

Thirdly, you object that General Taylor has not announced his opposition to the extension of slavery — that he is silent, and may be in favor of it. The slave party need pledges of their chief, for they resign the government into his hands. The whigs need none, for they retain it themselves. General Taylor stands on the same ground which General Harrison held, the rightful authority of the legislature to pass all laws which do not contravene the constitution as established judicially or by legislative prece-

dents. The whigs, being a national party, have a majority of their numbers favorable to questions of free soil and free labor, and a minority opposed. Pronunciamentos by conventions and candidates could only divide the party unwisely, and procure their defeat unnecessarily.

Fourthly, you object that General Taylor is a warrior, in his camp. Yet you see that civilians have betrayed the interests of peace, and you know that the most effectual rebuke they can receive will be the election of a hero in their place—of a hero opposed to war and conquest.

Fifthly: from these arguments you infer that the whig party have fallen away from their ancient faith. I admit its comparative unsoundness. I confess it, but it is still the truest and most faithful of the two parties, and one or the other of them must prevail. The unsoundness of both arises from the fault of the country and of the age. Neither was ever more sound and faithful than it is now: it is your duty and mine to make them both more faithful.

Slavery was once the sin, not of some of the states only, but of them all—not of our nation only, but of all nations. It perverted and corrupted the moral sense of mankind, deeply, universally; and this corruption became a universal habit. Habits of thought became fixed principles. No American state has yet delivered itself entirely from those habits. We in New York are guilty of slavery still, by withholding the right of suffrage from the race we have emancipated. You in Ohio are guilty in the same way, by a system of black-laws, still more aristocratic and odious. It is written in the constitution of the United States that five slaves shall count equal to three free men, as a basis of representation; and it is written also, in violation of the Divine law, that we shall surrender the fugitive slave who takes refuge at our fireside from his relentless pursuers. You blush not at these things, because they have become as familiar as household words, and your pretended free-soil allies claim particular merit for maintaining these miscalled guaranties of slavery which they find in the national compact.

Does not all this prove that the whig party have kept up with the spirit of the age—that it is as true and faithful to human freedom as the inert conscience of the American people will permit it to be?

'What, then!' you say, 'can nothing be done for freedom because the public conscience is inert?' Yes, much can be done—everything can be done. Slavery can be limited to its present bounds, it can be ameliorated, it can be and must be abolished, and you and I can and must do it. The task is as simple and easy as its consummation will be beneficent and its rewards glorious. It requires only to follow this simple rule of action, viz.: to do everywhere and on every occasion what we can, and not to neglect or refuse to do what we can at any time, because at that precise time and on that particular occasion we can not do more. Circumstances determine possibilities. When we have done our best to shape them and make them propitious, we may rest satisfied that superior Wisdom has determined their form as they exist, and will be satisfied with us if we then do all the good that circumstances leave in our power. But we must begin deeper and lower than in the composition and combination of factions and parties. Wherein do the strength and security of slavery lie? You answer that they lie in the constitution of the United States, and the constitution and laws of all slaveholding states. Not at all. They lie in the erroneous sentiment of the American people. Constitutions and laws can no more rise above the virtue of the people than the limpid stream can climb above its native spring. Inculcate, then, the love of freedom and the equal rights of man, under the paternal roof; see to it that they are taught in the schools and in the churches; reform your own code—extend a cordial welcome to the fugitive who lays his weary limbs at your door, and defend him as you would your paternal gods; correct your own error, that slavery has any constitutional guaranty which may not be released, and ought not to be relinquished. Say to Slavery, when it shows its bond and demands the pound of flesh, that if it draws one drop of blood, its life shall pay the forfeit. Inculcate that free states can maintain the rights of hospitality and of humanity; that executive authority can forbear to favor slavery; that Congress can debate; that Congress at least can mediate with the slaveholding states, that at least future generations might be bought and given up to freedom; and that the treasures wasted in the war with Mexico would have been sufficient to have redeemed millions unborn from bondage. Do all this and inculcate all this in the spirit of moderation and benevolence, and not of retaliation and fanaticism, and you will

soon bring the parties of the country into an effective aggression upon slavery. Whenever the public mind shall will the abolition of slavery, the way will open for it.

I know that you will tell me that this is all too slow. Well, then, go faster if you can, and I will go with you; but remember the instructive lesson that was taught in the words, "These things ought ye to have done, and not to have left the others undone." Remember that the liberty party tried the unattainable, overlooking the attainable, and now has compromised and surrendered the principle of immediate emancipation for a coalition to effect a practicable measure which can only be defeated by that coalition. Remember that no human work is done without preparation. God works out his sublimest purposes among men with preparation. There was a voice of one crying in the wilderness, "Prepare ye the way," before the Son of man could come. There was a John before a Jesus; there was a baptism of water before the baptism of the Holy Ghost and of fire.

WHIG MASS MEETING.

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 5, 1848.

Your summons requiring me to be here to-night, found me laboring in the whig cause in Pennsylvania. Orators are needed there. They are not wanted, at least not greatly wanted here

Almost every general who has been engaged in the Mexican war has been called to Washington. Scott, Worth, and Cushing, ay, even Pillow has not been forgotten. Taylor only, who broke the first wave of resistance and made the way to Mexico easy, has been overlooked. We must correct that and call him up to the capital; he must report himself there on the 4th of March next.

Fellow-citizens, I am not in favor of war, nor of military candidates before civilians. War may bring benefits, but peace is the sure policy for the republic. Nevertheless there is sometimes a distinguished fitness in choosing a military candidate, and there is a peculiar felicity in choosing General Taylor now. Civilians preferring partisan interests to the general good, plunged the country into a war, and we of course have stood by the country in the peril, as all patriotic citizens must do in such cases. How can we better teach such statesmen the wisdom of peace, than by preferring over them the hero, who, while he carried the war through with success and glory, was nevertheless opposed to the policy of the war and to its authors.

Fellow-citizens, I have only a word about the economical questions of the day. We are on the verge of a commercial revolution similar to that of 1837. The cause of it is the same. The excess of importations produced by a tariff that sustains the foreign manufactures at the expense of the domestic manufactures. If no change occurs in some way, we shall before the end of the

Note.—Remarks at a meeting of the cartmen of the city of New York, held October 5, 1848, at Vauxhall garden.

next four years find the disasters of that memorable period renewed; we must rally on that ground, and with Millard Fillmore as our representative, restore the tariff of 1842.

But the great interest of the country involved in this canvass is the interest of freedom. The next Congress will extend either freedom or slavery in the newly-acquired territories. Shall it be freedom or slavery? Freedom of course you say, and you say well.* For slavery is opposed to all the economical interests of the free states, and that is reason enough for not extending it besides all others. Well now, the fate of the ordinance of 1787 hangs on the result of this great canvass. If we elect General Taylor we shall elect *with him* a whig Congress. That whig Congress will send him a *bill* prohibiting the extension of slavery, and he stands pledged not to thwart the wishes of the people by a veto. On the other hand if General Cass should be elected with a Congress of his friends and of his principles, what will follow but the passage and the signature of bills organizing the new territories on the basis of slavery? Or if he should be elected, and a majority of Congress should send him a bill prohibiting slavery in those new territories, then he must veto it. When that shall be done, we shall have seen the constitution practically changed, and the government will have passed from one truly republican and democratic, to one in which the executive power will control the legislation and defeat the will of the people. So you see that it is not for General Taylor as a general that we are voting, but it is for whig principles with which he is identified. We vote for him because our Congress will command his respect and the judiciary his obedience.

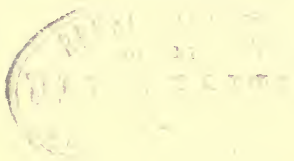
I regret to observe that some of our former friends who love freedom as we do, are leaving us to engage in a guerilla warfare against both parties under Martin Van Buren. Their motives are good but they are committing an error of which they will be convinced when it shall be too late. Do you want to know how it will work. Look back to 1844. Suppose you and I had abandoning Mr. Clay in that year because he was not so decidedly for freedom as we were, and had cast our votes for James G. Birney. Who does not see that without having made a new party capable of saving the country from the extension of slavery

This portion, as well as the entire speech was received at the time with unanimous and hearty demonstrations of concurrence.—*Ed.*

in this crisis, we should now have had no party at all for that purpose! Fellow-citizens, be ye not deceived. Be ye not misled. There can be in this country only two parties. The whig party is one, and that which calls itself democratic is the other. You can try to build up factions into third parties, but to this complexion it must come at last: two parties, two parties only. Then for you who regard as I do the preservation of the vital principle of freedom always as of paramount importance the question is: Is the whig party less faithful than its adversary to liberty and humanity? You will say, "No." All men say no. Heaven and earth bear witness, no! It is now time to secure those sacred objects. Well, if the whig party fail now, then the other party succeeds, and those objects, if not for ever lost, are left in abeyance.

But some will say that distinguished whigs have been overlooked. Clay and Webster have been put aside. It was either necessary that they should have been left out, or it was not. In either case I regret it, and do not stop to argue where the truth in that respect lies. It is a question that comes up now, too late. Statesmen and patriots must be content to do what is practical, what can be done. Besides when was it otherwise? Was Aristides, was Cato, was Cicero, more fortunate. Is it not by popular injustice that greatness is burnished? What is the presidency of the United States compared with the fame of a patriot statesman who triumphs over popular injustice, and establishes his country on the sure foundations of freedom and empire?

Let us forget then all personal considerations. Let us remember that it is our country, not our friends, that demands our support; that in this battle are involved interests as wide as our borders and lasting as humanity itself.



NEW YORK AND ERIE RAILROAD.

ELMIRA, OCTOBER 17, 1837.

To the People of the State of New York:

It will be remembered that an association was formed and incorporated in the year 1832 for the purpose of constructing the New York and Erie railroad. To remove doubts which were entertained or affected touching the feasibility of the road, and which no surveys made under the direction or by the procurement of those immediately interested in its construction could remove, the legislature in the year 1834 directed an accurate examination of the route to be made under the superintendence of the canal commissioners. The surveys thus made were so eminently satisfactory as to dispel from the public mind all reasonable doubts of the feasibility of the improvement, inspire the association with renewed confidence, and induce a large subscription by citizens to its stock.

The legislature being thus convinced of the practicability of the enterprise, and justly appreciating its importance, in the year 1836 authorized a loan of three millions of dollars to the company, upon certain conditions, then deemed adequate to insure a speedy and vigorous prosecution of the road.

Having regard to the magnitude of the enterprise, and its great public purposes, in connection with the condition of the country through which the road is to pass, it was of course thought that the association should look for its subscriptions of stock chiefly to the city of New York, not merely because that city is the great treasury of capital, but also because it is deeply interested in the success of the improvement. The subscriptions of the merchants and capitalists of the city, amounting to two millions, three hundred thousand dollars, were considered ample to enable the com-

Note.—Address of the New York and Erie railroad convention, held at Elmira, October 17, 1837. This address forms an interesting portion of the history of the great enterprise it advocates.—*Ed.*

pany to prosecute the work, and realize the appropriation made by the legislature. Accordingly, a board of engineers, eminently skilful and of the highest reputation, was organized. The entire route was resurveyed in 1836; the terminations on the Hudson and Lake Erie were established; a part of the road, forty miles in length, was commenced, and every measure was adopted to prosecute and complete the whole with all practicable despatch.

It was at this crisis that the recent unparalleled commercial revulsion overtook the enterprise. The liberal subscribers of its stock were involved in embarrassments resulting from the great conflagration in the city, and the accumulated evils which followed the universal derangement of the currency of the country. All corporate credit was prostrated, and all confidence in individual responsibility was destroyed. The New York and Erie Railroad Company, thus finding a sudden failure of all its resources, was compelled to desist from its operations.

It was well apprehended that the duration of this season of pressure and alarm must be brief in proportion to the suddenness of its coming, and the severity and suffering it inflicted. The consternation it produced has already passed away; and although it may be long before all its evils shall be retrieved, and a full measure of prosperity be restored to the country, confidence is nevertheless already reviving; capital is struggling to regain its accustomed functions; and the enterprise of our citizens is renewing its irrepressible energy.

This conjuncture has been thought suitable for the resumption of the operations of the New York and Erie Railroad Company; and the delegates constituting this convention have assembled to adopt measures auxiliary to that purpose. The measures adopted by the convention contemplate the opening of the books of the company for further subscriptions of stock, in both the city and the country; an application to the legislature to modify the conditions of the appropriation before mentioned; and the resuscitation of a just public confidence in the ultimate success of the system of internal improvements in this state. These measures call for extensive action in the city of New York and in the south-western counties especially, and generally throughout the state, and in the legislature; and hence the propriety of this appeal to all our fellow-citizens.

This convention is not ignorant that the unexpected check the

enterprise has sustained has revived, in some measure, the confidence of those whom local interests had arrayed against it, and given temporary effect to prejudices and objections which, it was hoped, were at rest for ever. We therefore respectfully remind our fellow-citizens that the New York and Erie railroad is not alone involved in the calamity that has fallen upon our country. Without going beyond the limits of our own state, whose credit and resources are confessedly superior to those of other states, to survey the ruin which the pressure of 1837 has produced — and without descending to notice the thousand instances of individual embarrassment which have passed before us — it is sufficient to remark that the same cause for a time suspended every work of improvement in which the state itself was engaged, and has either greatly obstructed or altogether arrested every enterprise of the same character, depending, like the New York and Erie railroad, upon corporate or individual credit. Thus it will be remembered that we have seen the time when the stock of the state, bearing an interest of five per cent., and redeemable at a distant period, found no purchasers; and consequently the construction of the Genesee canal, and the Black river canal, and the enlargement of the Erie canal, were temporarily suspended. The extensive system of internal improvements prosecuted by corporations exhibits scarcely an instance more fortunate than the New York and Erie railroad. The Newburgh and Sussex railroad, after having been fully commenced, was suddenly suspended. The Utica and Syracuse railroad, the profitableness of which, with the ability of the individuals engaged in it, was supposed to guaranty its construction within the present year, remains, as is understood, unattempted. The Auburn and Syracase railroad, regarded scarcely less valuable as an investment, although more than half completed at the commencement of the year, is still struggling with embarrassments which indefinitely retard its completion. The Auburn and Rochester railroad waits a more propitious season. The Tonawanda railroad has been completed only after long delay, and under circumstances most disheartening. The Batavia and Buffalo railroad is without an organization. The Utica and Oswego, the Syracuse and Binghamton, the Saratoga and Whitehall railroads, the Catskill routes to the Susquehannah, the Auburn and Ithaca railroads, as well as those of the Buffalo and Erie, and the Albany and New York routes,

yet remain mere records on the statute-book. These failures are mentioned with a view far different from that of expressing satisfaction in them on the part of this convention. The contemplated improvements are generally conceded to be feasible, meritorious, and indispensable to the prosperity of the state; and many of them were undertaken by associations which enjoyed resources and credit so ample as to have been deemed sufficient to insure their speedy and successful completion. They are here referred to for the purpose of showing that, so far as the suspension of the New York and Erie railroad operates to produce a prejudice against either its feasibility or usefulness, these confessedly practicable and popular improvements are all alike obnoxious to the same judgment. If they, not one of them requiring a fifth part of the capital required for the construction of the New York and Erie railroad, traversing as they do more populous and wealthy districts, and embracing local interests of that power in addition to important public purposes, have been compelled to lie low beneath the storm that has passed over the country, how could it have been otherwise than that this more extended enterprise should submit to the same necessity? They, however, know nothing of the mighty energy and vast resources of the people of the state of New York, and have no conception of the destiny of that people, who can doubt that all those improvements will within a short time be in successful operation. The fullness of faith in their accomplishment, expressed by this convention, hazards nothing more than its confidence that the people of this state are adequate to effect in the work of internal improvement, within a prospective period, as much as they have, with more limited resources and population, performed in an equal period that has passed. If, then, there be good ground to believe in the eventual construction of the works before alluded to, it is obvious that that of the New York and Erie railroad is equally well assured, so far as the question is in any way affected by the commercial revulsion of 1837, or the consequent suspension of the enterprise. This improvement, then, so far as its feasibility and the advantages to be derived from it are concerned, maintains exactly the same position it held in the month of March last, when in the enjoyment of a full measure of the confidence of capitalists, of the legislature, and of the people of this state, it seemed, in all human appearance, to be proceeding toward a speedy consummation.

We are well aware that we might in all fairness rest upon this ground in submitting our appeal to the public, and might assume that neither the legislature nor the people would require renewed demonstration where full conviction had been solemnly acknowledged. But we are so well convinced of the impregnability of the broad ground heretofore and always assumed by the advocates of the improvement, that we will not disappoint the expectation, however unreasonable, which may require that ground to be illustrated on the present occasion.

Were it possible to find the judgment of our fellow-citizens biased by no objections except such as might arise out of a just and careful regard to the feasibility of the improvement, or its relation to general or even important local interests, it would not be difficult to secure for it the favorable consideration of every citizen of the state. But it has been the lot of the New York and Erie railroad, as it has been that of every similar enterprise, however ultimately successful, to encounter prejudices of a less generous character, arising from the contracted and selfish view entertained by some, which regards every improvement that may by possibility be productive of benefit to a distant region of the state as inconsistent with the welfare of that which is honored by their own residence and protected by their own jealous care. There is only one merit belonging to this miserable jealousy, which is, that it is always accompanied by an humbling conviction that it is too unworthy a motive to be avowed. But from this very conviction results the difficulty of reaching and removing the motive. Those who indulge this jealousy secretly always urge the more loudly objections which, in both form and substance, might justly arise from more enlarged views and more worthy motives. The objections of such have always the same order of succession, beginning with that argument which, if well taken, would be most conclusive — that is, the alleged impracticability of the enterprise.

The feasibility of the New York and Erie railroad, with the capital before mentioned, has been fully demonstrated to the satisfaction of all honest minds by the surveys before alluded to, and by the actual construction of a portion of the work within the estimates. We therefore will not stop to argue this point. Those who have not thus been convinced must be left to share the unenviable notoriety of a worthy citizen formerly living on the

border of the Erie canal, who remained perversely incredulous of the feasibility of that great enterprise, until roused from his skepticism by the peals of artillery which announced the passage of the first boat from the waters of Lake Erie to the bosom of the Hudson.

Next in order to the skepticism already noticed is the prejudice that can conceive no adequate return for the expenditure required for any work of internal improvement. As this is an objection that can have no mathematical refutation until the enterprise has been fully accomplished, and generally until after some lapse of time beyond that consummation, it has been most pertinaciously insisted upon in relation to the improvement in question. The view entertained by the convention on this point will be seen in the sequel. At present it may be well to say that the New York and Erie railroad is not alone in encountering this objection. It is within the memory of most men of this generation, that, during the entire period of the construction of the Erie and Champlain canals, it was an anxious question whether the state would ever be able to discharge the debt incurred for that purpose. Those whose recollection does not embrace the fact, will find most solemn proof of it in a mortgage imposed by the state upon all the counties through which those canals pass, and still standing in full force in the statute-book, in glaring inconsistency with the laws appropriating to many other purposes the *surplus* revenues of the same canals. It is not, however, to be expected that general conviction will take place in the public mind on this subject. All experience, on the contrary, has proved that none but enlarged minds, imbued with the spirit of this renovated age, can anticipate, even indistinctly, the results of similar improvements. Fortunately, there is in this state a predominating influence of such minds; and to that influence the state is indebted for all the improvements already made, and which have filled her borders with plenty and covered her name with honor. To such minds we submit, with entire confidence, a view of the purposes of the New York and Erie railroad, and the arguments in its support. This improvement, like the Erie canal and the great chain of railroads in process of construction from Albany to Buffalo, has two important objects: first, to open a convenient and speedy communication between our commercial capital and an extensive and fertile agricultural region of our own state, des-

titute of such facilities; secondly, that of creating a thoroughfare for the trade and commerce which may be carried on between the same capital and the western states.

We advert to these objects in their order. He who doubts the importance of the improvement, in its relation to the city of New York, or to the counties represented in this convention, must have a very inadequate conception of the resources of one or the other, or both of those parts of the state. It is impossible to estimate the wealth and power which the city of New York is destined to attain, if her natural advantages be improved. We know that hitherto all forecast has been outstripped by the rapidity of its improvement. If there are in this community any who deem all that accession of the wealth and commerce of the city, which they have witnessed, to have been foreseen, to such we present the fact that it was a question most gravely discussed in that city, in the year 1790, whether the trade and commerce of the town could survive the removal of the federal capitol from New York to Philadelphia. Notwithstanding, however, that the commercial capital of our state has made such gigantic strides as to have outstripped prophecy, it has as yet embraced the commerce of only a small part of the territory which Nature seems to have destined to yield it tribute. When it is remembered that (including Brooklyn) the city of New York numbers a population of three hundred thousand, and is already ranked among the chief commercial cities of the world — and that all this development has been made within two centuries after the colonization of this continent, while scarcely more than a belt of the Atlantic coast has been reclaimed from its forest state — who can estimate the magnitude of her commerce when she shall have come to be the recipient of the productions of the region which stretches from the western boundaries of our state to the sources of the great inland seas? To the ardent and philanthropic mind of him who delights in contemplating the relation between himself and a future age, between his own humble action and the destiny of his country, it is a pleasing reflection that we of this generation see only the nucleus of the great capital which is to establish the commercial balance between the New World and the Old, as we see only the shadowed outlines of the great western republic which is to be the antagonist of the corrupting and enslaving system of the eastern continent.

Directing our attention now to the region to be traversed by the New York and Erie railroad, we find a territory constituting twelve entire counties, and embracing portions of several others, equal to one fifth of the entire area of the state, and sustaining about one sixth of its population. Is it, we respectfully inquire, nothing, and is it to be nothing to the city of New York, whether this region, as fertile as any other, shall be admitted to an equal participation in her markets, or whether its productions shall continue to be subjected to the existing oppressive tax of expense and delay of transportation? Is it nothing to the city of New York whether these hills and valleys, stretching from near the eastern border of the state to its western limit, shall be made fully and abundantly productive, or whether they shall be thriftlessly cultivated by inhabitants less engaged in that pursuit than in seeking means of escape from their ill-chosen homes to more favored regions? Is it nothing to the city of New York whether the productions of this territory shall be poured undivided into her storehouses, or whether the producers shall continue to seek, as they now do, and as "time and chance may determine" them, the precarious channels of the southern rivers to more distant yet more accessible markets in other states? If the cheapness of her supplies, if the increase of her trade, if the augmentation of her wealth, if the fortification of her commercial position consequent upon this enterprise, be nothing to New York, or be unworthy her solicitude or regard, then let her understand, and seasonably understand, too, that the commerce of these southwestern counties is not so lightly valued by her sister-cities and our sister-states. The cities of Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, and the states of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Maryland, have not yet acquired that redundance of prosperity which can induce them to a like indifference. They are laboring with vigilance unsleeping and industry unwearied to secure the trade New York seems to value so lightly. The prize is abundant to reward all their efforts. It must be remembered, too, that this is a utilitarian age. Natural advantages of position are to states what natural endowments or fortuitous circumstances of birth are to individuals. The time has long gone by when either could secure their possessor against the ascendency of less fortunate but more diligent competitors. Natural advantages must be improved, or they are worthless. There is no destiny which has

decreed to New York even the eminence she has already attained. Her own experience shows that, so far from its being hers from inflexible necessity, she owes it in a great degree to the canals and other improvements which have been already constructed. But the spirit of improvement which had its birth among us seems now to be animating to greater achievement our sister-states; and New York seems quite unaware that, while she complacently enjoys the success of our past and partial efforts, Pennsylvania is completing a gigantic system of improvement, designed and well adapted, too, to concentrate at Philadelphia the commerce of the west.

The relation between the New York and Erie railroad and the state is apparent from its objects before stated. Regarded merely in the view in which it has thus far been presented, its importance justifies the munificent provision which has been made in its behalf by the legislature, and imperiously demands that that munificence should now be rendered available. It surely can not have occurred to those who are skeptical on the subject, that the legislature have, by the improvements they have caused to be made, extended to the states of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois, and the territory of Wisconsin, and to our Canadian neighbors, facilities of access to our commercial capital far greater than those enjoyed by our own citizens residing in the southern counties; and that the state has thus been engaged several years in sending onward to the far west, and to another and alien country, a tide of immigration which might have been made first to flow over and improve one fifth part of our own territory which has been altogether neglected. But the convention can not forget that, in regard to the interest of the state in this enterprise, it holds common ground with the friends of internal improvement everywhere. The wealth of a state or nation most certainly does not consist in the amount of dollars and cents it may have in deposites or in vaults. Such wealth seldom subserves any other purpose than to tempt the cupidity of public servants, or the rapacity of speculators upon the virtue of the legislature. True national wealth consists in the resources and ability of the people to bear taxation, whenever it is required for great objects of public good. To develop these resources, and increase that ability, by every feasible improvement which can be effected by an expense having a reasonable proportion to the

result to be attained, is one of the chief responsibilities of our government. To draw upon the great fund when thus created or augmented, only so far and so fast as may be necessary in order to conduct public affairs wisely, administer the laws equally, and improve the moral and intellectual condition of the people, seems to involve all that remains of financial duty on the part of the government. If he who causes one blade of grass to grow where none grew before, is, as has been well said, a greater benefactor of his race than all the conquerors who ever lived, what measure of gratitude would not be due to the legislature which should carry these principles into action, instead of seeking on all occasions to divest themselves of all responsibility on the subject of internal improvement?

The estimated expense of the New York and Erie railroad is six millions of dollars. We confidently submit that, without reference to the more general object of the improvement, a proposition that the state should assume the entire expense, instead of devolving so important a public enterprise upon individuals or corporate capitalists, would be maintainable upon the principles above put forth. The territory to be affected by this improvement (independent of the part of Pennsylvania adjacent) is forty miles in width and three hundred miles in length, a region more extensive than that respectively embraced in several states of the Union. The issue which such a proposition would involve would be, whether it is expedient to continue the depression of this region and its seclusion from our markets, and to force its productions through other channels to other states; or whether it be more wise to bring this territory into the flourishing condition of Dutchess and Orange, of Oneida, Madison, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, and Ontario, and the Genesee country, and secure all its accumulated productions, as well as those of the northern counties of Pennsylvania, to the commerce of our own city.

It would be unfair to withhold longer from the argument of this address the more important object of the New York and Erie railroad — viz., that of a thoroughfare for the commerce between the city of New York and the far west. It would be an act of supererogation to illustrate on this occasion the growing, the absorbing importance of that commerce. Now that it has become the prize for the rivalry of the Atlantic states and of the Canadas, and more especially when we are already enjoying a rapidly-

swelling revenue from it, it is safe to assume that its importance is universally acknowledged, though it can not be fully appreciated.

The competition which we have most to fear is that of our southern neighbors. It is known, although it seems to have made slight impression upon our statesmen, that Pennsylvania has projected and has been carrying forward a system of improvements designed to intercept the productions and the travel on Lake Erie, and carry them directly through her own territory to the city of Philadelphia. Unless the people of the west are so perversely attached to our own state and our capital, that they will travel on common roads, in ordinary vehicles, a greater distance, and at a greater expense, to yield us the boon of their favor, it is certain that they will avail themselves of the Pennsylvania route and the Philadelphia market. Even if our chain of railroads through the northern counties were completed, and our canal enlarged, we should not then be secure against the diversion of this commerce. Every year the merchandise of Philadelphia reaches its destination in the west, and the productions of the west attain their southern markets, before the waters of the Hudson at Albany, or those of the Erie canal, or those of Lake Erie at Buffalo, are released from their icy fetters. During the entire winter, and an important portion of the spring, the whole of this commerce upon the only thoroughfare we now have, is suspended, and the travelling part of the community encounter obstacles which compel them to seek more southern routes. All these inconveniences and obstacles it is the object of the New York and Erie railroad to remove. Nor can they, in our opinion, be removed by any other thoroughfare. For if the route be rendered practicable from Buffalo to Albany, there will still remain the interruptions between Dunkirk and Buffalo, and between Albany and New York. To whatever extent the obstructions which have been mentioned operate, to that extent they are an unanswerable argument for the construction of the New York and Erie railroad. If we were to admit that the removal of these difficulties is the only good to be accomplished by the enterprise, and that the New York and Erie railroad would, on the opening of the spring, resign all its occupation to other thoroughfares, and resume it again only in the autumn, when those thoroughfares should be compelled to relinquish it, its uses would still be inval-

uable in securing and retaining this commerce. It ought to be well remembered that the people engaged in this commerce will not seek New York in the summer and other markets in the winter, but that their connections will become settled and their relations unchangeable. They will seek New York, if at all, not from any partiality overcoming reasonable preferences elsewhere, but because she will offer the best market in which to buy and to sell, and will be most accessible in summer and in winter, in spring and in autumn. When the commerce of the west shall have attained this settled system, it will doubtless seek its facilities in the various thoroughfares of our state, as circumstances and the seasons may modify the case: a part choosing, under some circumstances, the Oswego canal and the passage around the cataract; another, and under other circumstances, the long traverse of the Erie-canal route and the Buffalo harbor, with its commanding advantages for lake commerce; and another, under still different circumstances, the New York and Erie railroad, with its continuity of locomotion by steam-power. Nor need it be doubted that the employment will be ample for all. If, after only twelve years' experience of the Erie canal, it has been found necessary to double its capacity, it is rather to be feared that all the thoroughfares now projected will be found insufficient for the purpose. In this view of the case, it will be seen how unjust and unwise are the prejudices of those who apprehend from the construction of this railroad injury to the revenues of the Erie canal, or a competition injurious to the interests of the chain of railroads through the northern counties. If such apprehensions were indeed just, we can not subscribe to the principle that it is a proper exercise of the sovereign power of a state to construct canals or railroads, and insist upon their being employed by the people, in preference to better or cheaper thoroughfares made by individual enterprise. Nor can we more readily acknowledge any superior claims or advantages which a more northern railroad route has to exclusive favor of patronage.

We might safely pursue this subject, and demonstrate the advantages which the New York and Erie railroad will enjoy for a fair participation, in all seasons and under all circumstances, in the great business of transportation between the east and the west. But it would seem invidious; and we with far greater satisfaction take this occasion to declare that, against the other

improvements before mentioned, and every other which may be projected, we entertain no hostility or prejudice. The usefulness and importance of most if not all of these works we fully admit and most cheerfully acknowledge. So far from wishing to arrest or retard their progress, we would render them all the aid in our power, and we congratulate our fellow-citizens residing within the influence of those improvements upon the prospect of the rich and manifold advantages sure to result from them. Regarding those enterprises as necessary parts of one grand system of internal improvement fortunately commenced, and thus far wisely prosecuted, but yet requiring extended and enlarged action to bring it to the perfection which the interests and prospects of the state require, we in like manner commend to their enlightened and liberal advocates, the New York and Erie railroad — not as a hostile or rival enterprise, but as an auxiliary, like their own, important and indispensable to the whole system.

When we look abroad through our country, and regard the improvements already completed, and the struggling efforts which are put forth by intelligent and patriotic men, with little of popular support or sympathy, in favor of others — and when we mark how surely and how speedily increased wealth and prosperity, and moral, social, and intellectual refinement, have followed the accomplishment of every enterprise which has been consummated — it seems passing strange that every advance of the system should have been contested against the incredulity of the people, and with a consent wrung from a hesitating and reluctant government. Hitherto the merit of the founders and advocates of the system has been enhanced more by their triumphs over popular prejudice and legislative repugnance than their forecast of the rich blessings they called down upon their country. We will not question either the necessity or the wisdom of the decision by which the great system of internal improvement has, with the apparent consent of the people, been rejected from among the responsibilities of the general government, interested as that government is to secure the union of the states, and enriched as it is with the entire national domain and the exhaustless resources of the commerce which owes its prosperity to that very system. But it is manifestly our right, as it is our duty, to carry forward the system with such agency and under such patronage and sanction as the popular will recognises

as legitimate for that purpose. It seems now to be settled that the agency consists in the combination of individual effort, under the sanction and patronage of the state government. To every region of our state the legislature owes a paternal care in this respect; and its obligations are only limited by the condition of its resources, and the question whether such improvements as are contemplated will advance the public weal. We must expect to encounter local prejudices; but these, when disclosed, are seldom able to defeat a meritorious enterprise. We must be prepared, by generous and lofty motives, and patriotic and expanded views, to overcome the more formidable opposition which arises from an honest but often unwise application of republican economy.

It is well to remember that the experience of human government affords not a solitary instance in which a state or nation became impoverished or subjected to an irredeemable debt by works of internal improvement. Ambition, revenge, and lust for extended territory, have been the only causes, and war almost the sole agent in entailing those calamities upon nations. Palaces and pyramids, the luxurious dwellings of living tyrants, and the receptacles of their worthless ashes when dead, have in every country but our own cost more than all its canals and roads. Ancient Egypt and ancient Rome, modern Netherlands, England, and France, and even our own peace-loving country (and these include the lands where art has expended the greatest effort in internal improvement), have severally disbursed more in a single war than was required to complete a system of improvements sufficient to perfect their union, wealth, and power, and enable them to defy invasion or aggression. Internal improvement, then, is the antagonist cause of national luxury and of war. It commands the support of those who would benevolently advance the greatest happiness of the greatest number, as well as the efforts of those who would increase the national power, elevate the national glory, and extend the sway of public virtue. A cause so catholic, so enlightened, so benevolent, may well engage the exertions of all good, wise, and patriotic citizens. It may often encounter hindrances, not only in the fluctuations of commerce, but from the drooping of popular feeling, and the diversity of local interests. But it may be maintained by the exercise of that perseverance which alone crowns with success the agency of human powers, and is itself little less than a positive virtue.

To all who are thus disposed to prosecute the system, this convention tenders its zealous and faithful co-operation. The cloud that hangs over our country is already breaking away. No calamity can long counteract its energies, or permanently affect its prosperity. The revival of confidence is at hand. Its vivifying influence will not be confined to one enterprise or one section of the state, but it will pervade the country. The New York and Erie railroad will then have, subject to its call, resources abundant for its completion. The great and absorbing interests it involves will unlock capital adequate to its wants. The energies of the association who have assumed its construction are unimpaired, and their confidence is unshaken. The work will proceed, but it ought not and must not proceed alone. The occasion is auspicious to the revival of the whole system, and to its prosecution—not with partial support and convulsive effort, but with the combined wealth and united energies of the whole people.

ERIE RAILROAD JUBILEE.

DUNKIRK, MAY 15, 1851.

It becomes me to be silent when distinguished orators and statesmen of other states are here, ready and willing to mingle their congratulations with your own fervent rejoicings over the last year's achievement of New York. My coming among you is only the return of one of yourselves — one whom long ago you adopted as a citizen of your county with kindness which he can never forget. Cherishing as I do always that ancient remembrance, I enjoy one of the greatest pleasures of my life in coming to you at last with the long-promised, the long-desired, long-looked-for railroad, which, without detaching you from Ohio and from Pennsylvania, unites Chautauque, together with Pennsylvania and Ohio, to the state of New York.

To many of those who rejoice with us to-day, the New York and Erie railroad is a work which presents itself with all the attraction of novelty as well as of grandeur. It is not so with us. It is the triumph, the tardy triumph of justice, delayed through the lifetime of a generation. There are wrecks spread all around me of the fortunes ruined by long delays and renewed suspensions of this great enterprise. Only eight years ago this achievement was regarded by the state as a visionary but ruinous chimera — and the state compromised by giving up its claim of three millions to get rid of further hazard and losses by it.

When will the people of the state of New York learn to know and comprehend their own strength and their own resources? The New York and Erie railroad, which ought to have been built for eight or ten millions, has been made, by delays and consequent charges and loss of interest, to cost twenty millions! The Erie-

Note.—Remarks at the celebration of the completion of the New York and Erie railroad. Among the distinguished gentlemen from other states who participated in this celebration were Daniel Webster, secretary of state, and John J. Crittenden attorney-general.

canal enlargement, which ought to have been constructed for about the latter sum, is prosecuted with timidity and even distrust, increasing its cost twofold, and postponing its benefits till those who must pay for it shall have gone down to their graves.

Even now they tell us New York must hold in her breath, and forbear from speaking aloud for truth and justice, for fear of losing her trade and commerce. Her trade and commerce came to her, by no suppression of her principles and her sentiments, but were drawn to her by her Atlantic position, and by her rivers, and her canals and railroads. They came not from favor, but because she of all others could pay most for what others had to sell, and could sell cheaper what others wished to buy. Her trade and commerce are held now on this tenure and condition, and in that lies the secret of the commercial supremacy of New York.

What is that secret? Statesmen and citizens of other states, here it is! Here is Lake Erie. Stretching away for thousands of miles to the west lies the continent. Then almost at your feet is the Atlantic, the key of that continent. Far away in the east is the Old World, famishing for the supplies which that new country can supply. Here on the lakes which receive these supplies, and bear them in sloops, schooners, brigs, ships, and steam-vessels, and deposite them here on this isthmus, some three or four hundred miles wide, over which or through which they must be carried to the banks of the Atlantic coast, where other sloops, schooners, brigs, ships, and steamships, are waiting to waft them to Liverpool and London, and bring back the compensation to the cultivator. New York has only to cut a canal across this narrow isthmus, which is almost one continuous plain — a channel broad enough and deep enough to carry across the freight of the west which is to be transported to the east. A channel how large? Manifestly a ship-canal, because the commerce on the lakes and on the sea employs fleets, and nothing less than ship-channels from Lake Erie and Lake Ontario would be adequate.

The Erie canal, the Central railroad, the Northern railroad, and last, but by no means least, this great Southern railroad, all together contribute to that one great channel which New York has opened across the isthmus, enlarging it continually with the growing exactions of commerce, adopting at the same time the improvements suggested by art.

This command of the commerce of this continent is the dowry

of New York. All our merchants who were merchants have always understood it; all our statesmen who were statesmen have always labored to realize it. Those merchants who were not merchants have built their enterprises on it unknowingly, and those statesmen who were not statesmen have labored to build the power and greatness of the state on other and unsubstantial foundations. This secret, however, was not the discovery of our own statesmen. It preceded them all. It revealed itself to Washington, in 1783, when he had made his way, at the close of the war of the Revolution, up the Hudson and the Mohawk, and along Wood creek, and Oneida lake, and the Mad river, to the shore of Lake Ontario at Oswego. The sea was behind him, the lakes stretched away before him; his feet were on the isthmus. The secret broke upon him, and he gave utterance to it at once in a letter to the marquis of Chastellux, which has long since gone into history. How came the secret to break itself to the Father of our country? I will tell you how. He was seeking security for the union of the states which was so soon to cover this continent. He found that guaranty in commercial union, and he saw that commercial union rising out of the canals and roads which New York might construct across the isthmus on which he stood.

Thus it is seen that we have only been executing the plans which wise and patriotic men designed for us long ago. We have only been too timid and too slow. In 1800, Gouverneur Morris predicted that in fifty years ships would sail out of Lake Erie, through the Hudson, to Liverpool. The half century is up, and the prediction is unfulfilled. Shame upon us! It might have been fulfilled, and ought to have been fulfilled in 1845, and would have been, if the public works had not been unnecessarily and unduly abandoned. Gouverneur Morris promised only a revenue of one and a quarter millions of dollars from the whole navigation across the isthmus. One boat-canal and our railroads, which are only the imperfect fulfilment of his plan of navigation, are yielding already nearly five millions.

It is due to the truth of history to confess that the city of New York was slow to comprehend this great policy and her own great destiny. The state forced the Erie canal upon the city in spite of herself. The city of New York never gave a vote for the Erie canal until twelve years after its original construction. But it is equally true that the state then faltered and fell away,

leaving the system to fall into ruins; and its wrecks still present themselves to our view along all the routes of the canals and along the route of this great railroad. But then it was that the merchants of New York, who were merchants, came to the rescue. Their city had trebled in population and quadrupled in wealth within twenty-five years by the operation of the Erie canal. They then made returns to the state for this great boon, by the construction of the New York and Erie railroad, which will serve to supply the deficiency of facilities for the commerce which grows faster than we can enlarge its channel.

The suspension of this work in their hands on former occasions was the result of causes beyond their control. The commercial embarrassments of 1837 resulted in the suspension, not of this enterprise alone, but in the suspension of every enterprise of the sort in this state and in all other states, except that indomitable and noble state, Massachusetts. The resumption and completion of it, after it had lost the public confidence and the favor of the state, are worthy to be held in respect and admiration by all men. All honor, then, to the merchants of New York! I, whom they do not flatter, and who do not hesitate to say what I think to be the truth to them, am free to confess and to own before the world that they are the builders of the power and greatness of the state, and the saviors of the union of the states. But they do all this, not by going down to Castle Garden to resolve in favor of the Union, but by building canals and railroads, to increase the freedom of inland trade, and swell to its utmost limits foreign commerce.

For my part, I have faith and trust in the wisdom and adaptation of this noble system of union established by our fathers. I have faith unbroken in the loyalty of the people of all the states, in any hour of trial. I repose the fullest confidence in their patriotism. Let these bonds of union remain, and let me see this isthmus on which we stand channelled and furrowed by a river wide enough and deep enough to convey the products of the west with the least cost to the vessels which wait for them on the Atlantic. Let me never fail to see these iron chains forged and cast upon the territory within the several states, binding it together with new and durable links as it grows broader and broader, and I shall care not who may agitate, nor shall I fear the utmost extension. The Union will be safe, for its security will be anchored in the necessities and affections of the states and of the people.

EXECUTIVE SPEECHES.

THE ONONDAGAS.

ALBANY, MARCH 6, 1840.

ABRAHAM LE FORT TO GOVERNOR SEWARD.

GREAT FATHER: Your children, the Onondagas, have sent me to you, and they ask you to open your ears to me, and hear the talk which they have sent by me to you.

FATHER: Your red children, the Onondagas, are in great trouble. They feel that you can scatter the dark clouds that are collecting and thickening around them, and can cause the bright sun of peace again to shine upon them, and their minds again to be possessed in peace.

FATHER: Will you now listen to your children, the Onondagas? Our white fathers that were before you, were good men, and gave good counsels to us. We have lain down in their shade, and have been safe. We have listened to their advice, and been happy. They told us no longer to drink strong water—to sell no more of our lands—to keep and cultivate them, to raise food for ourselves, our wives, and our little ones—to leave hunting and fishing—to live as our white brethren did, and like them to be happy and comfortable. We have considered this advice. We have watched our white brethren. We believe this advice, of our white fathers, to be good. We hunt no more. We have gotten oxen and horses. We cultivate our lands, and are following the advice of our white fathers, and are fast getting into the ways and comforts of our white brethren.

FATHER: You are young in years: we hope you are old in counsel—so our white brethren tell us, and we believe it. And your red children would like to know what is your mind, and whether it is like our other white fathers, who have sat in council before you at the great council fire in Albany, and who are now dead.

FATHER: Will you listen again? Our Oneida brothers have been in trouble, and have been often to you in council. But they would not listen to you, and now agree that they have listened to bad men, who did not counsel them, like their white fathers, for their good. They have sold their lands, received their whole pay, and spent it for strong water; become a poor, and wretched, a scattered, and wandering people.

NOTE.—Speech of Abraham Le Fort to Governor Seward.—Abraham Le Fort was the last Onondaga chief, the last of a race of savage kings. The Onondagas were merged in the Six Nations, or Senecas, and left at the old seat of the tribe, only a small remnant, which was still allowed during Governor Seward's time, to retain their qualified sovereignty and nationality.—*Ed.*

Many have gone beyond the great waters of the west. Some of them have come among your red children of the Onondagas, and with the little white foxes would persuade our young warriors to sell their homes — to leave their fathers and mothers — their brothers and sisters — to go with them to possess the west — to be led back to hunting and drunkenness.

FATHER: Your red children desire to know your mind. We wish to keep together — to possess the land which the Great Spirit in goodness has given us — to stay by the bones of our fathers, and watch the ashes here of those we loved — to live by the side of those we know, whom we have tried, and who are our friends. We know our white brethren who surround us: we know not those in the far west. We know our white fathers here: we know not the white fathers in the west. Our white fathers here have taken us by the hand — and have been wise to us in counsel here. Who will be our fathers in the west? Will they be kind to us, or will they strike us down? We do not desire to sell. We do not desire to receive the principal for what we have sold. We only want the interest annually. We could not keep the principal. Our white brethren understand this matter much better than your red children. They have been honest with our nation, and always paid every year. We can do no better than to go on as we have done with them, and not do as the Oneidas have done.

FATHER: Listen once more. The chiefs, and warriors, and women, of the Onondagas have had a long council — a talk of three days — and their request to their father is, that he will shut his ears, shake his head, and turn his face away from all talk to him about the sale of the lands of the Onondagas. We know he can do it, and drive them away — preserve the nation in peace — keep them together in friendship — and not scatter them like the Oneidas.

We now make our last request. Will our father think of the talk which his red children have now sent him? Will he send them his mind? Will he remember his children of the Onondagas, as our white fathers have done, and let them continue to lie under his shade, as they have done under the shade of their white fathers before him? Will he also be a father to them, and send them his mind? This is all that is sent by me, and I have done.

GOVERNOR SEWARD TO ABRAHAM LE FORT.

I HAVE considered the talk you have made to me in behalf of the sachems, chiefs, and warriors, of the Onondagas. I am sorry to hear that the avarice of white men and the discontent of red men, have excited alarms among your people. I rejoice, and all good white men rejoice, to hear that the Onondagas have determined to banish the use of strong water, that they assume the habits and customs of civilized life, cultivate their lands, possess oxen and horses, and desire to remain in the land of their brave and generous, though unfortunate forefathers.

Why should the Onondagas exchange their homes among us for the privations of the wilderness in the far west? They are a quiet, inoffensive, and improving people. The public welfare

does not require that they should be banished from their native land. Although individuals often improve their fortunes by emigration, the removal of a whole community is always followed by calamity and distress. With temperance, industry, and education, the Onondagas may be comfortable and happy, and in time they may become good citizens of the state.

White men ought to be just and generous to your race. Indians, but a few years ago, possessed all this broad domain. Now the white men own all, except the small parcels which have been reserved as a home for the remnants of the Indian tribes. There is one common Father of all mankind. Although his ways are inscrutable, we know that his benevolence extends to all his children alike, and his blessings rest upon those who protect the defenceless and succor the unfortunate.

Say to your people that I heard their message with attention: that I approve their determination to retain their lands and remain under the protection of the state; that, so far as depends upon my exertions, the treaties made with them shall be faithfully kept; that if white men seek to obtain their lands by force or fraud, I will set my face against them; if red men propose to sell the lands, I will expostulate with them, and endeavor to convince them of their error, and that I will in no event consent to such sale, except with the free, and unbought, and uncorrupted consent of the chiefs, head men, warriors, and people of the Onondagas, and not even then without an effort to persuade them that their true happiness would be promoted by retaining their possessions, cultivating their lands, and enjoying the comforts with which our common Father has surrounded them. The Onondagas may confide in me.

THE ONEIDAS.

ALBANY, MARCH 10, 1841.

Brother: I have listened to your talk with deep interest. The departure from time to time of the several portions of your tribe is always regarded by me as among the most affecting events in our history. It proves that a Providence overrules the action of the white men and red men. The Oneidas have always been protected and cherished by the public councils of the state; their welfare, their improvement, their civilization, have been our constant care, and I have indulged a hope that a remnant at least of the nation might remain among us, a monument of the justice and generosity of our people. But the Great Spirit does not will it to be so. You know how reluctantly I have consented to the sale of your lands. I have now given the reason for it. The council-fires of the Oneidas will soon be extinguished. It is well that no enmity can be raked from its ashes.

Brother, I thank you for all your expressions of gratitude, kindness, and affection. Since it is decreed that you must leave your native fields, it is consoling to us to know that we are not richer by your misfortunes or losses; that your relinquishment of your lands was more than voluntary; and that we have accounted to you for your land at the full value at which it could be sold under the most favorable circumstances.

Brother, your request is complied with. The agent, who has been just to you and to us, shall accompany you until you pass the boundaries of the state.

Brother, I shall always listen anxiously to hear the reports concerning you in your new settlement. I hope to hear that your people are contented, prosperous, and happy.

Brother, you are an old and good man. You have seen the

Note.—Speech addressed to Moses Schuyler, an Oneida chief.—*Ed.*

desolations which the fire-water has produced among your people. Admonish them now to banish that fatal enemy from their new home.

Brother, I bid you farewell. May the Great Spirit guide you on your way, defend your people from every danger, and enlighten them with the knowledge that leads in the ways of virtue and happiness!

Peace be with you and your children for ever!

THE WESTERN RAILROAD.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS., MARCH, 1842.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE AND OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GENERAL COURT OF MASSACHUSETTS:

IN the name of the senate and of the assembly of New York, in my own behalf, and as well for the absent as for those present, with whom I have the honor to be associated in the affairs of that state, I tender to you acknowledgments for this cordial and fraternal welcome. Representatives are here from our commercial metropolis and our agricultural districts; from the seacoast and the shores of our lakes; and from the valleys of the Susquehannah, the Delaware, the Hudson, and the St. Lawrence; and their unanimity warrants me in tendering these salutations in the name of the people of New York.

Not to know the wisdom, moderation, and virtue, of your counsels, would argue us unobservant of the prosperity and tranquillity of your commonwealth. I congratulate you, sir, the chief magistrate of that commonwealth [his excellency JOHN DAVIS], upon this conjunction of two stars in our constellation as an event that will for ever signalize your career of public service. Shall I not confess that the invitation which brought us here excited our surprise? We had supposed that *we* were on the very eastern verge, and that all the broad and boundless *west* lay between us and the setting sun. But this improvement, which you have so strangely called the *Western* railroad, has changed our position, and we must now acknowledge ourselves your western brethren.

We of New York are not a unique, or a primitive, or even a homogeneous people. We trace no common lineage to an un-

NOTE.—The completion of the railroad between Boston and Albany was celebrated by a meeting of the legislatures of Massachusetts and New York at Springfield, Massachusetts, in March ,1842, on which occasion Governor Seward delivered this speech.

mingled ancestry. The colony of New Netherlands, which was the nucleus of our state, has received accumulations from England, from Ireland, Scotland, Germany, France, Poland, and from every other land in modern Europe where man has suffered oppression or arbitrary power has attempted to subject his conscience. The nervous languages of the upper and the lower Rhine, and the softer dialects of the Mediterranean, mingle in our streets and in our distant settlements. Among us, he alone is of peculiar birth whose blood allies him to only one fatherland. It is one of our cares, by the agency of benign and equal institutions, to assimilate all these various masses, and reduce them to one great, harmonious, united, and happy people. Judge, then, with what interest we regard a community to whom such efforts are unnecessary and unknown — a community who, descended from a common stock, have for two centuries remained separate from other portions of their race, and retained throughout all that time the primitive virtues, energies, customs, forms, and habits, of their ancestors.

The impress of the New-England schoolmaster is seen everywhere in our state, and you might obtain an acknowledgment from each one of her representatives here that he has profited by that teacher's instructions. Having thus known the schoolmaster, it was among our motives to this visit that we should see the land whence he went abroad, and become acquainted with the people whose ancestors erected a church simultaneously with their dwellings, and a university within twelve years after their landing at Plymouth.

Nor can we forget that it was Massachusetts that encountered first and suffered most from the tyranny which resulted in our national independence — that the first blood shed in that sacred cause flowed at Lexington — and that Liberty's earliest rampart was established upon Bunker's hill. Nevertheless the struggles and sacrifices of Massachusetts have until now been known to us through traditions not her own, and they still seem to have been those of a distant, though an allied people — of a country separated from us by mountain-barriers such as divide every continent into states and empires. But what a change is here! This morning's sun was just greeting the site of old Fort Orange as we took our leave; and now, when he has scarcely reached the meridian, we have crossed our hitherto impassable barrier, and

have met you here on the shore of the Connecticut, the battle-ground of King Philip's cruel wars; and before that sun shall set, we might ascend the heights of Charlestown, or rest upon the rock that was wet with the blood that flowed from the weary feet of the pilgrim fathers.

Sir, you have well set forth the benefits which will result to you, to us, to our country, and to mankind, from the triumph of modern science over the physical obstructions to intercourse between the American communities. I can advert to but one of these results—the increasing strength of the states, and the perpetuity of their union. New York, Massachusetts, and her sister-states of New England, will no longer be merely confederated states. Their interests, their affections, and their sympathies, will now be intermingled—and a common and indivisible destiny, whether of good or evil, awaits them all. Had such connections existed when the British throne attempted to abridge the rights of the colonies, what power could have wounded Massachusetts when New York could have rushed to her defence? Could Great Britain and her savage allies have scourged so severely our infant settlements upon the Mohawk and the Susquehannah, if New England could have gone to their relief? How vain will be any attempt hereafter to array us against each other! Since Providence has been pleased to permit these states to be thus joined together, who shall put them asunder?

You have rightly assumed that on this occasion we indulge no jealousies of your prosperity, and no apprehensions of losing our power or influence. The Hudson is beautiful in our eyes, for it flows through the land of our birth, and our institutions and marts overhang its waters. But if its shores be not the true and proper seat of commerce and of empire, or if we have not the virtues and the energies necessary to retain our vantage-ground, we shall not try to check the prosperity or the political ascendency of our sister-states. Far from indulging such unworthy thoughts, we regard this and every other improvement as calculated to promote our own prosperity, and, what is far more important than the advancement of our state or of yours, the union and harmony of the whole American family. The bond that brings us into so close connection is capable of being extended from your coast to the Mississippi, and of being fastened around not only New York and the first thirteen, but all the twenty-six states. This is the

policy of New York, and her ambition. We rejoice in your co-operation, and invite its continuance, until alarms of disunion shall be among the obsolete dangers of the republic.

New York has been addressed here in language of magnanimity. It would not become me to speak of her position, her resources, or her influence. And yet I may, without offending the delicacy of her representatives here, and of her people at home, claim that she is not altogether unworthy of admiration. Our mountains, cataracts, and lakes, can not be surveyed without lifting the soul on high. Our metropolis and our inland cities, our canals and railroads, our colleges and schools, and our twelve thousand libraries, evince emulation and a desire to promote the welfare of our country, the progress of civilization, and the happiness of mankind. While we acknowledge that it was your WARREN that offered up his life at Charlestown, your ADAMS and your HANCOCK who were the proscribed leaders in the Revolution, and your FRANKLIN whose wisdom swayed its councils, we can not forget that Ticonderoga and Saratoga are within our borders, that it was a son of New York that fell in scaling the heights of Abraham, that another shaped every pillar of the constitution and twined the evergreen around its capital, that our FULTON sent forth the mighty mechanical agent that is revolutionizing the world, and that but for our CLINTON, his lofty genius and undaunted perseverance, the events of this day and all its joyous anticipations had slept together in the womb of futurity.

The grandeur of this occasion oppresses me. It is not, as some have supposed, the first time that states have met. On many occasions, in all ages, states, nations, and empires, have come together. But the trumpet heralded their approach; they met in the shock of war: one or the other sunk to rise no more, and desolation marked, for the warning of mankind, the scene of the fearful encounter. And if sometimes Chivalry asked an armistice, it was but to light up with evanescent smiles the stern visage of War. How different is this scene! Here are no contending hosts, no destructive engines, nor the terrors nor even the pomp of war. Not a helmet, sword, or plume, is seen in all this vast assemblage. Nor is this a hollow truce between contending states. We are not met upon a cloth of gold, and under a silken canopy, to practise deceitful courtesies; nor in an amphitheatre, with jousts and tournaments, to make trial of our skill in arms

preparatory to a fatal conflict. We have come here enlightened and fraternal states, without pageantry, or even insignia of power, to renew pledges of fidelity, and to cultivate affection and all the arts of peace. Well may our sister-states look upon the scene with favor, and the nations of the earth draw from it good auguries of universal and perpetual peace.

Representatives of the states of Massachusetts and New York! I may have said, in the fervor of the moment, something which may seem here or elsewhere unbecoming so solemn and interesting an occasion. If I have so offended, I ask that the error may be forgiven and forgotten—that this day may remain in your memories as in mine—a day whose passing hours witnessed no discord, and left no painful recollections.

POLITICAL WRITINGS.

ADDRESS OF A REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

AUBURN, OCTOBER 5, 1824.

Honest and honorable men are convinced that a combination exists in this state, enjoys its honors, and wields its power, whose principles and practices are at war with its best interest, its prosperity, and its fame.

The history of this combination begins when, taking advantage of the strong current of popular opinion in favor of a correction of the errors of the old constitution of this state, a few men who were clamorous for reform, but whose lives had exhibited not one sacrifice for the public good, united with a few others until then unknown among us, because they had done nothing worthy of notice, and all becoming loud in their protestations of devotion to republicanism, they succeeded in obtaining seats in the late constitutional convention.

Defeated then in their efforts to retain the old council of appointment which they had hoped to wield at their pleasure, they succeeded in incorporating into the new constitutional system an institution, the evils of which are more severe than those which were produced by the justly-obnoxious features of the system which was abolished — an institution which combines in one strong phalanx the officeholders, from the governor and the senators down to the justices of the peace in the most remote parts

Note.—This address is among Mr. Seward's earliest political efforts. At the time it was written he was but twenty three years. A more faithful portrait of the "Albany Regency" could scarcely have been drawn by a practised hand.—*Ed.*

of the state — which makes the governor a subservient tool of the faction which designates him; converts the otherwise respectable judiciaries of the counties into shambles for the bargain and sale of offices; and selects justices of the peace (in whose courts are decided questions involving a greater amount of property than in all the other tribunals of the state), not from among those whom an intelligent people would choose, but from the supple and needy parasites of power, who may, and it is to be feared do, bring not only the influence but the very authority of their offices to the support of the party whose creatures they are. Thus it has come to pass that each of the several counties contains a little aristocracy of officeholders, existing independently of popular control, while they are banded together by ties of common political brotherhood.

Another part of their organization which presents serious ground of apprehension, is the caucus system. It was in vain that the framers of the constitution placed a barrier between those who should make the laws and those who should execute them. The doctrine of construction has been extended so far by ingenuity and subtlety, that their union is no longer an anomaly. Men chosen to make laws, have constituted themselves a power to appoint those by whom they shall be executed. The effect is, that these men have themselves become the subjects of barter and sale. Public and beneficent laws are seldom seen in their journals, while their pages are swollen with laws to accommodate politicians and speculators. Republican dignity and simplicity are banished from the public councils, and faction has obtruded its unblushing front into the halls of legislation. The caucus system, originally adopted from necessity, and never considered obligatory further than its nominations concurred with popular opinion, has been converted into a political inquisition. Patriotism is made to consist in a servile submission to its decrees. Offices and honors are offered to those only who will renounce their independence, and give their support to the "old and established usages of the party," while denunciations without measure are poured forth upon the heads of those who dare to question the infallibility of the decrees thus obtained. These denunciations have had their effect upon weak and timid minds, while the inducements offered on the other hand have not failed to enlist profligate politicians. These systems constitute the machinery

of the Albany regency. Honest men need no such aid to maintain a just influence. The safety of the state is not to be secured, nor its welfare to be promoted, by combinations to deprive the people of their constitutional power. When in republican states men attempt to entrench themselves beyond the popular reach, their designs require investigation. Such men have for three years exercised the authority of this state. And what have they done to promote its prosperity or to add to its renown? The judiciary, once our pride, is humbled and degraded. The march of internal improvement is retarded, and the character of the state is impaired. Let the proceedings of the present legislature speak—a legislature composed of members, most of whom were pledged in their several counties and all of whom were instructed to restore to the people their constitutional right of appointing electors of president and vice-president of the United States. Yet its journals exhibit little else than contradictory measures, affecting private corporations, together with all the practices of chicanery and open opposition to the very law they were required to pass. And all this has been done to effect the election to the presidency, of a citizen of this state known only by successive developments of his political intrigues, while he is deficient in all those high qualifications which ought to distinguish the chief magistrate of a free people.

ADDRESS OF THE MINORITY OF THE MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURE OF 1831.*

To the People of the State of New York:

At the close of a long, laborious, and in many respects important, session of your legislature, a portion of your representatives who avow their adherence to the democratic principles of our government, and their opposition to all privileged orders, aristocracies, and secret societies, feel it their duty to give you some account of what has been done, and of what has been left undone.

On our assembling in the chambers of the two houses, we were amazed by the declaration in the executive message to the effect substantially, that our state treasury was exhausted, and that no resource for carrying on the government remained, but a direct tax on your real and personal property. When, in looking over the account of the expenses of the government, we found fifty thousand dollars expended for salaries of the state officers, and forty-five thousand dollars for a stateprison, thirteen thousand dollars paid to a state printer, forty thousand dollars for undefined miscellaneous expenses, thirty-five thousand dollars for deficiencies in the Oswego, and in the Seneca and Cayuga canals, besides numerous other expenditures; and when we perceived with what reckless profusion the public treasure was squandered, we were at no loss to account for the alarming fact that the treasury was exhausted. And yet with a full knowledge of our condition, the session has been marked by constant efforts on the part of the majority to appropriate the public treasure for the benefit of themselves and their friends, and to increase the sala-

* Among the names signed to this address, we find those of Trumbull Cary, Philo C. Fuller, William H. Maynard, Albert H. Tracy, Millard Fillmore, and John C. Spencer. While Mr. Seward was a member of the legislature, and even since that period, the task of preparing the annual legislative address of the political party to which he is attached, has frequently been assigned to him.—*Ed.*

ries and emoluments of their partisans; and by the most obstinate resistance to every measure calculated to reduce exorbitant compensations, and to restrain and limit unnecessary expenditures. A new office has been created with a salary of two thousand dollars; propositions to raise the salaries of the chancellor, supreme court, and circuit-judges, have been made; the salary of the adjutant-general has been increased, while the expenses of his office have been reduced. To the comptroller, who has a salary of $2,500, and an allowance for clerk hire, stationery, fuel, &c., of more than $7,000, an additional allowance of $2,000, for clerk hire, has been made. Some of these were probably necessary, many of them were not required by any public exigency; and a prudent economy with a bankrupt treasury, would have dispensed with a large portion of them. They are now alluded to for the purpose of exhibiting the wanton and reckless disposition to squander your money, which characterizes the dominant party, and their general extravagance. Other circumstances evince their determination to divide among them the spoils derived from the public. There is a quarantine establishment on Staten Island, for the protection of the public health, which is supported by a tax on passengers and sailors arriving at the city of New York. More than one million of dollars that has been thus collected, has been squandered upon the construction of splendid palaces and extravagant and unnecessary buildings, and in pampering a set of officers attached to the establishment. Some charitable and enlightened captains of vessels and friends of sailors, besought the legislature to provide a mode by which the amount collected by the tax on sailors might be taken from the grasp of the quarantine officers, and placed under the charge of trustees, who should hold and dispose of it for the relief of sick and disabled seamen; and should defray the expenses of their support at the Marine hospital. This application was in itself so just, and its objects were so benevolent, that the house of assembly with unprecedented unanimity passed a bill in accordance with the noble design. In the course of the discussions on this bill, it was discovered that one of these officers at the quarantine, the health officer, received an annual compensation of between $12,000 and $16,000 for about seven months service. A bill was immediately introduced and passed, in the assembly, providing for that officer a salary of $4,000, and re-

quiring him to account for his fees to the state treasury. There had not been time for party discipline to arrest the passage of these bills in the assembly. But in the senate the usual party machinery was put in operation. And while one of the bills, relating to the Seamens' Retreat, has been reluctantly passed against the report of a party committee, and from the apprehension of public odium and danger to the party, in the city of New York, the other, reducing the exorbitant salary of the health officer, has been frustrated, and he is to be continued in the receipt of his enormous income.

These, fellow-citizens, are but specimens of the prevailing system of legislation which provides for favorites extravagant compensations wrung out of the earnings of the industrious. There are other officers, such as the state printer, and the register and assistant-register in chancery, who receive enormous amounts of fees, utterly disproportioned to the services they render, and to the talents and qualifications necessary to discharge their duties. The situation of state printer is believed to be worth to the incumbent, over and above all expenses, more than ten thousand dollars a year, a great part of which arises from the sums paid for advertising by insolvent debtors. This private interest has come in direct collision with one of the most important bills originated during the session — the bill to abolish imprisonment for debt. Some law on that subject was demanded by a very clear and unequivocal expression of public sentiment in all parts of the state. A law was finally framed after much labor, which was designed to protect the unfortunate and honest debtor, while it afforded the means of preventing and punishing frauds upon creditors. In its effect, however, it destroyed the great source of revenue of the state printer, as it rendered the largest class of insolvent advertisements unnecessary. The same miserable policy, which on so many occasions sacrificed the public good to the pecuniary interests of partisans, was applied in this instance. But the strong force of public sentiment carried the bill through the assembly, in defiance of the secret and insidious opposition of the leaders of the party. In the senate, attempts to defeat it were made by those legislative manœuvres which are so conveniently adapted to the purposes of men desirous of avoiding the responsibility of a direct outrage upon public opinion. Amendments were proposed by that body, utterly inconsistent with the

whole frame of the bill, calculated to perplex its provisions and render them impracticable. The friends of the bill made every effort by concession after concession to obtain the concurrence of the senate, until, in order to compel the party leaders in that body openly to evince their determination to reject the bill—it was proposed to defer the operation of the law wholly until the 1st March, 1832. This left no alternative, and in that form the act has passed. During the arduous struggles to obtain this law, opposition was constantly encountered, from the immediate political friends of the state printer, who left no means untried to defeat any and every bill, which in its results would encroach on his enormous income.

Such, fellow-citizens, is the lamentable condition of your government, that no public measure, however important to your welfare, or however strongly demanded by your wishes or your interests, can be accomplished, if it in any way lessens the perquisites of a set of men who have come to consider public offices as their private property.

We are constrained to believe that the political organization which controls this state is combined with a moneyed aristocracy, existing in the city of Albany, which owns the Mechanics and Farmers' bank. We find the officers and large stockholders of that institution, and their immediate connections, the most prominent leaders in the dominant party, and influencing every executive and legislative measure. We find them embarking with the highest officers in the state, in speculations where the power of government, or the influence of its officers, can be brought to aid their projects of aggrandizement. We find them owning banks in the interior, and establishing associations with these institutions in every part of the state. It is believed to be owing to their influence, that you have witnessed the astonishing spectacle of a bank commissioner, selected to preside over one branch of the legislature. Their identity of interest with the canal commissioners, with the canal board, with the comptroller, and with a majority of the bank commissioners, enables them to exercise a most dangerous influence over all the moneyed institutions in the state, and particularly by their power of distributing the enormous revenues collected from the canals, and the surplus of those revenues now amounting to a million and a half of dollars. This identity of interests causes a combinatiou of political

influence, which bids defiance to all legislative control. Hence we have seen that a proposition, submitted to the senate, to limit the term of service of the canal commissioners in the same manner that the comptroller and secretary of state are limited, was rejected, with scarcely a reason assigned. Hence we have witnessed the rejection of an amendment proposed to a bill in the assembly, providing that no member of the canal board should vote on a proposition to deposite the revenues of the canal fund in any bank in which such member was interested. The ordinary guards of prudence, and the sound principles of law, which prevent trustees from converting the trust fund to their own private purposes, are refused to be applied to our state officers, who have an almost unlimited discretion in the control of the public moneys. From the same cause, and from the same malign influence, a canal commissioner, who has repeatedly and openly violated the spirit and intent of the law, which forbids his being interested in works depending on the canal, and who has embarked in extensive speculations in property whose value depended on his official power, has been sustained in defiance of the most conclusive testimony, and in contempt of public opinion. The power of the canal commissioners, of the canal board, and finally of the legislature itself, has been enlisted to aid the speculation in surplus waters, made by the managers of the Mechanics and Farmers' bank, in conjunction with a canal commissioner. By the force of the same association, that commissioner is suffered to remain in office, notwithstanding a party committee, anxious to screen him from all censure, have reported a decided disapprobation of his conduct. While they point out instances of gross impropriety, plain and palpable violations of his official duties, and the perversion of the power of his office to the purposes of individual speculation, they yet report a resolution that he has not violated a particular statute? This report was wantonly and unnecessarily delayed, until it became too late to discuss it, and expose its inconsistencies and contradictions; and by such an expedient has the indignation of the legislature been prevented from visiting this officer.

We have alluded to these transactions, because they have occupied so much attention during the session, and because they distinctly illustrate the dangerous extent of the combined moneyed and political aristocracy which we have described. The existence

of that combination, and of its influence, is so well known and universally admitted, that it has been recently charged, as an alarming circumstance, by the most distinguished newspaper of the dominant party in the city of New York. To this combination do we attribute the passage of the unwise and unnecessary resolutions respecting the bank of the United States. That bank not only keeps in check the power of the aristocracy we have described, but, in consequence of being obliged by its charter to lend money at six per cent., it materially diminishes the income which the Mechanics and Farmers' bank and its dependencies would derive from loans made at seven per cent. Hence motives of private interest co-operated with a desire for a continuance of political control, and produced an expression of the legislature adverse to the bank of the United States.

We were unwilling to yield our assent to any measure dictated by such sordid motives; we looked in vain for any authority conferred on us by our constituents, to decide upon a charter which the state had not granted, and which we could not repeal; we deemed it premature and rash, to undertake to pronounce, five or six years in advance, upon the propriety of renewing an institution deeply connected with the vital interests of the country; and, least of all, were we willing to surrender the whole banking power in this state, with all its tremendous influence, to a combination of men, who have so clearly shown that they seek political power as the means of promoting their private speculations.

Among the matters presented for the consideration of the legislature, in the governor's message, was that relating to the controversy between this state and New Jersey, respecting the boundary-line. Contentions between the states of this Union are in their nature of an irritating character, and calculated to disturb the peace and harmony of the whole. Repeated negotiations between us and New Jersey had terminated, not only in a total failure to accomplish any arrangement, but in a degree of bad feeling between the citizens of the respective states living near the disputed boundary, which threatened disastrous consequences. Severe laws had been passed by both states, and a sheriff of this state had been actually imprisoned in New Jersey, for arresting persons within the territory claimed by that state. Under these circumstances New Jersey appealed to the supreme court of the

United States, under that provision of the constitution which gives to that court jurisdiction to hear and determine controversies between two or more states. It was known that the court had, in the winter term of 1830, declared its determination to proceed in the cause, according to the rules and practice which it had settled more than thirty-five years before. The legislature of this state had, as early as 1808, directed that the governor should provide for the defence of any suit that might be brought against us by New Jersey. With these facts before us, it was with astonishment we learned from the executive communications, that under these circumstances, our governor had assumed the same attitude of defiance to the supreme court, which had been taken by the state authorities of Georgia, and that the example of nullification furnished by South Carolina, was to be followed by him. Pretences the most frivolous and undignified, were urged to justify this violation of a plain compact entered into between the different states, for the settlement of their controversies. For a full understanding of these pretences, we beg leave to refer you to a report of the minority of a committee of the house of assembly, made on that subject, during the recent session. The public indignation, particularly in that part of the state most deeply interested, was so loudly and distinctly expressed, that the design of embroiling this state with the judiciary of the United States, and of identifying us to some extent with the nullifying principles and practices of Georgia and South Carolina, was abandoned. But the manner of the abandonment was more undignified and puerile, if possible, than the original defiance. After denying the jurisdiction of the court, our governor, notwithstanding, concludes to appear there and defend our rights; but relies on a technical rule extremely applicable to courts held by justices of the peace, that consent can not confer jurisdiction; and gives notice that, if the decision should be adverse to our wishes, we may avail ourselves of this honorable and manly rule, and resist the execution of the judgment! We can scarcely trust ourselves to express the sentiments inspired by this language and conduct of the chief-magistrate of this state. A party majority of a committee in the assembly, ventured to report on the subject, and to submit a resolution approving the conduct of the governor. But the answer to that report, by the minority, placed the conduct of the governor, the mistakes of the

attorney-general, and the blunders of the committee, in a light so clear, that the resolution was suffered to remain *on the table*. If we do not utterly mistake the intelligence and moral feeling of our fellow-citizens, they will, with one accord, disavow the line of conduct hitherto pursued by the governor, as well as the unworthy reservation of a future defiance, which he has thought proper to make. They will be faithful to the compact which they have made with the other states, and will not shrink from its duties by evasions and subterfuges. And if they consent to take the chance of a decision in their favor by the national judiciary, they will not deny to their sister-state, New Jersey, the benefit of a reciprocal chance in a decision favorable to her claims. The people of New York, we are persuaded, will not ask that for themselves, which they are unwilling to yield to others.

In reference to the whole course of legislation during the session, we are compelled to say, that, while measures to promote the public interest have been either neglected, or, when pressed on the attention of the majority, have been shuffled off and evaded; plans for the aggrandizement of their political friends, and for the advantage of banks, and of applicants for bank-charters, have been pursued with remarkable industry, care, and vigilance. Nine new bank charters have been granted, two which had expired, have been renewed, and nine old banks have been continued, making twenty in the whole.

The safety-fund, so much vaunted for the security which it promised to the holders of the bills of an insolvent bank, by enabling them instantly to receive the amount of the demands, has been assailed, and an effort has been made to strip it of the peculiar feature which commended it to public favor. Instead of having money on hand to redeem the bills of a broken bank, it was proposed to substitute the bonds of the banks themselves, secured by mortgage on their real estate. An addition of five hundred dollars was proposed to the salaries of the bank-commissioners, making the sum of six thousand dollars to be paid annually to those gentlemen, out of the fund set apart to indemnify the unfortunate creditor of a broken bank.

This project passed the senate, but in the assembly, good sense and plain honesty, for once triumphed over the discipline of party, and the influence of banks. Notwithstanding the most zealous exertions of the bank-commissioner speaker, and of the

satellites of the Mechanics and Farmers' bank, your immediate representatives in the assembly rejected the bill by a decisive vote, which should teach political dictators that there are limits to even their power.

The same fate has attended a resolution, at first incautiously adopted, by which a travelling committee of the assembly, to consist of three of its most devoted partisans, was to be employed in a vain effort to correct the errors of the canal-commissioners, and settle disputes between them and others. Such an example had been recently furnished, of the expenses of such committees, that the prudent and discreet members, even of the dominant party, were unwilling to repeat the experiment. The resolution was accordingly reconsidered.

While such care has been taken of the interest of political friends, measures of the most important character have either been defeated, or lost by intentional delay, or great neglect. Numerous petitions were presented for a law which should place foreign creditors on the same footing with our own citizens, in respect to the taxation of debts due them. These have been disregarded, and nothing has been done on the subject. A bill to reduce the fees for inspecting flour, by which the annual receipts of the inspector, amounting to more than thirteen thousand dollars, would have been confined to some reasonable limits, and the manufacturers of flour would have been relieved to a large extent—a bill on all hands admitted to be just and proper in itself—has been frustrated by the delay which has been intentionally interposed. You need hardly be told that the incumbent of the office, is a political favorite.

A proposed amendment to the constitution, giving to the people of the city of New York, the election of their mayor, which was asked by the common council of the city, and voted for by every member representing it in the assembly, was several times defeated in the senate. Party interests required the application to this case of the rule that, "the further power is removed from the people, the better." Fortunately, the result of the late charter election in New York, carried terror to the minds of the leaders of the party. They perceived that any further outrage on the rights of the people of that city, would result in the total destruction of the party. By a rapid countermarch they hoped to regain the ground they had lost;

and they accordingly retraced their steps, and adopted the amendment.

But we should weary your patience by recounting any further details of the omissions or the misdeeds of the majority that controls the legislature. It may be truly said, that scarcely anything has been done calculated to advance the prosperity of the state, to sustain its interests, or to develop or improve its resources; while everything that party drilling and discipline could accomplish, has been done to increase salaries, to retain extravagant emoluments, and to provide for the favorites of the party. The whole system of internal improvement is decried and discountenanced; the old spirit of hostility to the canals, which so much obstructed their commencement and completion, is revived under the auspices of the same sectional influence which then prevailed. Of this a strong illustration is furnished by the fact that the legislation respecting our canals, their improvement, their revenue, and their regulation, has, in both houses of the legislature, been committed to the charge of chairmen of committees well known for their hostility to the whole system. The consequence has been that the whole power, on these subjects, has been left where it has been placed for some years, at the discretion of a few executive officers of the state. Such is the general character of the legislature of the late session. Few as we have been in numbers, our task has been to arrest the wild career of improvidence and prodigality, and we have the satisfaction of believing that we have defeated many projects of a party character, which were of the most injurious tendency. Many of these have been already noticed in the course of these remarks. Among them, that of a direct tax has been arrested, and the officers of government will be compelled to exhaust the poor residue of the general fund of the state; so that it will no longer remain as an excuse for neglect, or as a motive for extravagance.

We regret to state that the act by which the government of the state assumed upon itself the prosecution of the murderers and kidnappers of William Morgan, has been suffered to expire; and that those prosecutions are to be in effect abandoned, although several indictments against the worst offenders, remain to be tried. It seems not to be deemed necessary any longer even to keep up the farce which has been playing for the last year. It will no longer answer the purpose of deceiving the public.

The masonic institution and its votaries are in high favor with the dominant party, who eagerly embrace the most vindictive opponents of General Jackson, if they only come recommended by a strong adhesion to the mystic fraternity, or by a violent hatred to anti-masonry. For ourselves, we rejoice at this state of things; we rejoice that the adhering members of this dangerous institution are brought together in one solid mass, that they are arranged in direct and distinct opposition to free inquiry, and to individual and political independence. We rejoice that the question of masonry and anti-masonry is thus presented fairly and openly to the people, stripped of all former political names and associations.

If virtue yet abide among us, if there be intelligence in our fellow-citizens to appreciate the dangers which threaten their liberty, and if there be patriotism to resist and prevent them, which we most firmly believe, there can be no doubt of the result of such a contest. On the one side is an aristocratic nobility, composed of men bound together by the most terrific oaths, which conflict with the administration of justice, with private rights, and with the public security; a privileged order, claiming and securing to its members unequal advantages over their fellow-citizens, veiling its proceedings from scrutiny by pledges of secrecy, collecting funds to unknown amounts and for unknown purposes, and operating through our extended country at any time and on any subject, with all the efficacy of perfect organization, controlled and directed by unseen and unknown hands. On the other side, a portion of your fellow-citizens ask for equal rights and equal privileges among the freemen of this country. They say it is in vain that this equality of rights and privileges is secured in theory by our constitutions and laws, if, by a combination to subvert it, it is in fact no longer enjoyed. They point you to masonic oaths, and to the effects of those dreadful obligations upon our elections, upon witnesses in courts of justice, and upon jurors. They show you one of your citizens murdered under their influence, and the offenders escaping with impunity. They exhibit to you the power of your courts defied, and the administration of justice defeated, through the instrumentality of those obligations. And they ask you whether our country can any longer be described as a land "where no man is so powerful as to be above the law, and no one so humble as to be

beneath its protection." They say to you that no man can tell who will be the next victim of masonic vengeance, or of masonic perjury. And they will call on you to put an end to these enormities, and prevent their recurrence, by destroying their source; and for that purpose to use the only effective weapon in your power; a weapon yet preserved to you, your own free and independent ballots. For thus calling on you, they are reproached with being intolerant and proscriptive. For seeking to destroy an institution which will not tolerate any inquiry into its objects, its means, or its obligations, we are intolerant; and for refusing to vote for men who have practically proscribed all who do not belong to their fraternity, we are called proscriptive. For insisting on the enjoyment of equal rights and equal privileges with them, we are charged with denying to our fellow-citizens equal rights.

ADDRESS OF THE MINORITY OF THE MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURE OF 1834.*

To the People of the State of New York:

Fellow-Citizens: The undersigned, members of the legislature, respectfully address you, in compliance with a custom which requires the representatives of the people, at the close of the session, to submit to their constituents their views of the condition of public affairs.

We are conscious that the labors of the legislature have accomplished very little for the interests, the prosperity, or the honor, of the state. Party spirit has been inexorable in its demands, and party organization effective in its action, upon the members.

In the month of October last, the president of the United States, in a frenzy of passion, deaf to the remonstrances of his constituent advisers, and yielding to the instigation of an irresponsible cabal at the seat of government, dismissed the secretary of the treasury, who resisted his lawless commands, and having appointed a successor who was willing to become the instrument

* These addresses will be found interesting and valuable, as portions of the political history of the times in which they were written.—*Ed.*

of his designs, without right, without law, and in derogation of the constitution, caused the public moneys to be withdrawn from their proper depository, and to be transferred to places unknown to the law, and subject to his own control and custody.

A majority of the members of the legislature have assumed party relations which, in their judgment, render it necessary, in order to accomplish ulterior political objects, to sustain the measures of the executive, whether they be right or wrong, legal or illegal, constitutional or unconstitutional, beneficial or ruinous to the interests of the people. It was evident, when the legislature assembled, that the extraordinary act of the removal of the deposites had excited universal alarm in the community; and it was with reason apprehended that it would be followed by a derangement of the currency disastrous to commercial affairs. A discussion of the president's reasons had commenced in both houses of Congress, upon whom the responsibility rested of approving or disapproving the measure, and adopting such laws as should be necessary to secure the treasury and prevent the anticipated evils. It was obvious, that if Congress should condemn the conduct of the executive and restore the public deposites, although such a decision would be just and expedient, yet it would leave the president exposed to the censure of the American people and destroy the political hopes of those who depended on his popularity for the continuance of their power.

To prevent such a decision in Congress, and to sustain the president at the hazard of whatever evils the country might suffer, was, from the commencement of our session, the great object of the majority, and that object will account for the extraordinary measures which they have adopted.

It was important at an early period to establish a party test to secure the adhesion of members. For this purpose, as well as to obtain what might be represented in Congress and in other states as an expression of popular opinion upon the conduct of the executive, resolutions were introduced at an early day, approving the removal of the deposites, and vaguely, and without the shadow of truth, accusing the United States Bank of having endeavored to produce commercial embarrassment in the country. The undersigned believed, that inasmuch as Congress was by the constitution invested with exclusive legislative power in relation to the treasury, and was responsible to the people for its exer-

cise, these resolutions were without the sphere of the duties of the legislature; that, as concerned the members of the legislature, no individuals in or out of that body have a right to administer a party test; that, so far as the resolutions were intended to be used as an expression of the voice of the people of this state, we were not charged with any duty to declare that voice; and that to assume to express it while the subject was yet under discussion in Congress, would justly be regarded as an attempt to forestall and falsify the opinions of the people, and an unjustifiable interference between them and their representatives in Congress. For these reasons, together with our conviction of the unconstitutionality and inexpediency of the action which the resolutions approved, the undersigned recorded their votes against them. The resolutions were passed by a decidedly party vote, and with a precipitancy and disregard of legislative forms and rules, equally derogatory from the character of the state, and inconsistent with the momentous importance of the subject to which they related.

The resolutions, however, proved ineffectual to suppress the voice of popular remonstrance against executive usurpation. The universal stagnation of business, and suspension of mutual confidence, aroused the people to a rigorous examination into the connection between these evils and the removal of the deposites. It was discovered that a great revolution in public opinion had commenced, and that some measure must be adopted to stay its progress. It had now become still more impossible for the executive to retract, and all political hopes of his partisans would be blasted if Congress should, in the only possible way, afford relief. It was therefore determined that the legislature of this state should again come to the rescue of the administration. The majority did not hesitate. They turned to the state treasury for the means to support the president in his warfare against the business of the country, but it was already exhausted. The *credit* of the state yet remained unimpaired, and the *individual* property of its citizens was *unencumbered* by public securities. Of that credit and property they recklessly determined to avail themselves. Having, until that moment, pertinaciously denied the existence of the pressure which it now became necessary to profess to relieve, and compelled by the resolutions to deny the true cause of the pressure, they now alleged, in labored docu-

ments which they caused to be widely disseminated, that a pressure was likely to be produced by the hostile action of the United States bank during the recess of the legislature! Under the pretence of preparing to resist this hostility, they adopted the bold and unprecedented measure of authorizing the state officers in this city to borrow the enormous sum of six millions of dollars on the credit of the state; four millions of which sum are to be loaned to banks in the city of New York, and the remainder to individuals in other counties. For the sum of four millions, to be loaned to the banks, the credit of the state is pledged; and the loans to individuals are by law declared to be a lien, not only upon the lands of those who shall be the borrowers, but upon the real and personal estate of all the inhabitants of the county in which the borrowers shall reside!

It is not our intention here to discuss the constitutionality or expediency of this measure. It was unanimously opposed by us for reasons which, as well as those of the majority in favor of it, have been already submitted to the people. Let it suffice to say, that we regarded any present or future necessity for legislative relief as proceeding solely from the ill-advised and ruinous policy of the administration of the general government: that in our opinion, if that policy should be abandoned, confidence could return and prosperity be restored: and if that policy should not be abandoned, neither the measure in question, nor any other which it was in the power of the state legislature to adopt, would be adequate to the relief of the community: that, even if its efficiency should be equal to the exigency, there is no obligation resting upon the people of this state to bear all the loss, risk, and expense, of the partisan warfare of the administration: that, in the very nature of things, it is the consummation of improvidence to lend four millions of dollars to banks already indebted to the state two and a half millions, which they are at this moment confessedly unable to pay; that it is, if not absolutely unconstitutional, a palpable abuse of legislative powers, to tax the people of this state to raise funds to be loaned at a profit to individuals and to banking institutions, the establishment of which can only be excused on the ground that they will relieve and sustain the country, not exhaust its resources and embarrass its credit; and finally, that this immense sum can not be thus raised and loaned without being converted into the means of

carrying on a system of political corruption, at war with every principle of republican government, and dangerous to our institutions.

Nevertheless, the majority in the legislature calculated that, however inadequate this mockery of relief might prove to restore confidence and recall the prosperity of the country, it would allay the discontent of the people; and it was therefore passed by a decided party vote, and with a degree of precipitancy and recklessness strongly indicative of the desperation under which they acted.

Although this odious mortgage of the state of New York has not yet been delivered, it has been solemnly sealed and recorded. We hope that the unequivocal disapprobation of the measure everywhere expressed, may deter those who hold it from delivering it over to British capitalists, for whom it was made. It is respectfully submitted to you whether the next legislature shall not bear your express commands to repeal the law, if it shall not have been carried into operation; and if it shall have been, then to cause the debt incurred to be immediately paid, and the incumbrance to be discharged of record. A fearful apprehension of the loss of political power, and the consequent distrust of the people, have been distinguishing characteristics of the legislation of the session. The treasurers of counties are very properly appointed by the supervisors, to whom they are accountable, and who themselves are responsible to the people. The result of many of the town meetings gave majorities in the board of supervisors adverse to the administration. As soon as this fact was known, a bill was promptly passed in the assembly requiring the judges of the county courts to be associated with the supervisors in the appointment of county treasurers.

A city charter has been granted to the city of Rochester, with the restriction that the justices of the peace shall be appointed by the common council; but, in order to retain the balance of power in the council, the recorder, who is appointed by the governor and senate, is made ex-officio a member. The majority of members in the common council of the city of Albany are partisans of the administration. Being unwilling to submit to a re-election during the present year, they applied to the legislature and obtained a law continuing them in office from the last Tuesday in September, 1834, until the first Tuesday in May, 1835, in express viola-

tion of the charter of the city and the constitution of the state which secures to the people the right of electing those officers. While no important measures of public policy or improvement have been adopted, the legislation of the session has exhibited an astonishing degree of recklessness in relation to the financial interests of the state. A bill, at the last session of Congress, passed both houses, appropriating to the several states, for a term of years, the avails of the sale of public lands, the common property of the United States. The interest of this state in this great patrimony exceeds the cost of the Erie canal, and its annual share of the appropriation exceeded $500,000. The president of the United States refused his assent to the bill, upon the ground, among other reasons, that the whole domain ought to be given to the new states within which it lies. It must have astonished you to learn, that without one word of debate, or a single reason assigned, without even printing or reading the president's veto, the house of assembly, by a party vote, approved of the rejection of this bill and the president's reasons for its rejection. This vote of the assembly can be regarded in no other view than expressing their willingness by this gratuity of the wealth of the state, to purchase the votes of the new western states for their favorite candidate for the presidency. Fellow-citizens, are we so degraded and so base, that we are compelled thus to purchase the political power to which the state of New York is entitled to the Union? Let the state banish from its councils at home, and recall from the national legislature her unworthy representatives, who could thus make bargain and sale of political power; let her interest be committed to the keeping of faithful and patriotic citizens, and the influence which we seek will be accorded to us by the spontaneous action of the people of the United States.

The condition of the state treasury imperiously demands reform. Our general fund is now reduced to the sum of about $190,000, while it is charged with a debt of more than $600,000. To which is to be added the expenditures of the current year, amounting to about $300,000. Thus year after year our legislature continues to diminish the resources of the treasury and swell the indebtedness of the state to be discharged in the end by direct taxation.

Every year the legislature shrink from the responsibility of adopting any measure to replenish the treasury and make up de-

ficiencies of revenue, by borrowing from funds inviolably pledged by the constitution to the institutions for education and literature. Fellow-citizens, the signs of the times indicate that a great revolution in popular opinion has commenced. The alarming usurpations of the executive of the United States have produced a reaction. A mighty effort—we trust a successful effort—has commenced to restore the supremacy of the constitution and the laws.

The period is propitious to the exertion to effect a radical reformation in the administration of the government of this state. Those who have impoverished our treasury, mortgaged our soil, and degraded the character of the state, stand or fall with the executive who has usurped the legislative and judicial powers of the government of the United States. The time has come when it must be decided for ourselves and for posterity, whether this government shall continue to be a republic in fact as well as in name, or whether it shall be converted into a monarchy, with the form only of popular power.

THE TRUE ISSUE.

AUBURN, FEBRUARY 13, 1838.

The act of the last session of the legislature, authorizing the suspension of specie payments by the banks of this state, was approved and acquiesced in by all parties, without important exception, as a necessary though humiliating measure of both security and relief. It has not been more fully proved since the passage of that act, than it was foreseen at the time of its enactment, that the following results must happen:—

1. That the specie then in full circulation would be withdrawn from its accustomed use.

2. That the place of the specie to be withdrawn (being the entire amount of money in circulation in sums less than five dollars) must be supplied by a paper-currency of some kind.

3. That the law of 1835, which prohibits the issue of small bills by our banks, remaining unrepealed, there would be no alternative for the people but the use of small bills to be issued in violation of law by individuals or corporate bodies in this state, or the similar notes of banks in other states.

The evils thus to be produced were—

1. The demoralizing operation of a system of law which creates an offence, and yet compels the entire mass of citizens to the daily commission of the offence prohibited.

2. That in the absence of any legal currency in small sums, the people would be driven to the use of a currency always suspected and depreciated, and often spurious and valueless.

3. That these evils would immeasurably aggravate the perplexities and embarrassments already intolerable in the transaction of business.

Note.—Address adopted by the citizens of Auburn opposed to the law which prohibited the issue of bills of less denomination than five dollars by the banks of this state.—*Ed.*

Foreseeing these evils, efforts were made by the minority, in the legislature of 1837, to repeal the law of 1835; and when it was found that this measure could upon no consideration gain the assent of the administration, then having a majority in both houses, the minority moved a suspension of the law of 1835, to continue during the suspension of specie payments by the banks.

Reasonable as these propositions were in both forms, indispensable as one or the other was, and conciliatory and submissive as the latter was, it was nevertheless rejected.

Then, according to the theory and accustomed operation of our political system, an issue was joined between the minority and the majority upon the rejected measure, and sent down, with other and kindred issues, to be tried at the elections. The result was, that of eight senators elected, six entered the senate imbued with the popular conviction that the law of 1835 ought to be immediately repealed; and of one hundred and twenty-eight members of assembly, one hundred repaired to the capitol prepared promptly to carry that measure into effect. The result exhibited one of the most astounding political revolutions that ever occurred in this or any other free country. The aggregate majority of votes in favor of the people against the administration was sixteen thousand, and the aggregate of population represented in the assembly by the opposition was one million, seven hundred and twenty-three thousand, while that represented by the friends of the administration was four hundred and fifty-one thousand.

Accustomed as the people have been to hear from the organs and representatives of the administration, while it was in a majority, language of unqualified respect and unconditional submission to the popular will, they looked without distrust to the legislature for the repeal of the obnoxious law. Nor could they believe that honorable men could so far forget their respect to consistency, or reluctant public servants so much undervalue the intelligence of the people, as to seek to evade the popular will, fully and unequivocally expressed. What was their astonishment, then, when they saw that the president of the United States, in his annual message to Congress, prepared the way for such an evasion by his followers, by an insulting insinuation that the electors of his native state had been corrupted, and that the chief

magistrate of this state had not learned when the legislature assembled that any expression of the popular will in relation to the law in question had been made, or indeed that there was any inconvenience resulting from its operation! After this insolent language of the president of the United States, and this scarcely less insulting silence of the governor of this state, it was by no means astonishing that the administration members of the legislature affected to doubt whether the repeal of the law of 1835 had been at all agitated in the recent elections. This unworthy pretence, however, was destined to very brief duration. Within the first five weeks of the session, the tables of the legislature were made to groan under the petitions of fifty thousand electors for the absolute repeal of the law of 1835, while less than as many hundreds resisted the demand or presented it in any modified form.

The assembly, with the unanimous vote of the majority, promptly answered this loud and unequivocal demand in just its latitude, granting no more and no less, by passing, with the utmost despatch, consistent with the liberty of debate due to the dissenting minority, a bill for the repeal of the law of 1835.

Such was the action of the assembly. And the question is now submitted, 'Had it been less prompt, less decisive, less complete, or less extensive, would not that body have justly incurred the reproach of hesitation, pusillanimity, and even treachery to the people?' The assembly's bill was hailed on its way to the senate with the approbation of nineteen twentieths of the people of the state, without distinction of parties, and was regarded as the harbinger of better fortune for a suffering community.

Had the senate been equally sincere in its desire to grant relief, what would have been its action? A day, or five days, or a week, would have sufficed for the legislative debate, if any were required by senators conscientiously opposed to the bill. After this brief season had been added to the duration of an insufferable evil, the bill would have been passed in all its fair proportions, and sent to the governor for his signature. Thus would the complaint of the people have entered the executive chamber in a manner and under auspices which would have commanded executive attention, and long before this time the bill would have become a law.

What, then, would have been the consequences?

1. The odious law, which subjects citizens guilty of an unavoidable offence to punishment, would have ceased to disgrace the statute-book.

2. The inconveniences, losses, and embarrassments, of a depreciated and worthless currency would have been removed by the substitution of a sound, well-known, and uniform currency, to the extent of the present circulation of small bills.

3. The banks, having begun to issue small bills, and having found public confidence revive, would have already resumed specie payments, or have fixed a day for that purpose; hundreds who have since been swept before the storm would have been saved; and the suspended functions of our business-system would have been quickened into life.

Such might and ought to have been the action of the senate, and such would have been its benign results. Let us turn now to the journal of the senate, and see what it has been. Five weeks' delay was permitted, during the greater part of which period the bill reposed on the table of the senate or that of its committee, while other and comparatively unimportant subjects occupied the attention of that honorable body, and the remainder of that precious time was consumed by members who sympathized with the public enemy in 1812, in harangues designed to demonstrate the horror they now indulge at the very recollection of the Hartford convention!

After this cruel delay, the senate sent to the assembly what in legislative language was falsely called the assembly's bill. Its title, "An act to repeal the law of 1835," was expunged, and in its stead was substituted the miserable and suspicious caption, "An act in relation to small bills." The repealing provision was stricken out, and in its stead was inserted an enactment in substance that the banks might at their pleasure issue small bills during two years, provided they should redeem such bills in specie on demand under the penalty of a forfeiture of their charters.

The bill whose mutilation and transformation had so worthily employed the labors of its thirty-two conscript stepfathers during five weeks of public suffering, received a prompt, firm, and dignified rejection in the assembly, which it deserved, and which it is but too apparent the senate anticipated. The senate has resolved to adhere to its modifications of the bill; and thus, after the idle form of a conference, with the intent to disagree, the bill

will have failed, and the intense and righteous expectation of the people will have been disappointed.

If this history of the senate's action has left any doubt, a very brief examination of its substitute for the assembly's bill will produce an unhesitating conviction that the senate has been guilty of a deliberate and cruel attempt to defeat, by indirection, the measure which it no longer dares openly resist; to pretend a compliance with the popular will which it obstinately refuses; and to palm upon the people a bill plausibly constructed, carrying the aspect of relief, but intended to prove a bitter mockery.

The senate refuses to *repeal* the law of 1835, because it asserts that the operation of that act will not be oppressive or injurious after the resumption of specie payments; and it is earnestly desirous, after that event, to conduct us back into the enjoyment of golden and glorious dreams of a "better" and "improved" but no longer "a purely metallic currency." But if the relief will not be necessary after the resumption, how does it happen that the senate proposes an unnecessary prolongation of it twenty-one months, only to render our return to the Bentonian system more embarrassing and more ruinous?

But the senate professes itself satisfied that the suspension of the law of 1835 may — and for the public convenience ought to — continue two years. Why, then, does it not pass the assembly's bill? The greater includes the less. If, at the expiration of two years, the public convenience shall permit, or the public good require, the restoration of the law, will there not then be a senate, an assembly, and governor, competent to re-enact it?

But the pertinacious adherence of the senate to the *suspension* in preference to a *repeal* — when, according to their professions, it is, as a measure of relief, equivalent to a repeal — excites vehement suspicion that it is not equivalent, or, in other words, that it is inadequate to the relief demanded. We proceed to show briefly that such is the fact.

Let it be remembered that, wasteful of time as the senate has been, the object of the bill in question is immediate as well as future relief — relief instant as well as relief for two years, or indefinite.

Let it be further understood that the senate does not enact that the banks *shall* issue small notes and shall redeem them in specie, but it enacts that they *may*, during two years, issue small

notes; and if they do issue small notes, they shall redeem them in specie, under the penalty of the forfeiture of their charters: thus leaving it optional with the banks to issue them or not.

Now the banks ought to redeem their notes, large and small, in specie, if they are able to do so. Either the banks are able to redeem, or they are not. If they are able to redeem, the legislature ought to repeal the suspension-law which excuses them from doing so, instead of giving them the option to issue small notes to be redeemed in specie.

If the banks are not able to redeem, and such must be assumed as the fact (since the senate does not propose to repeal the suspension-law), can a greater mockery be conceived than the senate's bill, authorizing the banks to call in a part of their circulation which they are not required to redeem, and to issue in its place an equal amount which they will be obliged to redeem? Who does not see that the petitions of the people are thus virtually referred by the senate to the banks, and, what is worse, are referred with restrictions and clogs which render the refusal of the banks certain, imperative, and inevitable? Such evasion is not more unworthy of the senate of this great state than it is insulting and offensive to the people.

It is alleged that the assembly's bill proposes an increase of circulation not redeemable in specie, while the senate's bill proposes an increase of specie in circulation. The falsehood of this subterfuge is apparent from the facts—

1. That neither bill proposes nor authorizes any increase of paper issues—the amount of bank issues allowed by law being in all cases the same; and the only question being this, whether the whole shall be in bills of the denomination of five dollars or more, or a portion shall be of a smaller denomination for the convenience of the people.

2. That the assembly's bill does not propose an irredeemable circulation, because, after the 16th day of May next, all the bills, whether greater than five dollars or less, will be by law absolutely redeemable in specie under the penalty of forfeiture of the charters of the banks.

Fellow-citizens, we have endeavored to place before you the TRUE ISSUE between the assembly and the senate, between the people and the administration, on the repeal of the law of 1835. It is submitted to your dispassionate judgment. The system of

confidence and credit, established in this country in its infancy, and gradually improved and extended with its growth, has been among the principal causes of our national prosperity. Its operations have not been confined to cities and towns, or to any particular region of the country, or to the commercial interests, or those of any other portion of the people. It has given life to the manufacturing interests, and imparted vigor unparalleled in the history of the world to the agricultural operations of our people, and has crowned them with success—not merely in the older and more improved territory, but in that which is most new and recently cultivated. It has been through its agency that our canals and railroads have been made; our colleges, academies, and common schools, founded and endowed; our cities and villages called into existence and enlarged; our farms improved, and our forests subdued; our peace and power perfected; our flag caused to be respected, and our name honored, throughout the earth. This credit-system was in full and successful operation until it was assailed in every point by the administration, and fell prostrate beneath the parricidal blows of our government. For this evil, and all the train which have followed it, the administration is justly responsible. Against that system the administration has declared open war. The sub-treasury system, and the defeat of the small-bill law, are but incidents in this inveterate warfare. The prosperity of the country can not be restored until that war is closed by the triumph of the people over their oppressors.

ADDRESS OF THE WHIG MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURE OF 1844.*

FELLOW-CITIZENS: We, the democratic whig members of the legislature, according to usage, respectfully submit an account of our stewardship.

Our number in the senate is *six*, in the assembly *thirty-six*, while the chief-magistrate, the lieutenant-governor, all the administrative officers, and *one hundred and eighteen* members, are representatives of the opposition. We need not say how impracticable it has been for us, borne down, and over-ridden by such overwhelming majorities, to restore the policy, or adopt the measures, to which you and we, are alike attached. Although, on a few occasions, we have succeeded in awakening the sense of justice of our opponents, and in calling to our aid a sufficiency of their numbers to defeat, or thwart the destructive ends of their leaders, yet for the most part, our services have necessarily been advisory, and preventive, rather than direct, or effective. The majority have been so divided, that the session has been consumed, rather in efforts of the respective factions to baffle and defeat each other, than in maturing measures for the general welfare.

It is not easy to describe these factions with perfect accuracy, though if the account each gave of the other were received, it would appear that neither seeks the public good, nor deserves the public confidence.

It was hoped, and very generally expected, that the present executive† would devise and carry into effect, some comprehensive scheme to secure the completion of the public works, without unnecessary burdens, without delay, and without public sacrifices. But he who, as a canal commissioner, was so efficient

* As before stated, Governor Seward was often called upon to prepare the annual legislative address, as in this instance, after he had retired from the executive chair

† Governor Bouck.

in inducing the commencement and vigorous prosecution of the present suspended canals, from 1836 to 1839, upon the existing and prospective revenues of such works alone, now in a season of returning prosperity and confidence, with the addition of direct taxes, amounting to six hundred thousand dollars annually, limits his advocacy of those great improvements, to suggestions that an unfinished bridge might, perhaps, be completed, under the head of repairs of dilapidated structures, while he would effectually prevent their resumption, by recommending such an amendment of the constitution, as would require the vote of two thirds of the legislature for every appropriation of public money, except for the public defence.

A policy so retrograde, timorous, and imbecile, as this, might have been expected to conciliate the most factious assailants of public credit and public enterprise. But such has not been the case. The officers of the fiscal administration, and their leaders in the house of assembly, discarded the governor from their confidence, as a chimerical projector of schemes of debt and speculation, and denounced his suggested amendments, as a device to deceive the people, and mislead them into measures of ruinous expenditure. Thus a session of one hundred and twenty-seven days has passed, distinguished by no act calculated, in any considerable degree, to establish returning prosperity, or to fortify the foundations, or improve the superstructure of our republican institutions.

Convinced that the whig party, and the whig party only, can be relied upon to disembarrass the public finances, to save the people from the ruinous sacrifices which have marked the brief ascendency of the party in power, and restore the healthful tone of public credit and confidence, complete what ought to be completed of the public works, and save the state from the anarchy into which it would be plunged by the mad contentions of our opponents, we are satisfied that our time has not been misspent, nor our labors unfruitful, if, as we hope, we have been successful in vindicating the principles and policy which prevailed while the whig party was in power. We have, as occasion offered, in reports and speeches, shown by incontrovertible proofs, that during that period, economy was introduced into public affairs; executive, judicial, and administrative patronage, were wisely abridged; delays and expenses in the administration of justice corrected; agriculture fostered; universal education cherished

and promoted, as is necessary, where universal suffrage is destined to prevail; the public faith maintained; the dignity and independence of the state preserved; and the highest principles of equality, of civil liberty, and of humanity, defended and vindicated.

We have shown that, with the exception of four millions seventy-five thousand dollars, the whole public debt, amounting to twenty-three, twenty-seven, or thirty millions of dollars, more or less, as the dominant party variously and capriciously state it, originated with the party now in power; and that any departure that has been made from a sound system of finance, was made by them, and them alone, while, had they adhered to and sustained the whig system, the unfinished public works would now have been nearly completed, no damages for broken contracts would have occurred, no considerable depreciation of state credit would have happened; taxation would have been avoided, and increasing resources would have been flowing into the treasury with such constant accumulation, as to have secured the extinguishment of the public debt as soon, at least, as is now promised under the present absurd and oppressive system of finance. In the review which has been made of the past, it has appeared, and is now admitted, that only four millions seventy-five thousand dollars of the whole public debt was borrowed by the whig administration, and that of this sum, four millions were expended on the public works devolved on that administration by their predecessors, and more than three millions in performing contracts actually made by those predecessors.

In the darkest hour the state has ever seen, the whigs performed every contract without taxation. Their successors, with the aid of a tax of six hundred thousand dollars, have broken contracts, on which they have already subjected the state to eight hundred thousand dollars of damages, and the future aggregate of this ruinous expenditure can not yet be conceived.

Fellow-citizens, we would, if we could, state the policy of the present administration in regard to finance and the public works. But, in truth, no policy exists. The majority unanimously agree that the contracts must be broken, and damages must be paid, which it is apparent, will equal the whole cost of bringing the enlarged Erie canal into use, thirteen hundred thousand dollars. But one portion strenuously insist on resuming the works imme-

diately, the abandonment of which has cost so much, while the other insists on rendering the abandonment complete and perpetual, by amending the constitution for that purpose. Again, a portion demand a further direct tax of sixty thousand dollars per annum to pay damages, while their associates insist, as we know to be the fact, that the canal revenues are abundant, and all agree, not only in resisting the apportionment of the proceeds of the public lands, but reject nearly ninety thousand dollars from that source, secured by the late whig administration, and actually deposited in bank to the credit of the state.

You will inquire what is to be expected in regard to the Erie railroad, and the unfinished canals. But we confess, with all our facilities for information, concerning the views of the administration, we can give no assurance. A report has been submitted in the senate, designed to prove that the lateral canals already constructed are unnecessary, and ought to be filled up; that the enlargement of the Erie canal was altogether visionary, while the unfinished Genesee Valley and Black River canals are monuments of legislative fatuity and corruption. These conclusions are put forward, however, with arguments, which as conclusively demonstrate that the Erie and Champlain canals themselves were improvidently constructed, and have contributed to cover the state with debts and bankruptcy. The result of the report is, that instead of paying the public debt as it shall become due from the resources derived from the public works alone, the time of payment must be anticipated, the revenues must be kept as unproductive as neglect and damages will render them, and taxation must be continued and increased indefinitely; and not only no new work of internal improvement must be commenced, but not a dollar must be spent in completing those now suspended, during a period of twenty-two and a half years. It would be unjust to deny, that a portion of the majority repudiate this absurd policy. It is a small portion of it to be sure, but in their apparent willingness to relieve the state from the absurd and ruinous provisions of the act of 1842, they have more effectually exposed the indefensible course of the majority, than we of the minority could by any possibility have done. The report from the committee on canals in the house of assembly, a majority of which are of the dominant party, affords ample proof that, some of these architects of ruin are occasionally visited with

a returning sense of justice and reason. That report, as well as the bill which accompanied it, proposed to secure to the public works, which had been in a state of decay and dilapidation for upward of two years, some degree of preservation, and to save the public treasury an actual drain of many thousands of dollars, which it was suffering by reason of the neglected and unfinished state in which many of the structures on the canals had been left by the act of 1842. Although from this report, and the statements of the engineers, with which it is accompanied, it clearly appears, that an expenditure of one million three hundred and fifty thousand dollars would complete one line of enlarged locks, and furnish an abundant supply of water, from Albany to Buffalo, whereby the tonnage of boats would be increased from seventy to one hundred and five tons, the cost of transportation reduced twenty-five per cent., and the capacity of the canal enlarged three-fold; and, although it was demonstrated with equal certainty, that such an expenditure could be made from the surplus revenues of the canals, without interfering with any public pledges, or resorting to taxation, yet not one dollar has been appropriated for the purpose.

Along the whole line of the canals, bridges, aqueducts, culverts, and other structures, have remained in an unfinished and decaying condition, since the doom pronounced upon them in 1842. Large amounts of valuable materials lie scattered upon the banks and in the vicinity of the canals, scarcely known or cared for, as public property, subject by the irrevocable decrees of the act of 1842, to be lost to the state by exposure and pillage. That there should have been found in the majority, some, who, despite of party shackles, would no longer so bow down to and worship its policy, as to resist these claims upon their duty and patriotism, is not strange. Accordingly the bill reported into the assembly, although imperfect and insufficient in its provisions, and falling far short of the just necessities of the public works, contained the germ of relief from the ruinous policy which had been visited upon us. We rejoiced at its introduction, and gave it our voices and votes. We did so, because we saw not only the necessity and justice of the resumption of the public works fully recognised by it, but also a mark of condemnation placed upon the policy which it thereby repudiated and abandoned. The hopes so unexpectedly excited were destined, how-

ever, to a brief existence. Before the bill was suffered to become a law, it was deprived of its original and cardinal features, and the result was, that the utmost sympathy of legislation was exhausted in the appropriation of the comparatively insignificant sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars only for one year. The causes of this unsteady and vacillating course are apparent. Notwithstanding a portion of the majority retain some friendship for the public works, they are so deeply committed to the perversions and frauds by which the whig policy was overthrown, and so embarrassed by the necessity for party cohesion, that they are totally incapable of any positive effort, and if not overborne in numbers by the foes of these works, are powerless themselves for good or evil. Akin to the measure of which we have just spoken, is that which was finally adopted in order to pay the contractors on the canals, for the damages allowed for the breach of their contracts. The bill introduced for this purpose in the assembly by the majority, proposed to appropriate the necessary moneys to pay the contractors, without imposing additional burdens upon the people. To this bill we assented, as did also the dominant party in the house. But such a measure could not meet with favor in the other branch of the legislature. To our surprise and mortification this bill was returned by the senate, with an amendment imposing an additional tax upon the people to raise the necessary means to pay for the broken contracts. The bill as it was originally reported was an admission, and such we allege the fact to be, that the surplus revenues of the canals, with the aid of the mill tax, were amply sufficient to meet this necessity of the state without casting additional burdens upon the people, and we therefore did not, and would not, assent to it in its amended form.

If the present exposures made by our opponents of their former errors be true, they were flagitiously improvident and corrupt, from 1833 to 1839. If they were wise and patriotic during that period, their present conduct is preposterous and wicked. But it has not been in our power to correct either their former errors, or to secure the state, against the consequences of those more recently committed. We acknowledge submission to the will of the people, constitutionally expressed, and fear not to trust them always. It was enough for the whig party when in power, that the people had undertaken those works, and pledged their faith to

their prosecution. They were prosecuted, and that faith was preserved. It is enough for us now, that the people have sanctioned the policy of suspension and repudiation. The whole subject returns again to the people. So long as they shall adhere to that policy, we shall acquiesce as is the duty of good citizens. But if other and different sentiments obtain just ascendency, as we sincerely hope, the whig party will then be willing and ready to ascertain and strike the balance on the books as they shall be delivered, to fulfil every engagement legally binding on the state, to husband the public resources, and to devote themselves to such enterprises, and such alone, as shall deserve and receive the approbation of the people, and can be completed without taxation and consistently with the due extinguishment of the public debt. A whig administration will come to those great duties, uncomplaining and unprejudiced, unembarrassed by responsibilities alike for errors committed in projecting, and for those which induced the abandonment of the public works.

Changes in the organic law of the state ought not to be rashly made; yet it is confessed that some amendments of the constitution have become necessary. In a growing country and a progressive state of society, such an exigency must often happen. We have seen nothing, however, in the mismanagement of financial affairs confessed by our opponents, satisfying us that the legislative power ought to be abridged to the extent provided for in certain amendments of the constitution, which have been adopted. The inconvenience and impracticability of the proposition to submit to the people, in the first instance, any contemplated appropriation of money, will doubtless be apprehended by every impartial citizen. Besides, we know of no public sentiment which has called for it, or any real abuse in the past history of the state, which justifies it. Evils and embarrassments of the most serious nature must flow from the legislation indicated by such an amendment. Had our constitution contained such a provision, as is now insisted upon, even the Erie and Champlain canals, the chief sources of revenue and public wealth, would never have been constructed. We have, however, no such distrust of the people as to desire to prevent them from amending the constitution, in that respect, as they may deem expedient.

There are other suggested amendments of great importance. The judiciary is confessedly incompetent to a perfect and speedy

administration of justice and equity, and a portion of us have consented to several propositions to increase the judicial power of the state rather than hazard all hope of change while others preferred to wait a more complete and perfect re-organization of the judiciary by the people in convention. Representation in the assembly has become unequal, and additional responsibility might be secured by subdividing the state into separate assembly districts of equal population. The spirit of the age condemns the narrow policy which, by a property qualification, disfranchises a small portion of the people. Central power might be profitably abridged, and the power of the people to choose many public officers, now otherwise selected, might be safely and wisely extended. We have generally favored these important reforms. Our votes in regard to the manner of securing amendments, have varied according to our respective opinions of the urgency of the people, and of the probability of securing the end in the manner prescribed in the constitution. We regret that after discussions which have occupied so great a portion of the session, the results should have been so comparatively unimportant and unavailing. But the questions agitated will now engage your direct attention, and the next legislature will come to the reconsideration of them with great advantages, while the delay is unimportant compared with the greater consequence of securing only sound amendments to the great charter under which we have lived, in tranquillity and general happiness, more than twenty years.

In order to reduce the burdens unnecessarily thrown upon the canal revenues, to bring the public works periodically within the reach of the people, and to secure the most competent and faithful agents, the reduction of the number of canal commissioners, and their election by the people, was proposed at an early day in the session. The proposition met with so little favor at the hands of the majority, and was so strenuously resisted by many of them, that for a long time little hope existed of its adoption. At the close of the session, however, the responsibility of rejecting so just and salutary a measure suddenly appeared to many of the majority, they came in large numbers to our aid, and we have now to congratulate you upon the passage of a law reducing the number of these functionaries to *four*, and clothing you with the power of selecting them. We hail this measure as bearing a most important relation to the interests of our public works. It

is with the people now to see to it that practical, honest, and competent commissioners are chosen, who will banish the abuses which exist, introduce a sound and economical system of finance, and above all, dispel the gross and exaggerated statements which for years have been industriously contrived and propagated, in regard to the cost and revenues of the canals. A committee in the assembly amused the legislature with a report, magnificently proposing to reduce the emoluments of all public officers twenty per cent., and then the majority thrust it aside, as if benefits so serious were to be proposed to the people in mere mockery. The inspection laws, too often designed and always mainly used to reward politicians for partisan services by exactions on agriculture, trade, and commerce, remain without material modification, except that a new officer has been created in the city of New York, with the formidable title of "inspector-general," whose sole powers consist in distributing the spoils among the subalterns, who may not have character enough to discharge that important duty themselves. There have been speculations about encouragement to agriculture, and improvements of the system of public education, but no beneficent measure has been adopted.

Such, fellow-citizens, is the result of the second year's ascendency of the restored party in the state government. We deeply regret that it must be so unsatisfactory. When we reflect what the legislature of New York has done under the auspices of illustrious statesmen, and survey the monuments of her greatness and intelligence that are seen everywhere throughout her borders, and when we reflect upon the resources and capacity of the state, and the wisdom and virtue of the people, it seems a great misfortune that even two years should be spent without adding something to civic achievements, so beneficent and glorious.

Subjects of more general interest have necessarily, though incidentally, engaged our consideration.

The perfidy of the successor of the lamented Harrison deprived the American people of all the great measures which would otherwise have resulted from the triumph of the whig party in 1840, except the tariff; and the leaders of the opposition in Congress signalized their return to power, by a vigorous effort to repeal the tariff-law ere it should have time to disclose fully its beneficent effects. In this emergency, we earnestly implored

the legislature of New York to make known to Congress your perfect and unanimous contentment with the tariff, your deep apprehension and solicitude for its preservation, at least until its fruits were matured, and your fixed and unalterable determination that it should not be disturbed. But our appeal was unsuccessful, and New York, by the silence of the legislature, and by the vote of one of her senators representing the dominant party in Congress, is arrayed with South Carolina in opposition to the policy of protection of free American industry.

Nothing has been done or even said, by the executive or by the legislature, to induce the states of Virginia and Georgia to rescind their unconstitutional laws, by which New York vessels are subjected to visitations and pitiful exactions, as a retaliation for the laws of this state extending the trial by jury to persons claimed as slaves, and for the firmness with which the late chief-magistrate maintained that the constitution of the United States did not justify a surrender of fugitives as criminals, charged with no crime known to the common law, the laws of God, and the common sentiments of civilized men.

The session of Congress seemed to open propitiously to the advancing cause of human liberty. The stern and inflexible Adams seemed at one time about to obtain a recognition of the right of states and citizens to petition the national legislature on the subject of human slavery. We appealed to our brethren in the legislature, to join us in protesting against the flagrant violation of the constitution, by which that inviolable and inalienable right had so long been denied. We urged your unanimous and well-known sentiments and sympathies on that deeply interesting subject. The party bonds were found relaxed, and the majority generally and nobly sustained our appeal. But with the night that followed, came considerations of personal objects and political advantages, and the next morning the action of the previous day was rescinded, and New York was made to speak in language so evasive as to cover her free citizens with humiliation and shame. A subsequent attempt to secure the voice of New York in favor of the tariff and the right of petition, made after opportunity had been had for reflection, and when strong indications had been given at Washington, by the dominant party, that it had lost the degree of moral courage necessary to sustain it in its opposition to these measures, met with a similar fate. On

this last occasion, after an unsuccessful attempt to pass affirmation propositions in favor of free trade and in justification of the denial of the right of petition, under the operation of the odious gag-rule, whereby debate and amendment are cut off, we find the majority sending their own propositions to a committee, not daring to trust even themselves with a direct vote upon them. We would not be discourteous toward our adversaries, yet truth and justice bid us say that such legislation is unworthy of American freemen.

The acting president of the United States was understood to have nearly completed a treaty with Texas for the admission of that country to the American confederacy, upon a false and fraudulent pretence that England was seeking the same object, at the hazard of war with Mexico, without the knowledge or consent of the American people, and in opposition to their well-known wishes, and upon considerations derogatory to the national honor and to humanity. That treaty, the grounds upon which it was made, and the manner in which it was negotiated, are now before the people, and the disclosure has had no other effect than to draw down upon the president the merited scorn of virtuous men of all parties, as it unhappily will expose our country to reproach throughout Christendom. Yet you will hardly credit us, when we assure you that so cogent was the fear of giving offence to political allies, that our best efforts to induce the majority of the legislature to protest against the treaty proved unsuccessful.

It was apparent, when we assembled at the capitol, that the whigs of the state of New York, without dissent, harmonized with their political brethren in preferring Henry Clay, of Kentucky, for the high trust of president of the United States. Our own judgments and our hearts approved this preference, as one which promised to heal the wounds inflicted upon the public welfare and honor during the administration of Van Buren, and of the unfaithful individual whom the friends of that statesman had seduced from the glorious pathway opened to him by the death of President Harrison. Not only the public welfare, but the honor of the country and the cause of republican government, seemed to us now to require an administration worthy to be named and associated in history with those of Washington, of Jefferson, and of the younger Adams. Henry Clay, more-

over, had long suffered relentless persecution for his integrity, his magnanimity, and his self-denying patriotism. The time had come, as in every enlightened republic it always will come, when the public conscience was awakened to this deep injustice. We therefore, in your name, hastened to give an early sanction to the spontaneous nomination of that distinguished citizen, that the people of the United States might be assured that the whigs of New York yielded as readily to generous impulses, as they faithfully adhered to the principles and policy of the whig party. Following, also, very marked and general indications of popular favor toward a distinguished citizen of our own state, who had illustrated a successful career in Congress by his effective advocacy of the tariff and other important measures, we assumed, in the name of the whigs of New York, to recommend Millard Fillmore to the whigs of the United States, as a suitable person to be nominated for the office of vice-president. Although strongly indicating this preference, yet we failed not in advance to pledge the whigs of New York to any name which the national convention might recommend.

We beg leave solemnly to speak to our whig brethren of the rightfulness and expediency of confiding in the whigs of the United States, for the accomplishment of all important objects affecting the public welfare. All isolated, all intemperate action, all secessions from the whig party to secure new or remote ends, always eventually fail. The whig party promotes public wealth and happiness by protecting personal industry, and by developing those resources with which God has blessed the American states. It works out reforms, but adheres to existing institutions, and submits to existing laws, until they can be peacefully and constitutionally changed. It is devoted to progress, but it does not destroy. It seeks to establish perfect equality of political rights; but it levels upward, not downward, by education and benignant legislation, not by subverting established laws or institutions. It is the party of law, of order, of enterprise, of improvement, of beneficence, of hope and humanity. Through the action of this great and generous party, every attainable national good may be ultimately secured, and through its action we can best promote the more comprehensive interests of freedom and humanity throughout the world.

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

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POLITICAL.

TO ADONIJAH MOODY, ESQ.

ALBANY, *November* 7, 1839.

MY DEAR SIR: Your very kind letter inviting me to meet the whigs of this city at your house this evening, has been received. I return you and them, my grateful acknowledgments for the invitation. Since my election to the office I have the honor to hold, I have been invited on several occasions, to meet assemblies of my fellow-citizens, with whose political opinions my own coincided, and on others to accept hospitalities tendered to me by those who were disposed to judge favorably of my public conduct. I have, in all instances, declined such invitations, for reasons which I will state with frankness. I have always believed that, the chief-magistrate of the state ought to exercise his trust for the welfare and happiness of the whole people, and that he could not, without giving to a portion of his constituents cause of just offence, mingle in the partisan controversies of the times. I think those by whose suffrages I occupy that high trust, would not willingly see me depart from the rule I have pursued. Entertaining these opinions, I am obliged to ask the gentlemen who are to assemble at your house, to excuse me from accepting their invitation.

I pray you to present to them the assurance of my high respect for them personally, as well as for their patriotic devotion to the true interests of the country.

With sincere respect and esteem, I remain your friend and obedient servant.

TO H. C. W. ESQ., NEW YORK.

ALBANY, *March*, 25, 1840.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 19th was duly received, and I return you my grateful acknowledgments for the frankness with which your views are therein expressed. I regret to find a difference of opinion among excellent friends, on the subjects discussed in your communication. I can not, however, in justice to myself, suffer any suitable occasion to pass without correcting an error concerning myself, into which many others, as well as yourself, have fallen. You remark that, "even to a partial observer, it can not be disguised, that we, as a party, have been practising efforts to secure the votes of the Irish," and your subsequent explanations show that, I am supposed to be concerned in these "practices." Now, my dear sir, I am not at all sensitive about misconstruction of my principles and conduct when it is made in the press, or even in the conversation of my own friends. To be misrepresented by one's opponents, and to be misunderstood by one's friends, is inevitable by those in public service. But it is quite another affair when one is obliged to answer, or be understood as tacitly admitting the truth of the injurious misconstruction. I "practise" nothing, and furthest from my thoughts or designs is it to "practise" in the matter in question. The sentiments I have expressed in relation to foreigners may be erroneous, they are not insincere. And for proof, you have my assurance that, although I have been for several years in political life, no different sentiments have ever been expressed by me, but, on the contrary, on all occasions, both here and in letters from Ireland, when at least I could have had no ambitious purposes, or political schemes, I published the same and kindred opinions. And you have, for further proof, my assurance, that now, on review of every word I have written

or spoken, there is not one, which, under the influence of a sense of official responsibility, I would consent to obliterate.

After what I have said, you will naturally expect that I shall differ from you, in regard to the opinions you give concerning this class of adopted citizens. I do not agree, "that the lower order of Irish are incapable of being persuaded by reason." I do not think that "they have been placed by the Divine Omnipotent in the lowest scale of creation." I offer neither that Divine Being the indignity, nor this abused people the injustice of believing that their minds are "less susceptible" than those of other men, or that he "has instilled into them narrow, selfish, besotted feelings of bigotry, which no course of instruction could even sway." I do not think them "ungrateful." I do not think them impatient of moral restraint, immovable by patriotic considerations. I do not think them "deaf to persuasion," and requiring to be "ruled by a rod of iron," nor do I think them "exacting and discontented under kind and gentle treatment."

Quite the contrary of all this, I think all men, of all nations, and kindred, alike endowed with reasoning powers, which enable them to defend themselves against danger and injustice, to seek their own happiness, and to improve their condition. I think that the Irish population to whom you allude, are useful, well-meaning, and as a mass, inoffensive, and religiously-disposed citizens. I think them more generous, liberal, and disinterested, than most other classes of the community, reposing more than others upon the consolation of their religion, and less disposed to force its tenets upon others. I think them eminently and proverbially grateful, confiding, and devoted. I believe the institutions of their adopted country are as dear to them as to us, who are native citizens. I believe all mankind are made by the Creator of men to be restless under oppression, and to submit kindly to necessary government, only when the powers of government are conferred by themselves, and even then, only when those powers are exercised beneficently. I believe the history of the Irish people shows, that their loyalty has continued faithful under greater exaction, oppression, and privation, than would have wrought any other people up to frenzy. I believe them less exacting of this government than any other portion of our population.

If this confession of faith seem strange to you, you will permit

me to explain, that I could not believe otherwise, without doing dishonor to a mother, eminent for many virtues, and to the memories of humble ancestors, whose names will not be saved from obscurity by the record of any extraordinary vices.

I need not add that, I have no sympathy with that feeling, if it exists toward this people, which you seem to think not sufficiently forcibly expressed by the word "hatred," and I am far from allowing it to be an American feeling. Why should an American hate foreigners? It is to hate such as his forefathers were. Why should a foreigner be taught to hate Americans? It is to hate what he is most anxious his children shall become. For myself, so far from hating any of my fellow-citizens, I should shrink from myself, if I did not recognise them all as worthy of my constant solicitude to promote their welfare, and entitled of right, by the constitution and laws, and by the higher laws of God himself, to equal rights, equal privileges, and equal political favor, as citizens of the state, with myself.

I forbear from defending my action on the particular occasions mentioned in your letter. It is before the world, and is freely left to the discussion of all my fellow-citizens, whatever their various political opinions may be. But I can not refuse to take the position to which my political principles lead. I should scorn to be indebted for any favor, or support, to any belief that I was insincere, or that I could change that course of action. You will, therefore, permit me to observe, that I have never solicited the political favor of any party, or any man. My course in regard to public affairs, is always intended to be marked out by convictions of duty, and influenced by motives of patriotism. If any man, whether whig or otherwise, will withhold his favor from me, because I opened the prison-doors to the ministers of the Catholic religion, because I believe that the state owes it to herself, and to a just regard to the stability of her institutions, and to the happiness of her people, to afford to all the destitute children in the commonwealth advantages of moral and religious education, and that education, if it can not be otherwise conferred, may rightly be conferred by the employment, for the purpose, of persons professing the same language and religious creed with these children of poverty and misfortune, or because I admit adopted citizens to a full participation in the government by which they are taxed, whose wealth is increased by their labor, and whose

liberty they are always ready to defend, then let that favor be withheld. Such was not the whigism we derived from our forefathers of the Revolutionary age, nor is such the whigism that I shall teach to my children.

Again assuring you of my respectful esteem, and thanking you for the pains you have taken, in giving me an exposition of the feeling which you have heard expressed, as well as your own opinions. I remain, sincerely, your friend and obedient servant.

TO GENERAL WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

ALBANY, *March* 31, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR: I have had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 16th, and I respectfully return you my thanks for the interesting information it contains. We had previously received the newspaper accounts of the demonstration of the citizens of Cincinnati at North Bend.

Nothing doubting the indications of popular feeling in the west, we feel altogether assured here that like impulses will effect similar changes in your behalf. Many of our citizens are quite impatient for similar manifestations of popular enthusiasm. But the time has not come yet. The whigs are in a majority in the legislative and executive departments. Both have to provide for great interests, and consult various and extended desires for internal improvement. While the legislature remains in session, the people will be chiefly interested in questions of local interest. But when that time shall have gone by, you will have the pleasure of seeing demonstrations of feeling as ardent and generous as those in Ohio. I discover that Mr. Van Buren's friends in other states seek to make an impression abroad, by producing a belief that Mr. Van Buren will call forth a feeling of state pride. I can assure you, my dear sir, if I know anything of the people of this state, that Mr. Van Buren is not, never was, and never can be, the object of any such public sentiment. Moreover, we are prostrated in all our business interests; and in lieu of the pride we might once have felt, in regard to having the presidential power and influence in the hands of a citizen of New York, we hear

deep and universal censure against that citizen, as having been chiefly instrumental in producing the calamities of the times.

You will see accounts in our papers of the establishment of Tippecanoe clubs, the erection of log-cabins, &c. These, I can assure you, result from the spontaneous impulses of the people, without the suggestion of any central committee; for, as yet, our central committees are inactive.

We shall have a cheap weekly paper (published six months for fifty cents), entitled "The Log-Cabin Advocate." It will appear in May, and have a universal circulation. Our course in this state is not altogether a smooth one, but I entertain no doubt that you will receive in the final result a majority of twenty thousand.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant.

TO THE CITIZENS OF ALBANY.

ALBANY, *November* 4, 1840.

GENTLEMEN: I receive with sensibility and gratitude the resolutions of my fellow-citizens of Albany. It is a sublime spectacle to see a nation of twenty millions of free people intelligently and intently engaged in reviewing the policy and conduct of those who administer their government, and rendering that solemn judgment in which all are bound to acquiesce. On such an occasion it must be expected (and it is right) that the severest scrutiny of public men should be exercised, and the broadest latitude of examination will be demanded. I rejoice in the assurances from all quarters of the Union that the distinguished citizen of Ohio who is our candidate for the presidency is passing safely through the canvass, and that a grateful people have vindicated his well-earned fame. The nation will, I trust, enjoy a season of repose and prosperity under his benign administration of the government, and the state will henceforth pursue the policy and maintain principles which have raised her to a proud pre-eminence in the Union, without encountering opposition at every step from the administration at Washington.

For myself, I have not desired to avoid scrutiny, or circum-

scribe examination. The illustrious Jefferson entered into the presidency with transcendent talents, extraordinary acquirements, and rare knowledge of men, together with the experience of mature years and long public service, and with the most liberal and enlarged sentiments concerning the national rights, and the intelligence, and virtue, of the people. Nevertheless, he declared his conviction that it would rarely fall to the lot of imperfect man to retire from such a station with the reputation and favor that brought him into it. If so vain an expectation had been indulged on my part, in assuming the executive chair of this state, it would have vanished when I reflected, not only that I was without pretensions to the experience, the public service, or the well-earned fame, by which the distinguished statesmen who preceded me had secured the public confidence, but also that my measures and conduct were to be tried in comparison with those of citizens to whose administration the people had been long accustomed as a circumstance not likely to be changed; and I could not fail to foresee that, whatever might be my merits or my faults, they were necessarily to be involved in the more exciting and absorbing discussion of national politics, and that the public judgment concerning them would justly be affected by the political relations I maintained toward the federal government. It was well known that the public works could not be abandoned, and that the present administration was required, by a due consideration of the permament interests of the state, and an equal regard to the welfare and happiness of all its citizens, to prosecute the system of internal improvements to which we were indebted for pre-eminence in the Union. Yet it was equally obvious that the performance of that great duty was to be embarrassed by the errors in the estimates and plans of our predecessors; by financial difficulties pervading the whole country, and resulting from causes beyond the province of state legislation; and by systematic efforts to destroy public credit at home and abroad, and to excite local jealousies in each region of the state against internal improvements immediately beneficial to others, and thus effect a disappointment of the reasonable hopes and a withdrawal of the confidence of all. It soon appeared that the power of appointment was to be exercised, at a crisis rendered peculiarly difficult, by the excited expectations of candidates; and to be embarrassed and resisted by the acts of incumbents unwilling to yield their

places at the expiration of their terms of office, and sustained by a senate that acknowledged no submission to the public will; and that at every step in the exercise of constitutional and legal functions, indispensable to the supremacy of the laws and the administration of justice, the executive must use extraordinary energy, and vindicate himself in courts of justice and before the people against charges of usurpation. It happened also that the currency of the state was to be maintained during a crisis of suspension of specie payments throughout a large portion of the Union. The introduction of a more humane and enlightened system of discipline in the stateprisons was not accomplished without a direct appeal to the people. The land has rung with complaints of frauds and perjuries at elections, and yet the necessary efforts to preserve the purity of the elective franchise have been met with an uncompromising and unscrupulous resistance. The correction of oppressive abuses in the proceedings of courts of justice necessarily affected the interests of many citizens, either in no degree or only partially responsible for the existence of those evils, and for a time brought upon me much censure. Although the principle of universal suffrage is happily established in our system too firmly to be overthrown, and although it necessarily involves the further principle of universal education, yet the desire to bring within the nurture of our schools all the children in the state, who are hereafter to discharge the responsibilities of citizenship, and especially those who by poverty, orphanage, neglect of parents, or accident of language or religion, are now left to grow up in idleness and vice, without moral instruction, unless they enter the house of refuge through the ways of crime, has been the theme of much misrepresentation. The constitutional right of our citizens to freedom from illegal arrest has been maintained at the expense of a misunderstanding with one of our sister-states. A more careful and restricted exercise of executive clemency than had before obtained in the government has been made the occasion for exciting, on the one hand, sympathies with wicked and hopeless offenders to whom pardon was denied, and, on the other, misrepresentations of the motives and action of the executive in cases commended to his consideration by justice, mercy, and sound policy.

I am well aware that, amid these and other difficulties, I have often erred. I have erred often from defect of judgment, but I

have erred often also by reason of wrong information, for truth is not always swift to enter the executive chamber. When the excitement and the interests of the present shall have passed away, it may perhaps be allowed that I have "sometimes been thought wrong by those who received their impressions through misrepresentations, or whose positions did not command a view of the whole ground." Nevertheless, I have been sustained by the reflection that I have had no interest, and have been conscious of no motive, calculated to sway me from the equal and exact justice, the elevated purposes, and the pure patriotism, which my station required. I have remembered also that the people were neither hasty in forming their judgment, nor easily deceived; that while they carefully weighed claims to their confidence, they were also slow to withdraw that confidence from tried public servants; and that while difficulties and perplexities were unavoidable in all public employments, and success was always uncertain, yet the magistrate who exercised the power confided to him by his fellow-citizens prudently, firmly, benignly, and with a view only to the public good, would be sure to enjoy the approbation of his own conscience, the highest of earthly rewards. Besides these reflections, I have been cheered by the hope that, when the annalist of our state should write the history of its roads and canals, its schools, and its charities, and its benign legislation, it might at least be allowed to me that I had endeavored to act in harmony with the spirit of the age and the principles of democratic liberty. Thus cheered and sustained, I have not been impatient under the misapprehensions of friends, or the misrepresentations of those whose approbation it has not been my good fortune to secure, and have left my vindication to time and the candor of my fellow-citizens.

Gentlemen, I beg you to return to the citizens of Albany my acknowledgments for the generous welcome I have received upon my return among them. My public life is a record of their kindness and confidence; my residence among them has been rendered cheerful and happy by their abounding hospitality. I beg you to assure them that, whether our present relations shall continue or shall cease, I shall remember for ever my unbounded obligations to them, and offer always my aspirations to Heaven for their prosperity and happiness.

I am, very respectfully, your friend and fellow-citizen.

TO B. S., ESQ., NEW YORK.

ALBANY, *November* 12, 1840.

MY DEAR S——: I thank you for your very kind letter of the 9th, although I regret much the vexed spirit which it manifests, as well as the erroneous views it presents of the causes of losses at the late election, and of the policy that ought to be pursued in future.

That there have been losses in many counties heretofore with us, and gains to our opponents in other counties, always adverse to us, is true; that the Irishmen throughout all those counties, voted against us generally, and far more generally than heretofore, is also, I doubt not, true. But that they alone, or chiefly, effected our loss, is, with most respectful deference, a wide mistake. There is scarcely a foreigner in Delaware, Otsego, Putnam, Chemung, or Tioga. Yet those counties all gave increased majorities against us. In every county, and in every town, our opponents brought out all the strength they had ever cast, and all they had in reserve. This is the explanation of their increased majorities. It was natural, it was unavoidable. The contest was such as to render it so. Our strength was all out, and necessarily called out that of our adversary. Irishmen and other adopted citizens belonging to that party voted for their candidates. So did Americans. I doubt not all alike honestly voted—as honestly as the whigs. And certainly they not only had equal right to vote so, but were conscientiously bound to vote according to their convictions of right. But you will say that a portion of the naturalized citizens, who had heretofore belonged to the whig party, now voted for our opponents. Granted—and for what reason did they so vote? Because in an election excited beyond any ever known, they were induced to believe that the illiberality so often, and I am obliged to say so generally, expressed by the

whigs, was a principle of the whig party, and that in Mr. Van Buren's defeat they should lose a protector, in General Harrison's election, they would find a persecutor, an oppressor. Remember what taunts, injuries, insults, they have suffered, and reflect whether they must not necessarily be jealous and suspicious. Remember the arts of our adversary and the advantage he had in possessing their confidence, and consider whether it was not natural, they should believe. Remember the perverseness of our friends on that subject. Even in your letter now before me, you quote an observation of General Harrison. "The people" (not as you have quoted it 'Americans') "must do their own voting as well as fighting," as expressing his determination to deprive adopted citizens of their civil rights. What was opposed to the practices of the adversary? My individual opinions and feelings known to be disapproved by a considerable portion of the party, and represented to the adopted citizens as being disapproved by all. Had we derived our existence from the Green Island, would not all of us, if indulging the same erroneous belief, have done as they have? For one, I certainly should. But Irishmen abandoned the whig party, because they were alarmed for their rights. And have not many whigs abandoned it for a less worthy motive. But they are accused of treachery to *me*. It is untrue and unjust. The adopted citizens in mass have long been opposed to the party to which I belong. They owed *me* no fidelity. True, I am, or mean to be, just to them. But I am the representative of a party that is unwilling to be so. They voted against me as such representative, deceived and misled as they were by Americans in both parties, representing me insincere and deceitful. I do not censure *them*. I complain of nobody. I censure nobody. It does not become me to do so. But if I were to say with whom lies the fault of Irishmen voting in mass against the candidates of the whig party, I should say that the fault was with my countrymen.

Your suspicion of Bishop Hughes is as unworthy of you as it is unjust. The clergy of the Catholic church, I am satisfied, are as free as those of any other denomination from interfering with politics, while they have the same right to entertain and publish their opinions. But in this election the people have voted as they thought right, independently of the dictation or advice of the clergy of any denomination.

I have not time to pursue this subject as I wish. But I desire to be distinctly understood, that while I dictate to no one, and shall cheerfully yield my place to others whose principles may suit the whig party better, I disavow, and altogether reject the counsel of proscription of immigrants. This right hand drops off before I do one act with the whig or any other party in opposition to any portion of my fellow-citizens, on the ground of the difference of their nativity or of their religion. No pretence of policy, no sense of injury, shall induce me to join, aid, or abet, such miserable efforts. This determination may not satisfy those who are weak enough to believe that opponents, always arrayed against us, and most opposed when the constitution and liberties of the country were in danger, will quit their party and join us, because foreigners have stood true and faithful at their side. It may not change the course of those who think that intolerance and proscription for opinion and faith can flourish in this land of free thoughts and free opinions, but it will relieve me from the self-reproach of seeing the fairest political prospects of our party destroyed without my protest, and it will convince the world that the name of demagogue belongs not to your faithful friend.

TO B. S., ESQ., NEW YORK.

ALBANY, *November* 15, 1840.

MY DEAR S—: I received this morning your letter of yesterday. Of course, in this busy season, I can not reply to it as it requires, to elucidate my views, where they differ from your own.

Read, however, the letter which opened this correspondence, and see if I was not excusable for giving to your quotation from General Harrison the effect ascribed. Am I unjust in saying that the whig party is unwilling to be just to foreigners? You know that I have been *no more* than just to them. Am I not struck by cowardly hands for that justice? But waive that proof, for I am too much indebted to the whole party, to complain of the injuries of a few. From one end of the state to the other, the complaint rings that Bishop Hughes and his clergy have excited the Catholics against us. *I know* this to be untrue, totally untrue. Who corrects the error? Who disavows the unjust charge? On the contrary, do we not hear of the organization of a party against Catholics, and this false charge made the justification of it. Is not "proscription of immigrants" openly avowed as the policy of the whig party? Does not your letter avow it? Read it once more, and see if those denounced are not described as "foreigners," "aliens," and "Jesuits," and answer me candidly, if I was not excusable for supposing that the difference of their nativity and religion from our own, was a ground of the organization against them.

But a truce to this. I may be wrong, and I certainly do not expect in this way, to satisfy the world that I am right. The love I bear you makes me desire to remonstrate with you, against the error you seem inclined to adopt. It is for me of little moment, but I love the whig party. I owe it much, and I wish to

see its power perpetuated, and its usefulness complete. There remains nothing more for me to wish, but the vindication of time and history. Of that I am sure, or if I am not, I do so love equality and philanthropy, that I do not wish to be disturbed in my confidence in mankind.

I send your letter, chiefly because I wish you to read it, in order to see that your reply to my answer, is in some respects more liberal, than the paper which called me out; and, secondly, that you may feel assured that no improper use will be made of it. Bishop Hughes is my friend. I honor, respect, and confide in him. When I read the charges you preferred against him, I felt as I should, if he, or any other friend, had written to me unjustly concerning you. I should in such a case have desired to give you an opportunity to vindicate yourself. I had no other motive except my desire to let the world know how wrongly they judge the day after an election which does not go to their mind.

And here we will drop the whole matter, at least I will, for I do not desire to inhibit you. I like so well to hear from you, that I would rather read your wayward reflections upon Jesuitism than endure your silence. God bless you, whether you are whig or native American.

TO HONORABLE LUTHER BRADISH.

ALBANY, *September* 8, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR: As was anticipated, the intelligence from Syracuse is that you have been nominated for the responsible and honorable trust of governor of this state. I beg leave to tender you my congratulations, on an event which so signally proves the approbation of the whig party of your long and useful service in maintaining its principles and policy — principles and policy tending so eminently to the welfare and honor of the state, and to the restoration of the prosperity of the whole country. Having nearly arrived at the end of official responsibilities, the wish nearest my heart is that those principles and policy may be restored to their complete ascendency in the state. I respect-

fully tender to you, therefore, my earnest wishes for your success in the canvass, and my best exertions, so far as they may be proper, to promote that end.

With respect and esteem, increased by long association in public affairs, I am, dear sir, faithfully, your friend and obedient servant.

TO HONORABLE JOHN C. CLARK.

AUBURN, *November* 4, 1843.

DEAR SIR: I have considered the information you gave me, of a mistaken solicitude concerning my supposed bias in favor of the abolition candidates, and in opposition to Mr. Clay. I should certainly leave those apprehensions to the correction of time, as I have done in many similar cases, if it were not that an election is at hand, whose results might hereafter be supposed to have had some influence on my political conduct.

You are therefore at liberty to publish, in any way you think proper, that while I adhere, and expect to adhere as long as I live, to my published principles and sentiments concerning slavery, I still adhere just as firmly, and expect to adhere just as long, to the whig party and its candidates, through all changes of time and circumstances. I shall do this for the simple reason that I regard the whig party, as the party through whose action wise measures and beneficent legislation must chiefly be secured. The two state central committees at Albany, in August last, issued a circular, recommending the appointment of delegates by district conventions during the present autumn; and recommended, further, that the delegates so to be appointed should be instructed to vote for Henry Clay as the candidate of the whig party, already spontaneously nominated and universally acknowledged throughout the state. Those recommendations have been adopted in every electoral district. I venture to state, without asking previous leave of the committees, that those recommendations were made by the central committee on my suggestion and in my own language.

Your friend and obedient servant.

TO GEORGE R. BABCOCK, ESQUIRE.

ALBANY, *January* 30, 1844.

DEAR SIR: The letter of the central corresponding committee of the whigs of Erie county, inviting me to visit Buffalo, has just been received.

If we admit that the former policy of the state of New York, commenced under the auspices of De Witt Clinton and prosecuted by his successors, exceeded the civic achievements of any other state, we must now confess that we have recently been called to witness mortifying caprices of faction. The partisans now in power heretofore commenced and patronized public works, worthy of a free and enlightend state. Unfortunately they adhered to a favorite national chief, who brought the country to the verge of ruin. Expelled from the public councils for this great error, they retaliated upon the people, and in their anger made war, not only upon the public credit, but even upon their own enterprises, which had fallen to the care of the whig administration.

Who that sees the innumerable army of contractors here, besieging the canal board and legislature for damages for violated contracts, would believe that, with unimportant exceptions, every one of these contracts was made by the very statesmen who now disavow and disown them? Who that surveys the ruins of the enlargement of the Erie canal, stretching through the northern part of the state, and of the New York and Erie railroad scattered through all the southern counties, can believe that the same statesmen who now denounce those works are the same persons who called the latter enterprise into existence by a loan of three millions, and who promised in 1838 that the former should be brought into complete operation in the spring of 1845. Who that sees the people paying a tax of six hundred thousand dollars annually, while the public works remain hopelessly sus-

pended, can believe that the partisans who adopted this policy are the same who promised in 1835, 1836, 1837, and 1838, that all the public works could be completed from the canal revenue without any taxation whatever.

Yet all this is true; and, what is more extraordinary still, these statesmen have periled political fortune and fame, on an experiment upon public credulity, so absurd as the attempt to perpetuate a false belief that these public works and all their financial responsibilities began with, and belonged to, an intervening administration that added no new enterprise, and only executed the contracts which it found in existence. Did ever political humiliation exceed this?

How sure, safe, and honorable, is the position of the whig party, in regard to the great subject of improvement? Disavowing nothing that they ever undertook, and cheerfully sustaining through all adverse circumstances the faith and honor of the state pledged by their opponents, without reproaching those opponents for even unpardonable errors, the whig party wait while this brief season of commercial distrust is passing away, and then a generous and just public will call upon them to execute designs which their opponents had the privilege to commence, and the imbecility to abandon and repudiate in the very hour of their completion.

Equal fatuity is exhibited by our opponents in regard to national interests. Not content with prostrating government credit, and driving states to insolvency and repudiation, by snatching from them the proceeds of the public domain, they wait only the re-election of their unfortunate chief to give us again the bitter fruits of the sub-treasury for our present reviving hopes, and, in exchange for our excellent tariff, a false free-trade system, which would only leave us free to be inundated with foreign fabrics, and free to be exhausted of our productions without adequate reward.

But there are indications that the time for the restoration of whig men and measures is at hand, and the best of these indications is the solicitude and despondency of our opponents. They plainly show that they are conscious of having gone too far, and manifest a reluctant and halting conversion to our measures. Thus, here, they have at last discovered that it is not a crime to assert that one human being can not be the property of another.

They have even advanced somewhat toward the resumption of the public works. The question is gravely debated among them, but with all commendable caution, whether, notwithstanding the absolute and perpetual obligation of the tax and stop-law of 1842, a decaying canal-bridge may not be preserved, provided the work be done under the head of *repairs*.

So, in Washington, we are quite supplanted by our opponents on our old whig ground of the right of petition, and one year's grace is extended to the tariff-law, whose details they disapprove, and whose principles they absolutely condemn.

Be pleased to assure your associates that my heart, my whole heart, is with them in their noble efforts, and whatever I can do to promote their success shall be done with as much zeal and energy as I have ever possessed.

With sincere respect and esteem, your obedient servant.

TO THE WHIGS OF ORLEANS.

AUBURN, *May* 13, 1844.

GENTLEMEN: I have engagements in the courts, which oblige me to decline your kind invitation, to address the whigs of Orleans county, on the 3d of July.

We are told that it was said of the gallant duke of Guise, by his cotemporaries, that he was the greatest usurer in France, for he had turned all his estates into obligations. I feel that this is true of myself. I am under obligations to the whigs of every region of the state, and now when they are calling upon me from many counties, to second renewed efforts in their good cause, my professional duties scarcely leave me time to make becoming acknowledgment. I wish, indeed, that my poor abilities were not overvalued. I wish the whigs of Orleans county knew as well as I do, how much better justice their own senator, Gideon Hard, could do their principles and their cause than I could.

I am glad to hear of these mass-meetings, whig mass-meetings, mass-meetings of all parties; they are the right agencies. He was a wise man who said, "If you will have a tree bear more fruit than it hath been used to do, it is not anything you can do

to the boughs, but it is the stirring of the earth, and putting new mould about the roots, that must work it." Our Revolutionary sires sung of the "Tree of Liberty" they planted and watered with blood, and we who rest under its branches, justly boast of its fruits, and rejoice in its protection.

Yet the exile, though invited from other lands, too often finds himself an unwelcome intruder beneath its shade. Masses of our countrymen too hastily seize and satisfy themselves with its unripened fruits, while, to a whole race, it yields nutriment as bitter as apples of Sodom. Let us stir the earth then, and apply to the roots of our noble tree, the fresh mould of knowledge and religion, so shall it produce for all alike and abundantly, the sweet fruits of peace, security, and virtue.

Gentlemen, let the whigs of the eighth district look to this; they are not mere partisan politicians of the day, or of the season, politicians from interest, or from expediency. When I had the honor to be elected chief-magistrate of this state, I received in the eighth district a majority equal to my entire majority in the state. During the short interval of seven weeks between my election and my inauguration, I received more than a thousand applications for office. Of those applications two only came from beyond the Cayuga Bridge. To that region I look continually, confidingly, and always, for the spirit which shall not merely restore prosperity where it has been lost, but which shall constantly renovate and regenerate society.

Look at our neglected and decaying public works. Who shall renew and complete them but the whigs? Look at the tariff-law, which constitutes our system of protection, passed in the senate of the United States on compulsion, by a casting vote perfidiously pledged to its speediest possible repeal. Who has saved it but the whigs? Look at the stain of repudiation on our national honor. Who shall efface it but the whigs? Look at the intolerance, turbulence, conflagrations, and shedding of blood, in the streets of an eastern city, and say how shall such crimes be averted but by establishing the truth, that all men are equal before the constitution and the laws. And who shall do this but the whigs, who always maintained the supremacy of the laws?

Look at the threatened extension of our territory, for the mere purpose of extending the domain of slavery, and adding new bulwarks to support that accursed institution. Who shall post-

pone this evil now? A whig senate. Who can prevent it hereafter but a whig administration, and a whig Congress? And who shall lead the way in these great measures, but the whigs of western New York? Who led the way in 1837, and 1838, and in 1840? And who is so fit a leader as Henry Clay, whose self-sacrificing patriotism, has so often postponed its own rewards to save the interest, the peace, and the welfare of his country?

I am, gentlemen, with great respect, your humble servant.

TO BENJAMIN SQUIRE, ESQ., AND OTHERS.

AUBURN, *June* 7, 1844.

GENTLEMEN: Absence from home, and illness, of which I am only convalescent, have so far deranged my business, that I could not possibly accept the invitation extended to me in so gratifying a manner by you, as the whig corresponding committee of St. Lawrence county, and the central committee of the Clay club of that county.

Your names bring up a vivid remembrance of the hospitalities bestowed upon me during my visit to the banks of the St. Lawrence in 1839. I shall ever cherish that remembrance.

Gentlemen, I remember well, that when I had surveyed the agricultural, mineral, and forest resources of St. Lawrence and Franklin counties, on the occasion to which I have referred, I reflected that, if the constitution had disqualified every person from a seat in the legislature until he had, once at least, visited every county in the state, your great and growing community would already have had a perfect communication with the cities of the Hudson. No man can explore the valley of the St. Lawrence without being convinced that, either New York must seasonably open a perfect avenue from that valley to her own tide-waters, or that the commerce of the northern portion of this continent will seek its depot below the rapids of Montmorenci, and that empire will follow trade. This, I am well aware, is not the most propitous time for speculations like these. It was long a question with me, how it was that John Quincy Adams was bolder, more resolute, and more devoted, in the cause of hu-

manity, than all of his cotemporaries. I found the explanation in the motto impressed upon the seal of a letter from that illustrious statesman, "*Alteri seculo.*" So it may be allowed to me, my day of public service being past, to consider not alone, what is the sentiment prevailing this day, or this year, on the subject of internal improvement, but what principles will abide the test of time, and the judgment of posterity.

They tell us, gentlemen, that we must take immediate possession of Texas, and Oregon, or England will. I humbly say, on the contrary, that England will take neither the one nor the other, until she has secured tranquillity and the blessings of equal government to Ireland. I say more, that England can dispense with the cotton-fields of Texas, and with the passes of the Rocky mountains, if we will only stand by while she perfects the navigation of the St. Lawrence.

In the tour to which I have adverted, I observed that the counties of Clinton, St. Lawrence, Franklin, and Jefferson, in many parts as prosperous as any in the state, were largely colonized, not by emigrants from the Connecticut, the Hudson, and the Delaware, like western New York, but by natives of French Canada, Ireland, England, and Scotland, whose devotion to liberty had induced them to erect their log-cabins on the southern instead of the northern side of the St. Lawrence. There was some confusion of tongues, and the cross of the Catholic church was seen everywhere side by side with the spire of the Protestant temple. It was impossible to distinguish whether the fields had been sown by Protestant or by Catholic hands. The same sun and showers ripened the fields of both. Contentment and harmony seemed to prevail everywhere; and on an occasion which elicited expressions of patriotism from all classes and conditions of men, you may well remember that the voluntary citizens were as enthusiastic as those whose blood had filtered through one or more generations on the American soil. I said to myself, let him who distrusts the instincts of freedom, and the capability of men born under oppression to become true and worthy citizens of a republican state, come here and learn the truth, yet widely discredited, though it was taught by the Great Master of human reason, and was practically adopted by the great expounder of American democracy, that liberal naturalization is an element of empire.

I should delight, gentlemen, to revive these recollections, and to profit again by instructions which I am sure no man pretending to be a statesman could fail to receive from the scenes and from the people of the valley of the St. Lawrence. There the truth must break in upon every candid mind, that the great political question between the contending parties of our day is, whether the national peace shall be put in jeopardy, the national honor be forfeited, and the national wealth and treasure be expended to give enlargement, security, and perpetuity, to southern slavery which for ever drags us down to the earth, or whether impartial public councils shall leave the free and vigorous north and west to work out the welfare of the country, and drag the reluctant south up, to participate in the same glorious destinies.

But, gentlemen, these are truant conceptions which time and circumstances will not permit me to expand. They will occur to your minds more forcibly than I can express them, and I am persuaded they will lead to a wiser and a better administration of public affairs than has ever yet been enjoyed. I tender you my sincere congratulations on the great success which has attended the whig party thus far in the present conflict. We have obliged our opponents to change their leader on the very eve of battle. Let us take care to convince them that our opposition was not because their chief was personally obnoxious, but because his principles rendered him so, and that if they wish to regain the confidence of the American people, they must confess before mankind that the American laborer is worthy of his hire, that government possesses lawful power to improve the earth for the habitation of men, that the executive authority of the American government is limited and to be held in just subordination to the legislature, that the right of the people to petition Congress is inviolable, that suffrage ought to be a condition of submission to government, and that they who endeavor to fortify human slavery attempt a labor as fruitless as the erection of fortresses on the overflowing sands of the seashore.

I remain, gentlemen, with the most grateful esteem and respect, your humble servant.

TO THE WHIGS OF MICHIGAN.

AUBURN, *June* 12, 1844.

DEAR SIR: The whig state central committee of Michigan could hardly have been conscious how seductive would be the call they were making upon me in their invitation for the 4th of July next.

But, my dear sir, I have been long a truant to domestic duties, and neglectful of personal interests. The inconveniences of this error must be corrected. I can not, therefore, gratify my desires to see the west at this juncture.

I should more deeply regret this, if I had the vanity to believe for a moment that what I could say would at all promote the success of the whig party in Michigan. I could only speak of the beneficent operations of the tariff, and invoke the people of Michigan to *let it stand;* of the desirableness of saving the avails of the public lands, and applying them to education, and the improvement of our interior communications by land and by water; and invoke the aid of the people of Michigan, in favor of a policy more important even to them than to the state to which I belong; of the deplorable error of adding bulwarks to the falling institution of slavery, which is the chief cause of all our national calamities, and the only source of national danger, and implore the free people of Michigan, "to stand by the cause of human freedom;" and of the importance of liberal naturalization, as a chief element in our growing empire, and appeal to the enlightened people of Michigan to instruct their elder brethren of the east on a principle which lies at the base of Western prosperity. But there can be no need of such appeals to such a people, and at least, I should have no special claims on the attention of those whom I should address.

Accept, for yourself and associates, assurances of my high respect.

TO CALVIN TOWNSLEY, ESQ., AND OTHERS.

AUBURN, *June* 12, 1844.

GENTLEMEN: Indisposition prevented a seasonable acknowledgment of your very kind letter of May 22d, inviting me to attend the annual whig convention of the state of Vermont on the 3d of July next.

I have just now received a letter from D. W. C. Clark, Esq., one of your number, informing me that the time for the assembling of the convention has been changed to the 26th of June.

Whatever might have been the state of my engagements with reference to the day first designated, it is altogether out of my power to visit Vermont on the 26th instant. There is a town in this senate district, named West Bloomfield, which has been to this state what Vermont has been to the Union; that is to say, whig always, and always in favor of the supremacy of the laws, public order, freedom of conscience, equality of human rights, and the advancement of civilization.

I am under an engagement to visit that little, but enlightened and patriotic, community on the 26th inst. They are my neighbors, and whenever I have been in public life, they were among the kindest and most liberal of my constituents.

I can not doubt that this will be a satisfactory apology for declining the invitation with which you have honored me.

You are pleased to intimate, gentlemen, that you desire my coming to Vermont on account of the sentiments I hold, and the course I pursue, in regard to the questions arising out of slavery. I have not the honor to know your worthy governor, John Mattocks. But I beg leave to say that I have studied his course, and that of the whig party in Vermont. They are worthy the intelligence and patriotism of the state, and explain to my satisfaction the steady, undiminished brilliancy of the star of the north. Renominate John Mattocks; or if, for his convenience or the pub-

lic interest, it be expedient to change, then nominate some such true, liberty-loving whig, and renew your declaration that the extension of human slavery is at war with the principles of the whig party, and that emancipation is among the great works to which that party is devoted; and you may rest assured that the echo from the Green mountains will be the most cheering sound that ever reached the sage of Ashland.

Gentlemen, accept my profound and grateful acknowledgments for the words of respect and kindness you have addressed to me. They add to the pleasure with which I look out upon the bustling world around me, and to the last moment of consciousness they will be remembered as among the evidences of the liberality and kindness of my fellow-men.

I am, with very great respect, your humble servant.

TO GEORGE ASHMUN, ESQ., AND OTHERS

AUBURN, *July* 29, 1844.

GENTLEMEN: The earliest studies of every citizen in the history of democracy in America carry him at once to Faneuil Hall, the council-chamber of Boston, and to Lexington and Bunker hill, the battle-fields of Massachusetts.

When sedition raised her thousand clamors, and fears of the dissolution of the Union came thick and fast upon me in a foreign land, opening a sad perspective of commotions, declining public virtue, and the calamities of endless civil war, the voice of Massachusetts, delivered by Daniel Webster, defending our glorious constitution — not for her interests, or her sake, or her glory alone, but for the peace, welfare, and happiness, of the whole American people — quelled the storm, dispelled the alarm, and assured mankind of the stability of "liberty and union, then and for ever, one and inseparable."

Whenever and wherever fraud has framed a mine to subvert a pillar of the constitution, or power has meditated a blow against the people, or against a citizen, or against an exile, or against a slave, against anything in the shape of a free society, or against anything in the shape of a man, John Quincy Adams, of Massa-

chusetts, has been seen watching the design with eagle eye; and in the moment of the attempted perpetration of the crime, the conspirators fell, the intended victim rose free and safe, and the deliverer, unrewarded and unthanked, set himself again on his endless watch for the cause of freedom and humanity.

If I could be allowed to sit in the silence that would become me in the proposed gathering of the whigs of Massachusetts, or if they would be content with my merely expressing the veneration and reverence I cherish for them and her, I might be persuaded to accept the hospitalities tendered to me. But they have another object: I am required to speak. Massachusetts and her sons "stand there," needing no praise from me, and asking none. My life has already become a living offence against my own convictions of propriety. I can not instruct, nor can I consent to seem as if I thought I could instruct, those from whom it is my pride to learn. I must therefore, gentlemen, again decline your kind invitation. But I will second in this state your noble efforts for Clay and the constitution with what ability I possess. Past relations excuse my advocacy here, and it seems not altogether unbecoming, because it is at least dutiful and grateful.

Accept, gentlemen, renewed assurances of grateful and affectionate respect and friendship.

TO JARVIS N. LAKE, ESQ.

ALBANY, *August* 19, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR: After an absence virtually of two months, I enjoy two days repose at home. Among the letters which awaited my return, was an invitation to the Herkimer county mass meeting, to be held on the 29th instant. My dear sir, I can not accept this invitation. The summer is nearly spent, sere and yellow leaves are already seen in the forests, and my summer's work and studies are scarcely begun. I have absolute engagements in Tompkins and Cortland counties, and along the frontier, which will engross all the time that I can possibly spare during the remainder of the canvass. I remember all my obligations to the indomitable whigs of Herkimer county, but I must compro-

mise with my political creditors: I can not pay a shilling on the pound of my obligations to them. I know how rugged and stern their conflict is with the tenth legion of the standing army of Texas, but there are others who can bring to their aid powers unexhausted and vigorous.

Let the friends of civil and religious liberty take courage. Religious intolerance is effectually rebuked. The immigrant and his family once more sleep in safety under the protection of our laws, and the fagot is no longer applied to the Christian temple because candles are kept burning at its altars. We have acquired freedom of speech at last, and can now bear witness against the crimes and cruelties of human slavery. Ten years ago, in Virginia, I slept under the same roof unknowingly with a man-merchant, who was driving ten children, each ten years old, the bereaved of ten mothers, to the capital of that ancient commonwealth, whose motto was, "*Sic semper tyrannis*," there to be qualified with handcraft trades, and then to be sold in Texas or other new slaveholding territories.

For ten years I have not been allowed to write or to speak of this atrocity, even in this state. But now we all may testify what we know, and vindicate the great principle of human equality in the sight of God and slavery. The party of the Albany regency have been constantly the allies, the faithful, devoted allies of southern slavery. But their chicanery is at fault, and their sceptre has departed. The annexation of Texas is identical with the perpetuation of slavery. Our opponents are for it—the whig party are against it. If there be in Herkimer a friend of human freedom willing to follow my poor lead in this sacred cause, I appeal to him now as heretofore, and as I shall do for ever, to give his suffrage to the whig candidates, not for the sake of Henry Clay, nor even for the sake of the whig party, but for our country, for liberty's sake, and for the sake of humanity.

I am, very faithfully, your constant friend.

TO THE HON. WASHINGTON HUNT.

AUBURN, *August* 19, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR: Having ascertained that the contingency which I supposed might release me from my engagements at Ithaca for the 21st instant will not happen, I hasten to inform you that it will be altogether impossible for me to meet the whigs of Niagara county on the 22d instant. I pray you to explain to the committee the reason of my apparent neglect of their many, varied, and earnest invitations. I spent nearly the whole month of July in the supreme court at Utica. I have consumed one week of the present month in a journey to Massachusetts, and the remainder in the court for the correction of errors at Buffalo. Hence my correspondence has fallen into sad confusion. The kindness of the people of Niagara county is profoundly and gratefully appreciated. Whatever political attachments toward myself have at any time existed, were cast with my own hand into a fiery furnace. Be assured I value as I ought every link which has come out unbroken. I sympathize deeply with my whig fellow-citizens in the present crisis — a crisis which seems to me to involve the maintenance of law and order, the preservation of national prosperity and peace, the stability of the constitution, the integrity of the American Union, and the overthrow of human slavery. I deplore the infatuation of those who, appreciating as they might, and as I do, the latter object, suffer themselves to believe that they can rightly or wisely stand indifferent spectators of the great contest.

I regard the notice of a mass meeting anywhere in the state of New York, whether I am personally invited or not, as calling on me for zealous and active co-operation. During my recent labor in the western part of the honored and beloved eighth district, I was met, as I have been elsewhere, by the charge that I was seeking to give the vote of the state of New York to Henry

Clay to secure a seat for myself in his cabinet. Permit me to use this occasion for one more attempt to disprove this impeachment. My poor efforts are paid, overpaid, in advance. So far as personal motives are concerned, I am only trying to pay back, though I feel that I must compromise, and can only pay a small instalment, of my great obligations to the people of New York. I desire to secure the vote of New York, not merely to Henry Clay, but to the whig party — that party to which I look continually for beneficent administration and for melioration. I honor and revere Henry Clay, as every unbiased and generous citizen must do. I have entire confidence that he will give us an administration worthy of the best days of the republic, and, instead of retarding, will promote the great work of civil liberty.

But I should labor just as diligently and just as earnestly if the party had chosen any other representative. Personally I look for nothing from Henry Clay, and do not know that I should under any circumstances be entitled to consideration from him. But of this I am sure, that, after the experience I have had of public life, not even he could seduce me from the repose I sought, though he should offer me the highest of all the honors or the most munificent of all the rewards which he is soon to dispense — not as payment for personal or partisan services, as our opponents imply, but in the name, and for the benefit, and for the glory, of a great and free people.

I am, my dear sir, very faithfully, your friend.

TO JAMES BROOKS, ESQ.

AUBURN, *September* 4, 1845.

DEAR SIR: The "New York Express" asserts that during the late campaign "I made what the public felt and knew to be anti-Clay speeches."

As this charge affects my character for good faith, please allow me to say it proceeds from misinformation.

The late election seemed to me to involve the stability of domestic industry, which had been restored so recently and with so much difficulty; the continuance of peace, indispensable to the welfare, happiness, and advancement, of the American people; the preservation of the public domain for the general use of the country; the maintenance of good faith with the weakest and the strongest nations of the earth; the security of the free states against the unconstitutional encroachments of the slaveholding parties in our confederacy; and finally the prospects of a peaceful and speedy abolition of human slavery, the chief evil in our country and the great crime of our age.

Moved by these considerations, and stimulated by sentiments of duty and gratitude to the whig party, I engaged in the contest at its beginning, and remained in the field until the disastrous termination of the conflict.

Mr. Clay was the candidate of that party, and his election was indispensable to the success of its cause.

I claim to have labored with singleness, sincerity, zeal, and assiduity, and to have devoted to the success of that cause, and of Henry Clay, whatever influence I enjoyed, and all the knowledge and ability I possessed.

The imputation of bad faith is untrue, not only in the form in which it is conveyed in the sentence I have quoted, but in any and every form, and with whatever of addition, diminution, qualification, or circumstance, it could be expressed.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant.

TO THE CHAUTAUQUE CONVENTION.

AUBURN, *March* 31, 1846.

MY DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 24th inst., in which you inform me of a desire entertained by yourself and others, to place me in nomination before the people of the county of Chautauque, as a candidate for the office of a member of the convention which has been called to revise the constitution of this state, has been received.

If ever I should become so miserable as to distrust mankind, I am sure that my habitual confidence would be revived by some new act of friendship on the part of the whig citizens whom you represent. Here is a trust, sought by the most eminent persons in the state, and to be conferred by the people of Chautauque county, among whom are many as well qualified for it as I am; and yet, it is urged upon me, as if I were not already buried under similar kindnesses coming from the same quarter. It would be ungenerous to accept such an offer, under such circumstances, and no man can ever find a good motive for an ungenerous act. Every personal reason which existed for my continuance in private life, still exists. Years have brought with them an increase of the number, and the need of those for whom I labor.

I admit that the constitution must be revised, thoroughly revised. The state of New York lies in the gate of the continent, and has long been receiving a full tide of men, of knowledge and money, from all the other American states, as well as from Europe, in addition to natural increase. Enjoying the instruction of half a dozen colleges, five thousand churches, twelve thousand schools, and as many libraries, the state has alarmed its antiquated guardians by complaints that its condition is uncomfortable, and its energies cramped by the constitution assigned to it a quarter of a century ago. But all parties agree, not only upon the necessity of revision, but upon all necessary amendments except one,

A part of the community hesitate to adopt the principle of universal suffrage, and weakly imagine that democracy in the state of New York, can be wisely clogged a little longer by laws of naturalization and registry acts, operating on the exile; and by proscription of color excluding the African. But the progress already made in exploding these errors, gives us an earnest of a complete triumph of democratic whig principles in the convention.

The property qualification is already renounced, and the opponents of universal suffrage, have fallen back upon the plea of the hopeless debasement of the African race. With the aid of mistaken philanthropists, they hope to defeat the enfranchisemnt of the colored man, by the artifice of submitting an article for that purpose to the people separately from all other amendments to the constitution. Let them try that. "Whom the gods would destroy they first makes mad." The apologists of slavery in New Hampshire recently separated a kindred question from all other issues, in a popular election, with what result, has been seen.

Universal suffrage in this state is not a local question. Slavery continues in the south, because the negroes there are represented in the public councils, and virtually vote, through their masters, for perpetual slavery; while northern allies disfranchise free negroes whom nature would oblige to cast their votes for freedom. The evils of the compact have become intolerable. The free states, increasing in population and in wealth seventy-five per cent. more than the slaveholding states, have fallen into a hopeless minority. Their interests are sacrified at home, and are betrayed abroad.

We have reached a new stage in our national career. It is that of territorial aggrandizement. Extended jurisdiction is an element of national strength, if the moral condition of the people be sound; of national weakness if that condition be unsound. Slavery has impoverished the states where it exists so much, that they are incapable of endowing schools, maintaining mails, constructing roads, or supporting armies. With principles in regard to revenue which always prevent the general government from establishing proper defence, the slaveholding states are ready apologists in every case of foreign injustice and aggression. The people have instructed the president to maintain the American title to the whole of Oregon. The president, thereupon, requires the consent of Congress for proper notice to Great

Britain. Congress debates and hesitates until the effect of the notice is altogether lost. It is slavery that "doth make cowards of us all," and justly so. New York, without a discontented citizen or subject within her borders, would be stronger alone than all the twenty-eight states. Massachusetts defied England seventy years ago. She has only one statesman who would dare to commit her to such a conflict now, and he belongs to the revolutionary age, rather than to this.

I want no war. I want no enlargement of territory, sooner than it would come if we were contented with "a masterly inactivity." I abhor war, as I detest slavery. I would not give one human life for all the continent that remains to be *annexed.* But I can not exclude the conviction, that the popular passion for territorial aggrandizement is irresistible. Prudence, justice, cowardice, may check it for a season, but it will gain strength by its subjugation. An American navy is hovering over Vera Cruz. An American army is at the heart of what was Mexico. Let the Oregon question be settled when it may, it will, nevertheless, come back again. Our population is destined to roll its resistless waves to the icy barriers of the north, and to encounter oriental civilization on the shores of the Pacific. The monarchs of Europe are to have no rest, while they have a colony remaining on this continent. France has already sold out. Spain has sold out. We shall see how long before England inclines to follow their example. It behooves us then, to qualify ourselves for our mission. We must dare our destiny. We can do this, and can only do it by early measures which shall effect the abolition of slavery, without precipitancy, without oppression, without injustice to slaveholders, without civil war, with the consent of mankind, and the approbation of Heaven. The restoration of the right of suffrage to freemen is the first act, and will draw after it in due time, the sublime catastrophe of emancipation.

But this act has already opened. There is no need for me to go upon the stage. Nor have I the self-conceit to believe that I could be at all useful. The people of Chautauque county have obliged me many times, and always without solicitation. They must now grant me one favor upon request, which is, to leave me in peace at home. Under no circumstances, and upon no consideration, could I consent to be a candidate for public office.

I am, very respectfully, your obliged and obedient servant.

TO THE ORLEANS COUNTY WHIG MEETING.

AUBURN, *August* 21, 1848.

DEAR SIR: I am profoundly grateful to the central committee of Orleans county, for the expression of respect and esteem with which they urge me to accept their invitation to the council they are to hold at Albion, for the purpose of considering the whig national nomination.

I have sunk into professional enslavement so deeply, that I scarcely retain an abiding-place at home, and I am unable to observe punctuality in my correspondence. These circumstances must plead my apology, not only for my delay in answering the invitation, but also for my declining to accept it.

The party which is now administering the federal government is a party of inaction in regard to education, industry, internal improvement, melioration and emancipation. It is their creed that the powers of government for beneficent action are very limited, and that the most benign and salutary function of the executive is to defeat, and thus impair the legislative authority. At the same time they are ambitious of military renown, and reckless in effecting territorial aggrandizement by fraud and force.

In my judgment the type of democracy should be peace, moderation, enfranchisement, and beneficence. No one is less apt to exaggerate the merits of the whig party in regard to these principles than I, who so constantly endeavor to stimulate it to greater enterprise. But after charging it with all the unfaithfulness of which it can justly be accused, it still stands before the country and the world, the American party, eminently devoted to the great interests of humanity.

No member of the party is accountable for the selection of its candidates, further than he may have acted, or refrained from acting in their selection. When the selection has been made, all

that remains is to decide whether the party still deserves his support in preference to its adversary. We can not withhold our support without endangering the present success, and the ultimate usefulness of the whig party. If it be defeated the policy of the present administration will prevail not only now, but for an indefinite period. No whig thinks for one moment of voting for the candidates of the Baltimore convention; but we are tempted to cast our suffrages for the third party. Is the third party more pure, or more devoted to human liberty now, under the lead of Martin Van Buren, than it was four years ago, under the banner of James G. Birney? I confess I think it less so, for the life and conversation of Mr. Birney illustrated the unique and the enthusiastic benevolence of the liberty party. Is the third party more likely to succeed now than it was then? I see no reason to expect that it can secure the electoral vote of any state in the Union. I honor Mr. Van Buren and his associates for their secession from a party which is false to freedom. But I regret their error in falling into the ranks of a third party, whose services in the cause of human freedom are counteracted, and nearly balanced by their error of indirectly giving strength and power to the great slavery party of the country. Every whig vote cast for the third party is only a negative, a protest, against the slavery party. Real friends of emancipation must not be content with protests. They must act—act wisely and efficiently.

For myself, I shall cast my suffrage for General Taylor and for Millard Fillmore, freely and conscientiously, on precisely the same grounds on which I have hitherto voted for whig candidates, because they are commended to me by the whig party, and their success is necessary for its continued and increasing usefulness. In the nurture and character of the latter, we have every guaranty that a whig can desire. In the moderation of the other, and his desire to administer the government as the president of the whole people, not for mere partisan ends, I recognise claims to public confidence which I have no fear will ever be disappointed.

TO E. J. FOWLE, ESQ.*

AUBURN, *August* 26, 1848.

MY DEAR SIR: On my arrival here this morning, after spending two weeks in Livingston and Seneca counties, I had the pleasure of finding your letter of the 23d instant.

The contents of that communication excited my surprise. Having happened to be in Albany two weeks ago, or perhaps three, Mr. Weed showed me a letter from you, containing the agreeable information that the political discontents in your county had subsided, and that the whigs were rallying to the standard of the cause.

Your letter to me is full of a despondency that makes me hope it proceeded from only a depression of spirits, naturally enough produced by the inappropriate and unreasonable letters of our candidate for president. In the whole state there are scarcely any persons in whose correctness of judgment upon political questions I rely with more confidence than on yours, Judge ——'s, or Mr. ——'s. I shall deem your apprehensions worthy of profound consideration, if you continue to indulge them for any period of time. But you will excuse me for saying, on my part, that I do not find reason to distrust the success of our candidates in the country, and especially in this state, in the events which are passing before us. I perceive, as you do, the mischievous effects of the letters to which you refer. But I am obliged to acknowledge that I expect the disorganization of the opposite party will, in some degree, impair our own organization. I fear also that there may be some districts where this evil may jeopard or otherwise ruin local ascendency. Yet on the other hand, there seems to me no room for doubt that the state of things so peculiar will result in giving to our candidates in

* Letter on the "Albany Meeting" in opposition to General Taylor.

this state a very large majority over each of the opposing candidates — while in other states the result will be the same where circumstances are similar, and quite as favorable where they are different. If you answer me that these local losses can not be borne, I reply that, in the first place, they must be prevented if possible; and in the next place, they are quite certain to be balanced by gains elsewhere.

I have the pleasure to add, on this subject, that so far as my communications extend, I find our friends engaged with zeal, and with certain confidence of success.

For more than ten years past, I have looked to the day of ripening of conscience on the subject of slavery, to which you refer, and have endeavored to do what was in my power to prepare the whig party to profit by it, not for mere personal or partisan ends, but for the benefit of the country and of humanity. You know that every concession to or for slavery by the whig party for ten years past, has been a triumph over me. But there are two things, neither of which I can ever do. The one is, to share the responsibility of any such concession; the other is, to oppose a candidate of the national whig party. All the whigs of New York (to whom I owe so much) could not oblige or induce me to do one or the other of these acts. Any other duty they may require at my hands, will be cheerfully rendered.

I have abiding faith that the whig party will be successful in the state and in the nation this fall. I have abiding faith that this success will favor the non-extension of slavery. But even if we should fail of success now, I abate not a particle of my confidence, that all that is ever to be done for freedom must originate with the whig party, and, in point of practicability, must be accomplished by it.

Very respectfully, your friend.

TO JAMES WATSON WEBB, ESQ.

Astor House, New York, *February* 1, 1849.

My dear Sir: The letter which on the 27th of January you addressed to me at Philadelphia, was received by me this afternoon.

In that letter, written at Albany, you express an opinion that the whig members of the legislature will present my name as a candidate before that body for the office of senator. But you add that there are many good and true whigs, in both houses of the legislature, who have been made to believe, and that there are others who pretend to think, that if I should be elected to fill that very responsible trust, I would not give General Taylor's administration a cordial support; that I would represent the feelings and wishes of a faction only of the whig party, and that I would agitate unnecessarily on the subject of slavery; and finally, that my course would be a radical one, and injurious to General Taylor's administration, and to the harmony of the Union.

What you tell me in that respect does not surprise, and therefore does not grieve me. It is a very natural apprehension excited by those who have not always sympathized with me, in the policy which I have pursued in the discussion of subjects which have engaged public attention. But they have been only partial observers of my course. I have never expected nor sought to accomplish any beneficent measure, otherwise than through a whig administration and the whig party. My support of a whig administration does not depend, therefore, on my being in public life or in private life. The honors and wealth of a world could not seduce me from the support of an administration which the whig party have called into power, unless indeed, they themselves should first absolve me from the obligation to sustain it. The state of New York is in my estimate the model

of all republican communities. It is my pride that I am a member of it. My highest ambition has been satisfied, in having been honored with its confidence. If I go into public life, I shall be the representative of the whole of it, and of all its interests, agricultural, commercial, and political. But, inasmuch as no patriot can save his country, except through the co-operation of a party, I shall be the representative of the whig party; and not of a section or of a faction of it, but of that whole party, to which I sustain the most lasting obligations. These obligations may be increased by further confidence, but they can never be cancelled by a denial of it.

In regard to slavery, I do not know what you mean by unnecessary agitation. As a man and a citizen, I have never been its defender or its apologist; I am sure I never should be so as a magistrate or as a statesman. But those persons misapprehend me very much, who suppose that I would vainly agitate even that question in the public councils; and I am not to say now for the first time that I hold that agitation vain by a legislator which leads to no practical results, and that agitation worse than useless which, prosecuted for unattainable purposes, puts in jeopardy great existing interests. The union of these states is indispensable, in my judgment, to the accomplishment of any good even in regard to the institution of slavery, and the agency of the whig party and whig administration is the only agency by which it can be effected.

I am, therefore, I think, quite unlikely to put either into jeopardy. I am in favor, as I think every whig is, of circumscribing slavery within its present bounds. I am opposed to its encroachments, and I shall resist both in whatever situations I may be placed. I shall labor by free, and kind, and peaceful discussion, to form public opinion, and direct it to a constitutional, lawful, and peaceful removal of it. But that removal must be through the agency of those only to whom its responsibilities belong, and the constitutional barriers which protect the slave states in the exclusive right to discharge those responsibilities, will be as sacred in my regard as those which protect the free states in their rights.

As to the radicalism which is imputed to me, I have only to say now, as I have often said to you heretofore, that the tendencies of republican institutions to the melioration of laws and the

improvement of society, have been my study; I aim to allow them free operation. But I am in favor only of progress by advancement, peaceful and lawful, not by subverting in order to build anew. To this degree of radicalism I plead guilty. More than that, or different from that, I deny.

TO JAMES B. TAYLOR, ESQ.

WASHINGTON, *June* 26, 1852.

MY DEAR SIR: Your kind letter has been received. It would be presumptuous on my part, to suppose that any president of the United States would at any time, or under any circumstances, invite me to a seat in the executive council, and equally so to suppose that the senate of the United States would advise and consent to such a selection. Nevertheless, if there be one whig vote depending at this election on the question you have raised, I will not stand on a point of personal delicacy in the effort to save it. I assure you, therefore, with entire frankness, that under no circumstances which I have ever conceived, or can now conceive, would I ask, or even accept, any public station or preferment whatever, at the hands of the president of the United States, whether that president were Winfield Scott, or any other man I have ever seen or known. In saying this, I am only saying to you what was well understood as a rule of my conduct, by the late and lamented President Taylor, and has been equally well known and understood by Winfield Scott, from the first hour when my preference of himself as the candidate in the present canvass was fixed.

I am, with great respect and esteem, your friend and humble servant.

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

NEW YORK AND ERIE RAILROAD.

AUBURN, *October* 20, 1834.

TO THE CITIZENS OF TIOGA COUNTY:

YOUR communication requesting the expression of my opinion in relation to the projected railroad from Lake Erie to the Hudson river through the southern tier of counties, has been received. I can not be surprised that you have made this application when, as you say, you see daily allusions in the public prints to my supposed hostility to that measure. Yet, gentlemen, you must be aware that those who are engaged in misrepresenting my views, will equally endeavor to prevent credit being given to the sincerity of opinions expressed upon a subject of engrossing interest at such a time. Anxious as I am to correct such misrepresentations, I could not bring myself to appear in public, even for that purpose, had I not learned from sources entitled to my confidence, that the views of Governor Marcy have been solicited and are confidently promised by his political friends to be laid before the electors. Under such circumstances, it would seem to be unjust to the generous and confiding party who have made me their candidate, to suffer the great cause which they maintain to receive injury from my silence. You, however, gentlemen, will bear witness, that I have not sought this opportunity of appearing before the public, and that in doing so, I yield to the considerations already expressed.

It is wholly untrue that I am hostile to the projected railroad from Lake Erie to the Hudson river through the southern tier of

counties. The vote which I gave in the senate upon an incidental question connected with that improvement, had no reference whatever to the merits of the project itself, but was founded upon peculiar considerations growing out of the single question presented and the manner in which it came before the senate, but in which my judgment was not in the least influenced by any unfriendly feeling to the railroad. On the contrary, I can very freely state to you, gentlemen, that I am, and ever have been, the advocate of the system of internal improvements by means of railroads and canals; that I regard it as one of the most important duties of the government, as fast as its rapidly developing resources will allow, to prosecute such a system of improvements of that description as will enable all the different sections of the country to enjoy, as equally as possible, the advantages of a speedy communication with the great commercial metropolis of the state. I can not doubt that the increased wealth and ability of the state, improved by a revision of the entire administration of the canal revenues, would allow us to resume and push to a successful completion this eminently important system. Among those improvements which are most indispensable to the great object of securing to this state the precious boon of the trade of the western states I have long believed one of the most desirable is a work which would connect Lake Erie with the Hudson river, passing through the southern tier of counties, and which would give to the city of New York the advantages of the great western trade at all seasons of the year, and particularly at those seasons when, without such a work, that trade must flow through different channels to a southern port. To secure this trade was the great object of the system of internal improvements, projected and commenced by that distinguished public benefactor, De Witt Clinton. Experience has shown that this object has not been entirely accomplished, and I have no belief that it will be, until the improvement mentioned by you, together with others of a similar character in other sections of the state, shall be completed. It is certainly a consideration of much weight, that the suggested railroad will bestow upon the southern counties through which it will pass, advantages similar to those enjoyed by other parts of the state, where similar public improvements have been accomplished. That it is practicable, I am happy to learn, will be satisfactorily established by the surveys recently

made under the direction of that experienced engineer Judge Wright.

With these opinions in its favor, you may be assured of my readiness, either as a private citizen, or in whatever public capacity I may be called to serve, to afford every aid in my power, not only to the construction of this work, but to the completion of that comprehensive and beneficial system of internal improvements, commenced as I have already mentioned, and thus far continued with a success which has astonished ourselves.

I am, gentlemen, with great respect, your fellow-citizen.

TO SAMUEL P. LYMAN, ESQ.

ALBANY, *March* 8, 1839.

MY DEAR SIR: You are about to leave the city, and I am about to do an unusual thing—that is, to do justice at some hazard of misconstruction, and with the risk of being deemed imprudent to an old friend. I say first, what from the first I have said, and you and the world know, viz., that as an advocate of a broad system of internal improvements in this state and the Union, and not from local or partisan feelings, I am a friend of the New York and Erie railroad, and desirous of its early and complete construction. Having said this, I am now to add, as I do without qualification, that I have all the while been acquainted with your action during the last year, and especially during the present session of the legislature, in regard to that work. And I know, and it is my duty to say, at the moment when you are withdrawing from your official duties, in connection with it, under my advice, in order to secure its success, that your action has been in every respect faithful, honest, enlightened, and efficient. While I have on various occasions differed from you in regard to the measures you advocated, and the manner of proceeding you recommended, it is but just to say that your action (having regard to your peculiar responsibilities) has been uniformly wise and just, and I add confidently, fortunate. You are leaving the matter at my instance, to relieve it from popular prejudices against yourself, yet I know and declare that those prejudices are unjust.

and the present fair and certain prospect that a bill will be passed, either for the construction of the railroad altogether as a public work, or by liberal and unprecedented aid to the company, has been secured more by your agency than by any other cause. And I authorize you to exhibit this letter to any discreet persons entitled to such confidence, as evidence that if the friends of the improvement do not estimate your exertions as I have pronounced concerning them, they, in my judgment, do you great injustice.

I never write letters of form or compliment. Words, when I use them, express my feelings and opinions. But I know that others sometimes use them otherwise. I add, therefore, that this letter is to be regarded as sincere, and proceeding from convictions, and that I should deem myself most unjust and unfaithful if I left the reality of those convictions to be the subject of doubts. To our mutual friend Mr. Ruggles I have already expressed the same sentiments, with such suggestions as it seemed to me not improper to make, relating to your future engagements.

I am, respectfully and sincerely, your obedient servant.

TO EDGAR A. BARBER, ESQ.

ALBANY, *June* 1, 1841.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 21st ultimo, concerning the Ogdensburg and Champlain railway bill, was duly received. I had hoped, with you, for the passage of the bill at the recent session, and I trust it is not necessary for me to say that no proper effort on my part was spared to further that most important object. Cherishing it as one of the cardinal measures of the policy I have desired should be maintained, the failure of the bill is scarcely less regretted by me than by my fellow-citizens immediately interested in the great improvement. It has been the fortune of the enterprise to be presented in a gloomy season, and when the mightiest efforts of disappointed faction have been put forth to arrest, defeat, and overthrow the policy most intimately connected with the welfare and prosperity of the state. I feel reason to be grateful that the clouds are dispersing, and that the trial to which the system of internal improvement has been subjected has passed.

It is a subject of congratulation also to the citizens of the northern counties that their great improvement has steadily advanced in public favor since I first had the honor to bring it before the representatives of the people, under all the inauspicious circumstances it has encountered. Notwithstanding the unwearied efforts which have been put forth to produce alarm concerning the fiscal ability of the state, I cherish a confident hope that within the portion that remains of the term for which I have been called into the councils of the state, the necessary means will be adopted to secure the completion of the three great lines of railroad between the lakes and tide-water which I have had the honor to recommend to the favorable consideration of the legislature. I regard the progress already made by the Ogdensburg and Champlain railroad as affording abundant reason to expect that it will receive the favor of the legislature at its next session.

With sincere respect and esteem, your obedient servant.

TO GEORGE BLISS, ESQ.

ALBANY, *June* 28, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR: I beg leave to return to the directors of the Western Railroad Company my acknowledgments for their politeness and kindness in tendering to me the freedom of their road. The occasion is a proper one also for acknowledging my obligations to the directors and to the mayor of Boston for their attentions to my family and myself during our recent journey in Massachusetts.

I congratulate the directors and the country upon the prospect of a speedy completion of the Western railroad. If I had at any time entertained a doubt of the immeasurable public advantage to result from this improvement, that doubt would have given way when I became acquainted with the enterprise and industry of the people of Massachusetts.

While, as a citizen of New York, I shall continue to urge upon my fellow-citizens the construction of a railroad from New York to this city, as a measure necessary to the prosperity of this state, I rejoice in the belief that the enterprise of the citizens of Boston

will be crowned with a rich reward; and I am sure that the people of this state will find their interests promoted by a direct access to the great seat of American manufactures. It is the good fortune of New York to possess within her territory the channel through which the exchange of productions between the east and west must pass. The great work you are completing will increase our inland trade, while it will open to the people of Massachusetts a direct and easy route to the new states. But these results are inconsiderable in comparison with the political benefits which will result from bringing the western states and this commonwealth into an intimate connection with Massachusetts and the eastern states.

I trust, sir, the time is near at hand when the chain of railroads which now binds together the valley of the Merrimack, the Connecticut, the Housatonic, the Hudson, the Oswego, the Genesee, and the Niagara, will reach the Mississippi. Nor do I believe the day is far distant when the country lying on the northern shores of the great lakes will be opened to the inland commerce of the United States. Both these events must be taken into consideration in estimating the advantages Massachusetts is to derive from the Western railroad.

With much respect and esteem, your obedient servant.

TO HON. JAMES BOWEN.

ALBANY, *November* 10, 1842.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of resolutions passed by the New York and Erie Railroad Company, expressing favorable opinions concerning my public action in relation to the New York and Erie railroad; which resolutions are accompanied by a medal, designed to be preserved as a token of the sentiments thus expressed.

Notwithstanding the adverse circumstances which now surround that enterprise, I firmly retain the opinion that its accomplishment can not be prevented, nor even long delayed; and that when the road shall have been made, it will justly be regarded as at least the second in usefulness among the works of internal

improvement in the United States. I therefore need make no elaborate expression of the grateful emotions I experience in receiving testimonials which, when the generous givers and the receiver shall have passed away, can not fail to be regarded by those into whose hands the token may fall as proving that I was not altogether unworthy of their remembrance.

I shall hereafter possess only the ability of a private citizen to promote this and the other physical improvements so necessary to the security of the state, and conducive to the welfare of its citizens. But I beg leave to assure the members of the association of my exalted admiration of their perseverance, their patriotism, and their sacrifices; that I shall not fail to maintain the obligation of the several states of our confederacy to re-establish their credit—of the government of the United States to lend effective aid to the efforts of the states for that purpose—and of this state to support that policy, and either to assume the construction of the New York and Erie railroad upon terms equal and just to the association, or to render to the association the aid necessary to an early accomplishment of the great enterprise confided to their care by the legislature.

I should do violence to my own feelings, and injustice to you, my dear sir, if I omitted to make grateful acknowledgments for the very kind manner in which you have communicated the sentiments of the association over which you preside, and to congratulate you on the enviable position you enjoy. You were honored in receiving charge of the great enterprise while it was receiving liberal support from your fellow-citizens, and the favor of the state. But the fidelity and firmness you display in a season which I trust will be of short duration, when, owing to causes foreign to the merit of the work, that support has in a great measure ceased, and that favor been withdrawn, deserves and will assuredly secure a large measure of public gratitude.

I remain your obedient servant.

TO THE PACIFIC RAILROAD CONVENTION AT ST. LOUIS.

FLORIDA, N. Y., *October* 8, 1849.

GENTLEMEN: Your letter of the 28th of August, inviting me to attend the national convention to be held at St. Louis, to deliberate on the importance of communications across the continent by railroad and telegraph, and tendering to me the hospitalities of the city on that interesting occasion, has been received.

When we contemplate, for only a moment, our expansive territorials on the Pacific coast, and the almost magical developments of moral, social, and political elements in the colonies planted there, separated as they are from us by mountain-barriers, desert wastes, and stormy seas; when we look upon the full tide of European immigration beating upon our eastern shores, and consider the volume that is ready to break upon the Pacific coast, the ultimate unity of the races of men reveals itself to us, and we are irresistibly impressed with a conviction that this unity is to be perfected in our own country, under our own democratic institutions.

While we are yet bewildered in endeavoring to obtain a full conception of the ultimate influence of railroads and magnetic telegraphs upon civilization and empire, we see that they are indispensable agencies in perfecting the integrity of the nation, and in attaining its destiny. All previous enterprises of internal improvement have involved preliminary questions of practicability and of necessity, or at least of expediency, which perplexed the popular mind, and hindered, delayed, or altogether defeated, the action of the government. But the connection of the oceans is an inevitable and immediate consequence of progress already made, which can not be retarded. The banks of the Mississippi, so long and until so recent a period the barrier between the European powers — whose dominion on this continent has passed

away for ever — are a fitting place for consultation; and I should deem it among the most gratifying incidents of my life if I could control circumstances around me so as to avail myself of the instructions which the convention will afford. But this will be impossible. I pray you to accept my grateful acknowledgments for the respect implied by your invitation, and my sincere assurance that the most disinterested and diligent efforts shall be put forth on my part in support of such a system for perfecting the proposed enterprises as shall seem most likely to gain the favor of the national legislature.

I speak of Congress, because I deem it right and necessary to demand, not merely the toleration or consent of that body, but its direct and effective action. Undoubtedly a railroad to the Pacific ocean would ultimately be constructed by the enterprise of citizens and of states, as other national works of internal improvement have been built. But the interest of this generation, and even the security of the nation, can not abide such delays. The action of our government concerning internal improvements hitherto has not conformed to the plainly-expressed anticipations of its founders. It was universally and confidently supposed, when the constitution was adopted, that all works essential to the public defence and to the improvement of internal commerce would be constructed by the national arm and with the national treasury. But the government has hitherto remained, for the most part, inactive and inert, by reason of disputes about the relative utility of such enterprises, and real or affected apprehensions of improvidence and demoralization consequent on the exercise of federal power in that direction. This inaction has resulted in deep and pervading doubts about even the constitutional power of Congress to construct any works of internal improvement. The first and most important step toward the fulfilment of the wishes of the people is the removal of these doubts; and this can be done only by full expositions, in every popular form, of the indispensable necessity and vast utility of the enterprises which will engage the attention of the convention. This must be done, or it will be left for states yet to be organized, and even yet to be peopled, to construct, link by link, the chain which the federal power ought to forge at a single blow.

I am, gentlemen, with great respect and esteem, your humble servant.

SLAVERY.

TO WILLIAM JAY AND GERRIT SMITH, ESQS.

AUBURN, *October* 22, 1838.

GENTLEMEN: Your letter proposing to me certain questions in behalf of a numerous meeting of my fellow-citizens at Utica, has been received.

You must be aware, gentlemen, that the convention which has designated me as the representative of the whig party in this state, in the approaching election, has done so without any reference to the subjects indicated in your inquiries, and that those subjects enter not at all into the political creed of that large body of freemen whose candidate I have become. Persons selected as the representatives of political principles can have no right to compromise their constituents, by the expression of opinions on other subjects than those in reference to which the selections were made. Upon this ground, a candidate might perhaps decline to answer any inquiries, other than such as should relate to the political matters agitated among the people. He might, with even greater propriety, excuse himself from answering a body of men who do not profess to form a political party, and who do not declare that their votes will be in the least influenced by the answer they may receive, but who, on the contrary, in their official communication say, that their "inquiry is prompted by no desire to promote or defeat the success of any particular candidate, but is made solely for the purpose of affording to the electors information important to the faithful and intelligent exercise of the elective franchise." But, gentlemen, I am disposed to treat the matter with more enlarged and elevated views. I am unwilling that the intelligent, virtuous, and patriotic citi-

zens, who have called upon me to become their candidate, shall be subjected to the reproach of having selected a citizen who either held any opinions that he was desirous to conceal, or who was unwilling to trust to the intelligence and liberality of his countrymen, for the honest indulgence of sentiments that any of them might deem erroneous, on subjects of great difficulty, and in relation to which the wisest and best men of our country do not agree.

I am unwilling, moreover, to impair the force of the great republican principle which recognises the right of the constituent to know the opinions of the representative, in order that the will of the people may be fully expressed, and which acknowledges also the duty of obeying that will when ascertained.

Your first inquiry is: "Are you in favor of a law granting to persons in this state claimed as fugitive slaves, a trial by jury?"

To me it seems that the more humble and degraded the individual over whom arbitrary power is attempted to be exercised, the stronger is his claim to the protection of a trial by jury. This inestimable institution, derived by us, with the choicest and dearest principles of liberty, from the purest period of England, can be neither too highly appreciated nor too widely extended. Its provisions are peculiarly applicable to the case of the wretched being whose services are claimed as the property of another. But, gentlemen, I am not aware that any further legislation is necessary to secure this right to the persons in question. Abundant provision already exists in our laws, and in my judgment its provisions are in perfect harmony with the institutions of civil liberty. It is true that the question is now pending in the court for the correction of errors, whether this provision conflicts with the constitution of the United States. Should that law be sustained, there are, I think, very few citizens who would desire its repeal, and certainly I am not one of them. If, however, the statute shall be decided to be unconstitutional, and any other can be passed which will avoid that objection and secure the right, it would find in me a firm supporter.

Your second inquiry is: "Are you in favor of abolishing all distinctions in the constitutional rights of the citizens of this state, founded solely on complexion?"

This question is very general, and I am at a loss to perceive its application to any other subject than the provision of the con-

stitution which requires, as a qualification for the exercise of the elective franchise by colored persons, the possession of a freehold estate of the value of two hundred and fifty dollars, a residence of three years in the state, and the actual payment of taxes.

The property qualification, as a test of the requisite intelligence and capacity for the exercise of the elective franchise, was abolished by our new constitution in all cases except that of colored persons, as anti-republican and unsound in principle.

I believe all men may become competent to the responsibilities of self-government. I think, also, that nations and races may become debased by ignorance so as to be destitute of the intelligence and virtue requisite for the discharge of those responsibilities. The constitution seems to have adopted these principles, by imposing a restriction on the right of suffrage on the part of the colored population, instead of their total exclusion.

In this view, the constitutional restriction in question is scarcely to be regarded as a distinction "founded solely on complexion," but should rather be considered a test to discriminate between those of that race who possess the requisite intelligence and capacity to discharge the responsibilities of freemen, and those who do not. Objectionable as a property qualification is for such a test, I am not prepared to say, having in view the actual condition of that race, that no test ought to exist.

The constitution of this state was but recently established. Its distribution of the right of suffrage was the act of the people themselves, and was adopted with what was then believed a just regard to the security of all classes of citizens and the general welfare. Organic changes in society ought not to be rashly made; and such changes ought not, and indeed can not, be made here without the decided and clearly-expressed will of the majority of the people.

However "extensive and increasing" may be the interest felt on this subject among our fellow-citizens, it certainly can not be assumed that their views have undergone so great a change, that they are prepared for this proposed alteration of the constitution. Under such circumstances, if my views agreed with your own, and if I deemed it my duty to express them on all other occasions, I should, nevertheless, justly expose myself to the charge of temerity, were I, when standing as a candidate for the office of chief-magistrate, to pledge myself to recommend the modifi-

cation of the constitution in this respect. And such a pledge could most certainly be inferred from a declaration of such views, however it might be in language disclaimed. It would be ungracious as well as unnecessary to enter into the argument on this matter, since, in your investigation of the subject, you must have anticipated every suggestion I could make in defence of my views when they differ from your own. I dismiss the interrogatory, therefore, with the simple negative I feel myself constrained to give.

Your third question is: "Are you in favor of a repeal of the law which now authorizes the importation of slaves into this state, and their detention as such during a period of nine months?"

The provisions of our statute on the subject of slavery are as follows, viz.: The statute declares that all persons born in this state, whether white or colored, are free; that all persons who shall be born in this state after its enactment shall be free; and that all persons who shall be brought (synonymous in your communication with "imported") into this state as slaves, shall be free with two exceptions. The first exception provides that persons emigrating into this state, and bringing with them any person lawfully held in slavery in the state from whence they emigrated, may retain such persons, *not as slaves*, but as apprentices, until they arrive at the age of twenty-one years.

The other exception is, that "any person not being an inhabitant of the state, who shall be travelling to or from, or passing through the state, may bring with him any person lawfully held by him in slavery in the state from whence he came, and may take such person with him from this state: but the person so held in slavery shall not reside or continue in this state more than nine months, and if such residence be continued beyond that time, such person shall be free."

It is this last exception to which your question refers. Does not your inquiry give too broad a meaning to the section? It certainly does not confer upon any citizen of a state, or of any other country, or any citizen of any other state, except the owner of slaves in another state by virtue of the laws thereof, the right to bring slaves into this state, or detain them here under any circumstances, as such. I understand your inquiry therefore to mean, whether I am in favor of a repeal of the law which declares, in substance, that any person from the southern or south-

western states, who may be travelling to or from, or passing through the state, may bring with him and take with him any person lawfully held by him in slavery in the state from whence he came, provided such slaves do not remain here more than nine months.

Before I proceed to answer the question, I may say generally that I am opposed to every form of slaveholding in this state, not only by our own citizens, but by all other persons, and to any recognition of such a right in this state in every form except such as the constitution of the United States clearly establishes. That I regard the judiciary as the proper tribunal to expound all constitutional questions, and that to the constitution and such expositions of it as are made by the courts of law, it is with me a principle of political action to yield obedience and support.

The article of the constitution of the United States which bears upon the present question, declares that no person held to service or labor in one state under the laws thereof, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein be discharged from such service or labor, but such person shall be delivered upon claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

I understand that in the state of Massachusetts, this provision of the constitution has been decided by the courts not to include the case of a slave brought by his master into the state and escaping thence.

But the courts of law in this state have uniformly given a different construction to the same article of the constitution, and have always decided that it does embrace the case of the slave brought by his master into this state and escaping from him here. Consequently, under this judicial construction of the constitution, and without and in defiance of any law or regulation of this state, if the slave escapes from his master in this state, he must be restored to him, when claimed, at any time during his master's temporary sojournment within the state, whether that sojournment be six months, nine months, or longer. It is not for me to say that this decision is erroneous, nor is it for our legislature. Acting under its authority, they passed the law to which you object, for the purpose not of conferring new powers and privileges on the slave-owner, but to prevent his abuse of that which the constitution of the United States, thus expounded, secures to him. The law, as I understand it, therefore, was intended to fix a period of time as a test of transient passage through or tempo-

rary residence in the state, within the provisions of the constitution. The duration of nine months is not material in the question, and if it be unnecessarily long, it may and ought to be abridged. But, if no such law existed, the right of the master (under the construction of the constitution before mentioned) would be indefinite, and the slave must be surrendered to him in all cases of travelling through, or passage to or from, the state.

If I have correctly apprehended the subject, this law is not one conferring the right upon any person to import slaves into the state and hold them here as such, but is an attempt at restriction upon the constitutional right of the master—a qualification or at least a definition of it, and is in favor of the slave. Its repeal, therefore, would have the effect to put in greater jeopardy the class of persons you propose to benefit by it. While the construction of the constitution adopted here is maintained, the law, it would seem, ought to remain upon our statute-books, not as an encroachment upon the rights of man, but a protection for them.

But, gentlemen, being desirous to be entirely candid in this communication, it is proper I should add that I am not convinced that it would be either wise, expedient, or humane, to declare to our fellow-citizens of the southern and southwestern states, that if they travel to or from, or pass through, the state of New York, they shall not bring with them the attendants whom custom or education or habit may have rendered necessary to them. I have not been able to discover any good object to be attained by such an act of inhospitality. It certainly can work no injury to us, nor can it be injurious to the unfortunate beings held in bondage, to permit them once perhaps in their lives, and at most on occasions few and far between, to visit a country where slavery is unknown. I can even conceive of benefits to the great cause of human liberty from the cultivation of this intercourse with the south.

I can imagine but one ground of objection, which is that it may be regarded as an implication that this state sanctions slavery. If this objection were well grounded, I should at once condemn the law. But in truth the law does not imply any such sanction. The same statute, which in necessary obedience to the constitution of the United States, as expounded, declares the exception, condemns in the most clear and definite terms all human bondage.

I will not press the considerations flowing from the nature of our Union, and the mutual concessions on which it was founded, against the propriety of such an exclusion as your question contemplates, apparently for the purpose only of avoiding an implication not founded in fact, and which the history of our state so nobly contradicts. It is sufficient to say that such an exclusion could have no good effect practically, and would accomplish nothing in the great cause of human liberty.

I have the honor to be, gentlemen, your obedient servant.

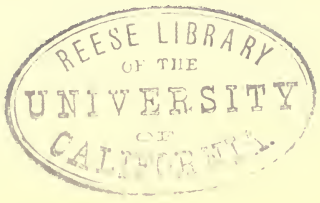
TO JOHN SEARS, ESQ., AND OTHERS.

ALBANY, *February* 13, 1841.

GENTLEMEN: I acknowledge the receipt of the copy of a resolution adopted by a convention of my fellow-citizens recently assembled at Palmyra, concerning the requisition made upon me by the governor of Virginia, for the surrender of Peter Johnson, Edward Smith, and Isaac Gansey, as fugitives from justice, charged with the crime of stealing a slave in that state. If the principles I have maintained are not in accordance with the constitution, their errors will soon be discovered in cases having no connection with slavery, and in no wise affecting the peculiar institutions of the southern states. But if on the other hand they are just and true, they will be found a wall of protection around the personal rights of citizens of this state and those of every state in the Union, and will survive not only the temporary excitement which their operation in the present case calls forth, but the actors in the transaction, and even the very institution of slavery itself.

Be pleased to make known to those you represent my grateful sense of their kind approval of my official conduct in this grave question, and assure them of my sincere respect and consideration.

I remain, very respectfully, your fellow-citizen.



TO JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

ALBANY, *April* 5, 1841.

DEAR SIR: Our mutual friend Mr. Gates has written me that you have bestowed some consideration upon the discussion which has recently taken place between the executive authorities of Virginia and myself. I return you my thanks for the kind permission to him to communicate to me the opinion you have expressed. As the subject is one of growing importance and likely to excite much interest, I take the liberty to send you copies of all the papers relating to it which have become public.

Permit me to express to you my sincere acknowledgments for your high and honorable efforts in behalf of human liberty, in the case of the prisoners in the Amistad.

That your honored life may long be spared is the earnest wish of, dear sir, always most respectfully, your fellow-citizen.

TO HON. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

ALBANY, *April*, 20, 1841.

DEAR SIR: I can not omit to thank you for your kind and excellent letter. It will be of much use to me. The subject of my correspondence with the executive of Virginia is new even in this state, and the subjection into which the minds of many of our citizens was brought by the policy of the late administration, in regard to any question which might, in any way, seem to affect "the peculiar institution" of the southern states, has rendered them slow to appreciate our own deep interest in the maintenance of the positions I have assumed. The influence of

many wise and good men has been in favor of the extraordinary demand of Virginia. Although this influence daily diminishes, I shall gain much strength from your sanction of my decision.

A mutual friend has told me that you are preparing a report of your argument in the Amistad case. May I ask of you the great favor to send me a copy of it, if you can remember so troublesome a request.

With the same respect and veneration which nine years ago conducted me to your retreat at Quincy, to obtain the honor of your acquaintance, I remain, dear sir, your obedient servant.

TO HON. JABEZ D. HAMMOND.

ALBANY, *April* 20, 1841.

DEAR SIR: My health has given way many times during this winter, and it has happened in consequence of these visitations that my correspondence has not always been within my control. I trust that you will receive this as an excuse for my delay in acknowledging your very kind and excellent letter of the 3d instant.

I pray you now to be assured that I fully appreciate the generous impulses which dictated it. I am gratified with the direct and incontrovertible argument it contains in support of the position I have taken in what is called the New York and Virginia controversy.

It has been a trial of my fortitude to stand so much alone in this matter, but there are now abundant indications that the doubts of *one* who ought to understand and support the right are wearing away. I congratulate you upon the release of the public mind in this state from the fetters which a late adminstration fastened upon it. I thank God the time has come at last in which, while we acknowledge we have no right to interfere with the sovereignty of slave-holding states, we can assert also that those states shall not interfere with ours.

I will send you a copy of the late correspondence, as soon as it shall come from the press.

It is not impossible that I may at some time cause this whole

correspondence to be printed. Shall I be at liberty to incorporate your letter? I ask it because the letter is, in my judgment, calculated to do good, and will do you much honor.

I have received, to-night, a noble letter on the subject (approving my course) from President Adams.

I remain, dear sir, very respectfully, your friend and servant.

TO AUSTIN PRAY AND THOMAS PAUL, TORONTO, U. C.

ALBANY, *July* 13, 1841.

GENTLEMEN: I have received your letter of the 20th of June, expressing your gratification at the measures I have adopted, and the principles I have maintained in regard to that portion of the African race residing in this state. I assure you most sincerely, that no tribute of approbation could be more acceptable to me. If there be one reproach which I should above all others most deprecate, it would be that of having used the high powers confided to me, to check efforts put forth by that people to rise from the debasement in which slavery has left them. While I do not disclaim sympathy for your brethren, I must confess, that in desiring to promote their improvement, I am influenced chiefly by solicitude for the security and prosperity of my country. It is not alone the degraded race that suffers. Slavery has brought a thousand evils which affect the whole American community, and will long survive the cause that produced them. I congratulate you upon the indications that the time draws nigh when slavery will be numbered among the obsolete crimes of the human race. Your friend and well-wisher.

TO THOMAS CLARKSON, ESQ., LONDON.

ALBANY, *July* 26, 1842.

SIR: I acknowledge with much pleasure, the receipt of the communication addressed to me, by the convention of the friends of the negro, assembled from various parts of the world, at London, on the 12th day of June last.

I beg leave to assure you, sir, that I concur entirely with the convention, and with enlightened and benevolent men in all civilized countries, in regarding slavery as a great moral evil, unjust in principle, a violation of inalienable human rights, inconsistent with the blessed spirit of the Christian religion, and injurious to the prosperity and happiness of every people among whom it exists. Entertaining these views, I have regarded with deep interest, and entire approbation, all the noble efforts which have been made in your country, and in this, for the abolition of slavery, and especially those with which your name, and that of your compatriot Wilberforce, have been associated, until those names have acquired an enduring place among those of the most distinguished benefactors of mankind.

You are well aware, sir, that slavery was abolished in this state many years since. By the action of our legislature every vestige of slavery has ceased to exist. The improvement of the condition of negroes remaining in this state is enforced by considerations of justice to their much-injured race, by a patriotic solicitude for the stability of our invaluable republican institutions, and by an enlightened view of the influence that their elevation would have in promoting the great object of emancipation throughout the world. I have, therefore, since the functions of government in this state were committed to me, endeavored always to do what has been in my power to achieve this great purpose, and I have not the slightest hesitation in assuring you, that at no time, nor

under any circumstances, shall I fail to do whatever may be within my lawful power, and rightful influence, calculated, in my judgment, to promote in the most effectual manner, the great and philanthropic work of universal emancipation.

With the most respectful consideration, and with an ardent desire that your useful and honorable life may be prolonged, I remain, very respectfully and sincerely, your obedient servant.

REPLY TO THE COLORED CITIZENS OF NEW YORK.

ALBANY, *January* 5, 1843.

GENTLEMEN: I have received with profound sensibility, the resolutions and address tendered by you, in the name of the colored citizens of New York. It is a pleasing surprise that the principles and motives which have influenced my public conduct, although misapprehended by many of those to whom I was responsible, have been fully understood and justly appreciated by a mass who are excluded, unjustly from political suffrage, and, therefore, are unable to reward or punish a magistrate.

I do not trust myself to reply, at length, to your eloquent and affecting address, but I may say, without egotism, that I shall cherish among the pleasing recollections of my public life, the remembrance that I received the thanks of those, whose protection required a sacrifice of some personal advantage, and a conflict with prejudices matured by age, and sustained by political combinations.

Believe me, gentlemen, to be as grateful as a generous and ardent man should be for the tribute I have have received at your hands; and assure your constituents that the cause of humanity shall continue to have my humble efforts for its advancement.

I remain, most respectfully, your obliged and obedient servant.

REPLY TO THE COLORED CITIZENS OF ALBANY.

AUBURN, *January* 10, 1843.

GENTLEMEN: If prejudice, interest, and passion, did sometimes counsel me that what seemed to be the rights of the African race, might be overlooked without compromise of principle, and even with personal advantage, yet I never have been able to find a better definition of equality than that which is contained in the Declaration of Independence, or of justice, than the form which our religion adopts. If, as the former asserts, all men are born free and equal, institutions which deny them equal political rights and advantages are unjust, and if I would do unto others as I would desire them to do unto me, I should not deny them any right on account of the hue they wear, or of the land in which they or their ancestors were born.

Only time can determine between those who have upheld, and those who have opposed the measures to which you have adverted. But I feel encouraged to wait that decision, since, in the moment when, if ever, reproaches for injustice should come, the exile does not reproach me, the prisoner does not exult in my departure, and the disfranchised and the slave greet me with their salutations. And if every other hope of my heart shall fail, the remembrance that I have received the thanks of those who have just cause to upbraid the memory of our forefathers, and to complain of our cotemporaries, will satisfy me that I have not lived altogether in vain.

May that God, whose impartial love knows no difference among those to whom he has imparted a portion of his own spirit, and upon whom he has impressed his own image, reward you for your kindness to me now, and in times past, and sanction and bless your generous and noble efforts to regain all the rights of which you have been deprived.

TO GERRIT SMITH, ESQ.

AUBURN, *November* 25, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR: On my return from Orange county, I find your very kind letter of the 16th instant. I regret that I missed an interview with you in Albany.

You do me no more than justice in supposing that I shall continue the contest, or rather my exertions in the contest, for human rights with as much zeal as ever. But I am confounded for the moment by the magnitude and imminency of the perils to which the cause of freedom is exposed, by the sad result of the recent election. It would be unavailing for you and me to dispute about the responsibilities for that result. The same wide difference of opinion, that has hitherto existed in regard to our respective courses, remains. But we have nevertheless a common devotion to the common cause. All the efforts of all sincere lovers of freedom will be necessary to overtake the triumphant spirit of slavery, and trammel up the consequences of the sanction of the conquest of Texas by the American people. You are committed to the liberty party's mode of proceeding. I find the whig party like what I always loved to imagine it, firm, fearless, resolved in the very hour of its defeat. I believe it willing and yet capable to take the cause of freedom into its keeping. As yet I see no reason, and much less apparent reason now than heretofore, to distrust its instincts of liberty and humanity. Under these circumstances I shall cheerfully abide its destinies, and wait for the development of circumstances and occasions which will show in what quarter and in what manner the great war, in which we have lost so important a battle, is to be recommenced.

Believe me, always sincerely, your friend and obedient servant.

TO S. P. CHASE, SAMUEL LEWIS, AND OTHERS.

AUBURN, *May* 26, 1845.

GENTLEMEN: Your letter of the 19th of April, inviting me to a "Southern and Western Convention of the Friends of Constitutional Liberty at Cincinnati," has been received. You inform me that the convention will not be composed exclusively of members of the liberty party, but will be open "to all who are resolved to use every constitutional and honorable means to effect the extinction of slavery in their respective states, and its reduction to its constitutional limits in the United States."

I am profoundly sensible of the honor thus conferred upon me. But uncontrollable circumstances concurring with my own disposition, oblige me to avoid the political arena and devote myself assiduously to professional pursuits. If I could at all attend a convention so distant, I should not stop to inquire of whom it was composed. It would be enough that its design was to promote the abolition of slavery, an object whose importance is paramount to that of every other which engages or can engage the consideration of the American people.

Permit me, with the utmost deference, to express a hope that the deliberations of the convention may be conducted in a spirit of wise and enlightened moderation. I have always sympathized with abolitionists too deeply to be one of those who hindered or embarrassed them, by complaining of their intemperate zeal and exposing the injudiciousness of their measures. But the cause of emancipation has now reached an interesting crisis. The sentiment of justice to the African race has at length become a political element too important to be overlooked or disregarded by either of the great political parties.

The expediency of practical emancipation is directly discussed in one slave state, and thousands are prepared for it in other

states where the institution has seemed impregnable. Its advocates fail to convince the people that it is a humane, or a necessary, or even a harmless anomaly in our constitution. Nevertheless popular action is checked by alarms concerning the threatened dangers of emancipation, civil wars, and dissolution of the Union. We live in an age when the specific influences of Christianity are widely diffused, and we shrink from prosecuting even the most benevolent designs if they seem to involve the calamities of war. If we analyze the national passion of patriotism, we shall find it to consist chiefly in veneration for the constitution, and devotion to the union of the states.

The seeming indifference of the people concerning the guilt and danger of slavery has been so irksome to the impetuous that many who have been esteemed wise and patriotic citizens, have come to treat of disunion, as if it were preferable to further forbearance, or were in some way involved in the success of abolition. I trust that such sentiments will be discarded. Whatever hopes may be indulged by those who permit themselves to speculate concerning secession or nullification, we have enjoyed more abounding national prosperity, more perfect political and social equality, and more precious civil and religious liberty, by, through, and with our present constitution, than were ever before secured by any people. We can not know what portion of these blessings would be lost by dissolving the present fabric and constructing another or others in its place. Heaven forbid that we should even contemplate the experiment!

Prudence in regard to the cause of emancipation forbids the indulgence of a thought of disunion. If it be so confessedly difficult to awaken the national conscience, while the patriotism of abolitionists can not be justly questioned, it would be ruinous to suffer so noble an enterprise to be at all connected with designs which, however they may be excused or palliated, must nevertheless be seditious and treasonable.

I grant that the annexation of Texas, through the failure of concert among the opponents of slavery, vastly increases the difficulty of emancipation. But still I trust that if that great enterprise be conducted with discretion, it will advance faster than the population and political influence of the new territory. The slaveholders have enlarged the domain of our country. Let this untoward event only excite us the more. Let us rouse our-

selves to the necessary effort, and enlarge indeed the "area of freedom."

Men differ much in temperament and susceptibility, and are so variously situated, that they receive from the same causes very unequal impressions. It is not in human nature that all who desire the abolition of slavery should be inflamed with equal zeal; and different degrees of fervor produce different opinions concerning the measures proper to be adopted. Great caution is necessary, therefore, to preserve mutual confidence and harmony. No cause, however just, can flourish without these. Christian Europe lost the Holy Sepulchre, which had cost so many sacrifices, less by the bravery of the Saracens, than by the mutual controversies of the Crusaders. The protestant reformation was arrested two hundred years ago, by the distraction of the reformers, and not a furlong's breadth has since been gained from the papal hierarchy.

I am far from denying that any class of abolitionists has done much good for their common cause, but I think the whole result has been much diminished by the angry conflicts between them, often on mere metaphysical questions. I sincerely hope that these conflicts may now cease. Emancipation is now a political enterprise, to be effected through the consent and action of the American people. They will lend no countenance or favor to any other than lawful and constitutional means. Nor is the range of our efforts narrowly circumscribed by the constitution.

In many of the free states there is a large mass of citizens disfranchised on the ground of color. They must be invested with the right of suffrage. Give them this right, and their influence will be immediately felt in the national councils, and it is needless to say will be cast in favor of those who uphold the cause of human liberty. We must resist unceasingly the admission of slave states, and urge and demand the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. We have secured the right of petition, but the federal government continues to be swerved by the influences of slavery as before. This tendency can and must be counteracted; and when one independent Congress shall have been elected, the internal slave-trade will be subjected to inquiry. Amendments to the constitution may be initiated, and the obstacles in the way of emancipation will no longer appear insurmountable.

But, gentlemen, I fear I may appear to dogmatize when I intended only to invoke concession. If I seem to do so too earnestly, it is because I feel so deeply interested in the cause to which your efforts are devoted, and because I believe with Burke, that "we ought to act in political affairs with all the moderation which does not absolutely enervate that vigor, and quench that fervency of spirit, without which the best wishes for the public good must evaporate in empty speculation."

I am, gentlemen, very respectfully, your humble servant.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.*

WASHINGTON, *March* 29, 1849.

GENTLEMEN: It has been stated in some quarters, that "notwithstanding the Allison letter, and the pretended pledges of General Taylor to leave all questions of legislation entirely to Congress, yet the first effort of the new president was to pass Mr. Walker's amendment through, attached as it was to the appropriation bill. The first movement of the fast friend of the Wilmot proviso, after he had arrived at our nation's capital, was to give his personal influence to a measure the effect of which was to extend slavery."

I do not pretend to know the grounds or the authority on which the statement is made, but I think it due to General Taylor to give to the public the facts which are within my knowledge relating to the subject.

In the morning of the 3d of March (the last day of the late session of Congress), General Taylor, Mr. Clayton, the present secretary of state, and Mr. Ewing, now secretary of the interior, severally called my attention to the necessity of having some form of civil government for California established before Congress should adjourn. Neither of those gentlemen indicated any plan whatever, or expressed any opinion, on the question of the

* This letter shows General Taylor's action, and Mr. Seward's course in regard to Mr. Walker's amendment, which, if it had passed, it has been supposed, would have extended slavery over all the New Mexican territories. The amendment, as will be remembered, failed, and the whole subject went over to the next Congress, when California, after a long struggle, was admitted into the Union as a free state.—*Ed.*

extension of slavery within the territory. What General Taylor did say on the subject was, that he desired to substitute the rule of law and order there for the bowie-knife and revolvers. I repaired to the capitol in company with Mr. Ewing, and there I procured a copy of Mr. Walker's amendment, which I had not before read. I immediately prepared what I contemplated as an amendment of Mr. Walker's amendment, or as a substitute for it. Afterward I found Mr. Webster's proposed amendment, and I discovered that it contained all the provisions I had contemplated, very tersely expressed. I took Mr. Webster's amendment, and having shown it to Mr. Ewing, who left the whole subject to my own judgment, I visited many members of the house of representatives, and urged the adoption of it.

Mr. Vinton, chairman of the committee of ways and means, soon informed me that the committee would report the amendment (Mr. Webster's), with some slight modifications, to which I did not object. I spent the residue of the day in urging the adoption of the amendment of the committee of ways and means upon the house. When it had been adopted there, I returned to the senate-chamber, and exerted myself to procure the assent of the senate to the amendment, and I insisted that no different provision ought to pass. I continued my efforts, until the senate decided to disagree to the amendment of the committee of ways and means of the house. It is well known that the whole design of a government for California failed by reason of that disagreement.

I am, very respectfully, your humble servant.

TO THE MASSACHUSETTS CONVENTION.

AUBURN, *April* 5, 1851.

Your letter inviting me to attend a convention of the people of Massachusetts opposed to the fugitive slave law, and to communicate in writing my opinion on that statute, if I should be unable to attend the convention, has been received.

While offering the pressure of duties here, too long deferred, as an apology for non-attendance, I pray you to assure the committee in whose behalf you act, of my profound sense of their courtesy and kindness. It would be an honor to be invited to address the people of Massachusetts on any subject; but it might well satisfy a generous ambition to be called upon to speak to that great and enlightened commonwealth on a question of human rights and civil liberty.

I confess that I have earnestly desired not to mingle in the popular discussions of the measures of the last Congress. The issue necessarily involves the claims of their advocates and adversaries in the public councils, to the confidence of the country. Some of those advocates have entered the popular arena, criminating those from whom they had differed, while others have endeavored, by extraordinary means, either to control discussion, or to suppress it altogether, and thus they have shown themselves disqualified by prejudice or interest, for practising that impartiality and candor which the occasion demanded.

I am unwilling even to seem to imply, by reiterating arguments already before the public, either any distrust of the position of those with whom I stood in Congress, or any impatience for that favorable popular verdict which I believe to be near, and know to be ultimately certain.

Nevertheless, there can be no impropriety in my declaring, when thus questioned, the opinions which will govern my vote

upon any occasion when the fugitive slave law shall come up for review in the national legislature. I think the act signally unwise, because it is an attempt by a purely federative government to extend the economy of slave states throughout states which repudiate slavery as a moral, social, and political evil. Any despotic government would awaken sedition from its profoundest slumbers by such an attempt. The attempt by this government has aroused constitutional resistance, which will not cease until the effort shall be relinquished. He who teaches another faith than this, whether self-deceived or not, misleads. I think also that the attempt was unnecessary; that political ends—merely political ends—and not real evils, resulting from the escape of slaves, constituted the prevailing motives to the enactment.

I think, also, that the details of the measure are indefensible; that the denial to the alleged fugitive of a trial of his alleged obligation to labor, and of his escape from it by a court, and nothing less than a court of justice, constitutionally organized, and proceeding according to the course of the common law within the state where he is claimed, is palpably in derogation of the constitution; that the rules of evidence, which the law prescribes, are oppressive of the weak and defenceless; and that Christendom might be searched in vain for a parallel to the provisions which make escape from bondage a crime, by a law retroactive in its effect, and without limitations of time to favor the presumption of freedom, which, under rigorous penalties, compel freemen to aid in the capture of slaves, and which offer unmistaken inducements to false claims and false judgments. Finally, whatever changes of opinions others may have undergone, I retain my earliest convictions that the constitutional provision on which the law purports to be founded, is merely a compact between the states; and that the Congress of the United States have no jurisdiction of the subject.

Nor is the law, which is so obnoxious in itself, commended to my favor by its connection with what are called the other measures of compromise. Compromise implies a mingling of truth and error, right and wrong. One of those affiliated measures denied the admission of New Mexico, because she had determined to come in as a free state, and remanded her, with permission to come back in the habiliments of slavery. Another distinctly intimated to the Mormons the consent of Congress that they

should, if they could, plant a slave state in the very recesses of the continent. A third abolished a public slave-mart in the city of Washington, without abating either the extent or duration of slavery in the District of Columbia. A fourth obtained peace on humiliating terms from one of the youngest and feeblest members of the confederacy, in an attitude of sedition. While a fifth only reluctantly admitted California as a free state, when she refused to contaminate herself with slavery. Which one of these measures has superfluous merit, to be received in extenuation of the fugitive slave law? But we are told, that bad as these measures are, they were the best that could be obtained. On the contrary, there were always votes enough for the admission of California. The thirty-first Congress might have admitted her, and have left the other questions to another Congress, which, instructed by the people, might have done better, and certainly could not have done worse.

Nor do I find the fugitive slave law growing in my favor on the ground of the already falsified promise of an end of the agitation of slavery in the republic; an agitation which, whether beneficent or otherwise, is as inseparable from our political organization, as the winds and clouds are from the atmosphere that encircles the earth.

I have weighed, morever, the argument that some portion of the people, in some of the states have made the perpetuity of the fugitive slave law a condition of new declarations of loyalty to the Union. That loyalty is a duty resulting from the Constitution, and is equally due, whether the measures of administration are satisfactory or unsatisfactory. I regret that anything should have happened to encourage a belief that loyalty could be accepted on conditions, and especially on the conditions of forbearing to repeal a repealable statute. But since it is so, I can only say that we, on whom the recent action of the government bears, as it seems to us, so unjustly, are in the Union for richer or poorer, for better or worse, whether in a majority or in a minority, whether in power or powerless, without condition, reservation, qualification, or limitation, for ever and aye; that we are in the Union, not because we are satisfied with the administration, but whether satisfied or not; not at all by means of compromises or understandings, but by virtue of the constitution; and that all other parties are in the Union on the same terms, for the same tenure,

and by virtue of the same obligation; and so they will find their case to be, when they offer to plead violations of extra constitutional conditions to justify secession. Whatever is irrepealable in any of the acts of the late Congress, no one will be mad enough to attempt to repeal. Whatever is repealable in those acts, and whatever shall be repealable in future acts of Congress, whether it shall favor freedom or slavery, no matter under what circumstances, nor with what auspices, nor with what solemnities it may have been adopted, must abide the trial of experience of reason and of truth. It is only in this way that the constitution can be maintained, and the Union can be saved. Its security consists in the adaptation it has to the physical and moral necessities of the broad and ever-extending empire which it protects and defends, and in the facility with which, without violence, or sudden change, errors of administration can be corrected, and new exigencies can be met, so that the state, free or slaveholding, which may at any time be least favored, will be at all times safer under this government, when worst administered, than it would be under any other, however wisely administered, or favorably conducted.

I think that all this is virtually confessed now by those who, while they see that their complicated schemes for that suppression of free debate which they thought essential to the safety of the Union, have failed: nevertheless, admit that the Union is no longer in danger, and therefore I think that we may, at least, congratulate ourselves on the discovery, that not only are extra constitutional compromises unnecessary, but that the Union has strength and stability enough to endure, notwithstanding that such compromises, under the influence of an unwise legislative distrust, are sometimes unnecessarily and unavailingly made.

I am, with great respect, your humble servant.

THE M'LEOD CASE.

TO PETER B. PORTER.

ALBANY, *March* 31, 1841.

DEAR SIR: I return you my acknowledgments for your spirited and interesting letter, on the subject of the disturbed relations between this country and Great Britain. That subject being, as I have reason to suppose, under consideration by the federal government, and my views having been fully communicated thereon, it would seem to be improper for me to write upon the matter at present.

Permit me to assure you, however, that while obliged to differ from you in regard to some of the questions discussed, I am quite sure that no war will grow out of the affair. While I may be wrong in other views not noticed by you, yet I must be allowed to say that, in regard to the *one* matter in which you censure me with a freedom that commands even new respect on my part, you will, at a proper time, find that your opinion is premature if not erroneous.

Accept the assurances of the high respect and esteem with which I remain, your obedient servant.

TO HON. THOMAS EWING.

ALBANY, *May* 17, 1841.

DEAR SIR: Your letter was duly received, and I return you my acknowledgments for it. I think I can assure you that resolutions instructing our senators upon all the leading whig measures will pass our legislature before its adjournment. If in any way I can contribute to their passage in Congress, I shall be ready to do so. It can not be too well understood that the continued ascendency of the whig party in this state can not be looked for if those measures fail to receive the favorable action of Congress. Decision and energy in restoring the prosperity of the country are expected from the whig party.

When Mr. Crittenden was here, he was met with frankness, and unreserved communications were made to him concerning our views on the M'Leod and Caroline questions. We expected similar confidence to be reposed in us, more especially as the questions have a local bearing and local interest affecting this state. No communications on that subject have been received, except the president's reply to a letter of mine concerning an incident connected with the proceedings in the supreme court of this state.

It is not doubted that the derangement of business resulting from the death of General Harrison caused the interruption of communication on that interesting subject. We have been left, however, to conjecture, and learn from apparently semi-authentic givings-out in the newspapers, the course of the general government upon a question of exciting interest. Under these circumstances, we may have erred through want of information, but we have felt it our duty to advise against a proceeding that seems to have been thought wise at Washington.

I should have been wanting in the frankness which I desire always to manifest if I had not made known to the president that the surrender or discharge of M'Leod, with the seeming agency

or consent of the general government, would have a most unhappy effect; while by suffering him to be *tried* by the *court in the ordinary form*, we have a course perfectly safe. *Here* we must and shall act according to these views, at least until better informed.

I fear, dear sir, I shall be thought one of those who take pleasure in fault-finding. I assure you, however, that if I am constitutionally disposed that way, I have had experience enough of being found fault with to save me from that category.

Wishing you all success in your very arduous and responsible duties, I remain, very respectfully, your friend and obedient servant.

TO LOVELL G. MICKLES, ESQ.

WESTFIELD, CHAUTAUQUE COUNTY, *August* 23, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 16th instant found me at Buffalo. I am spending two or three days here, and shall without much delay return to Albany.

The veto-message is very unfortunate in its effects in this region, if it be unfortunate to alienate one's friends, and excite a triumphant tone on the part of one's enemies.

We look with much solicitude for what is to follow. The passage of the bankrupt bill gladdens many hearts. It has never been my purpose to complain of Mr. Webster or the administration at Washington. I have been content to do my duty, and leave consequences to take care of themselves. It surprises me, however, that Mr. W. should aver that I had in all cases been treated fairly.

When the new administration came in, it found a manifesto written by me, and addressed to Mr. Forsyth, in which I assumed the ground taken by him, and justified it, thus making it the ground upon which this state was to insist. Mr. Webster changed *this* ground, and sent Mr. Fillmore and the attorney-general of the United States to consult with me on the subject. I communicated to both these gentlemen my dissent from Mr. Webster's opinions, which I was informed were yet open for review, and were not communicated to Mr. Fox. I corresponded upon the

whole matter freely with Mr. Crittenden, Mr. Fillmore, and General Scott, all of whom accorded with me in opinion, and agreed so to report to Mr. Webster. They further agreed that, if Mr. Webster should coincide, they would file with him my written answer to his communication, and if he or the president dissented, I should be informed before any communication was made to the British minister, to the end that a further consultation might be had between the government at Washington and myself. For this frankness on my side I have had no return. Mr. Webster, without making any further communication to me, committed himself to Mr. Fox, repudiating the ground solemnly assumed by this state. He left me to learn from the president's message to Congress what had been his decision upon a point in which he had opened a consultation with me. That decision was communicated to the British government several weeks before it was made known to the state of New York. This may have been frank, generous, and wise, but I have not so regarded it.

This breach of courtesy and confidence was followed by committing the office of district-attorney of the United States to a man actually known to Mr. Webster to be counsel for M'Leod after I had expressly notified Mr. Webster, through Mr. Crittenden, of that incongruous relation. When I protested against the district-attorney's acting as counsel for M'Leod, I was answered by ribaldry, although the course I adopted was necessary, not only to protect the dignity and honor of the government of the United States, but also the rights of this state. I am informed in a most authentic manner that my name has been associated in Mr. Webster's society with personal and dishonorable motives in regard to the M'Leod affair.

These are some of the circumstances which might have occurred to you when Mr. Webster desired you to specify when I had been treated with unfrankness.

But they are unimportant. None regrets more than I do any accident that disturbs the relations between the political power of this state and the federal government. I ask no consideration for personal grief, as I have never sought any personal consideration of the president or his cabinet. I am content to pay with disregard all injuries done to me, and I shall most assuredly approve of all the measures of the federal administration that shall entitle themselves to the approbation of anybody.

Yours, very respectfully.

TO REV. ELIPHALET NOTT, D. D.

ALBANY, *September* 17, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR: It seems, from my old tutor's letter, that I have again fallen under discipline. It is fortunate for me that he has not now the power he had of old. If he had, I should most surely be "suspended" instead of M'Leod, unless you were, as before, the appellate tribunal. If you were, I trust I might hope for executive clemency similar to that which saved me from expulsion from the barren sand-hills that have since been converted into fertility and embellished under your care, at Schenectady.

I thank you for vindicating me so well and justly. I have often had occasion to mark how much more justly men reason in books than in action. Dr. Wayland's book on "Human Responsibility" is an invaluable and in the main a most true book. I think he would be unwilling to say in his next edition that it was my business to usurp judicial power and acquit without trial a party accused of crime, because even the British government *might* launch her thunders against this nation if I refused to do so. It will, however, be sufficient to remove the doctor's apprehensions, to say that his information is altogether incorrect. "The borderers are" not "determined, right or wrong, to hang M'Leod." —"The governor is not with them" or with anybody else that has such designs, but, as the world will know in the sequel, is as careful of the personal security of Alexander M'Leod as the honor and dignity of the state of New York requires its executive authority to be. And instead of political capital being sought by me, all the thousand idle rumors that alarm our old friend are the consequence of busy men in both countries who are trying to make capital by showing how they can prevent a war which there is no real ground to fear.

Always, my dear sir, your obedient servant and docile pupil.

TO HON. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

ALBANY, *September* 25, 1841.

MR DEAR SIR: I thank you very sincerely for your kind remembrance, manifested by sending me a copy of your remarks on the M'Leod resolution. If I can not subscribe to all your positions, I can acknowledge that I am gratified with the spirit which pervades the speech. You are entitled to the thanks of the country for inculcating the importance of deliberation and patriotism in acting upon the delicate questions which have occurred in our foreign relations. I am especially grateful to you for reading some of our orators a lesson upon the flippancy with which they magnify New York as the *empire state*. Such expressions are in bad taste, and tend to excite jealousies affecting the just influence of the state.

With renewed assurances of very high respect, I am your obedient servant.

TO HON. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

ALBANY, *November* 6, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR: I share with a thousand others a deep regret on account of your inability to accept the invitation of our Young Men's Association. But I am not surprised. I can not, indeed, conceive how you are able ever to turn aside from sterner duties to literary pursuits.

The mails have borne to you the news of a disastrous overthrow of the whig party in this state. I confess my fears that the evil is epidemic, and that even Massachusetts may exhibit a similar result next week. There will be much speculation, and as usual

very little wisdom in it, concerning the causes of this popular change. History is not very accurate in her judgments upon "*causas rerum*," but cotemporaneous commentary is never just. I should refer the causes to the constitution of parties and of men. The country was alarmed and suffering. It called upon us for relief and repose. The call has been answered, the relief given, the repose is enjoyed. Nevertheless, there is no cause of despondency. The country demands the existence of parties, and these parties must alternate in the public councils. If I were to choose again with which I would connect myself, I should say that party invoked when danger and suffering came, rather than that which holds fast on power until a despairing people casts it off.

I can not omit an acknowledgment of your wisdom and sagacity in your conclusions in your speech as to what would be the consequences of a war upon the conviction and execution of Alexander M'Leod. But, my dear sir, there is a part of the history of that affair unwritten, and that part would show that while there was an entire certainty that M'Leod would not be *convicted*, and an equal certainty that there would be no war unless he was *executed*, yet there was an absence of all prudence and caution in the eagerness of the federal government to procure his release by direct interference with the proceedings of the courts of this state, and in an extraordinary and unusual manner; and all this after assurances in which the government might have confided, that, in any and every emergency, the state of New York might be relied upon to act with justice, magnanimity, and high regard to the national honor and harmony.

I am, my dear sir, very much gratified by the kind consideration you express concerning my public actions in the difficult place assigned me. If I were to define the ruling motive of my political conduct in and out of place, it would be that of solicitude to avoid doing or saying, under the pressure of the time, anything which in all time to come would require vindication. Such, you will permit me to say, has always appeared to me to be the moral of your distinguished life. It will be an enduring consolation to know that I have in any degree secured the respect and confidence of one whose fame seems to me the most enviable achievement of the age in which I live. I early determined not to be a candidate for a third election to my present place. Such

a course was necessary to vindicate myself from jealousies that hindered my usefulness. A common misfortune will now lend a healing influence. As for the future, I await its developments without concern, conscious that if my services are needed, they will be demanded — and if not needed, that it would be neither patriotic nor conducive to my own happiness to be in public life.

Excuse the egotism into which words of kindness from one so much revered have betrayed me, and believe me your obedient servant.

MISCELLANEOUS.

HOLLAND LAND COMPANY.

AUBURN, *October* 15, 1838.

TO THE CITIZENS OF CHAUTAUQUE COUNTY:

MISREPRESENTATION of facts and injurious influences, which concern only the political principles and conduct of candidates for popular suffrage, may generally be left to the correction of the press. But misrepresentations and inferences which tend to affect the social or business relations existing between them and their fellow-citizens, may sometimes demand personal notice.

During the last two months many statements have been published calculated to excite apprehensions among you concerning your business relations with the Chautauque land-office.

It is not my intention to question the justice or magnanimity of this mode of attack, or to inquire why those who have been so suddenly overcome by solicitude on behalf of "the hardy and honest settlers of the west" have been so long, as it would now seem, criminally indifferent to your welfare; or whether their kind concern for you will continue after the election which now approaches shall have passed.

Knowing from your intelligence and past liberality that your confidence was not to be easily shaken, I have waited before making this expose, until those engaged in these efforts should have submitted to the public all the accusations they might deem it to their advantage to allege against me. And although to many of you these accusations will now come for the first time, I shall not hesitate to submit them in all their enormity, and in the language in which they have been promulgated.

It was insinuated some two weeks since, by an anonymous correspondent of the *Maysville Sentinel*, that —

"The bonds and mortgages of the settlers of Chautauque county are now in Wall street, New York;" that "some trust company has a deed of all the lands of the settlers;" that "through the agency of Nicholas Biddle and others, William H. Seward has raised money in Europe at an interest of *five* per cent., while he demands *seven* per cent. from you;" and that "he and his associates pay interest *annually*, and extort interest from you *semi-annually*."

These anonymous communications were copied into the *Albany Argus*, and received the sanction of that journal.

The *Albany Argus*, of October 3, says: "It is alleged that Mr. Seward, as agent of a few whig speculators, has sold to a foreign corporation mortgages which cover the farms and firesides of thousands of hardy and honest settlers of the west; that he has, by this operation, put their prosperity, quiet, and happiness, in some measure, at the disposal of a soulless corporation, which will have no sympathy with them."

The *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, still more alarmed for your security, charges that "at the time Seward obtained the mortgages, he promised the settlers (and it was considered a part of the stipulation between him and them) that he would retain the mortgages in his own hands; so that if they were not able to take them up at the expiration of the time for which they were given, Seward could renew them, and thereby prevent the ruin and distress among the honest settlers, which would be the inevitable consequence of a foreclosure. Instead, however, of doing as he agreed, he immediately sold the mortgages to a foreign corporation. Corporations have no souls, and of course the corporation to which Seward sold the mortgages, will demand payment of the settlers the moment the mortgages expire. If the settlers by any misfortune are not able to raise the amount of money necessary to lift the mortgages, they will be foreclosed, and the farms sold for half what they are worth, and William H. Seward, being a heartless speculator by trade, and wealthy withal, will doubtless be the purchaser, and thus rob the poor settlers of millions of their hard earnings."

It will surprise you, doubtless, that these confident statements

are altogether inconsistent with your own knowledge of your own affairs.

In November, 1835, Wilhelm Willink, Walrave Van Henkelone, Jan Van Eeghen, Cornelis Isaac Vandervliet, and others, living in Amsterdam, in Holland, made an arrangement to sell to Trumbull Cary and George W. Lay, of Batavia, in this state, all their remaining estate, personal and real, in Chautauque county. This estate consisted, as you well know, in wild lands, reverted lands, lands held under valid contracts, and a few bonds and mortgages upon lands sold and conveyed.

The purchase-money upon the sale was payable as follows: $50,000 in hand, and the residue in four equal instalments of six, twelve, eighteen, and twenty-four months. For the security of the Holland Company, it was stipulated that they should retain the legal title of the property, receive all the moneys which should be collected, and take in their own names and retain all securities by bonds, mortgages, and contracts, which should be taken on the sale of the lands, and liquidation of debts. But the local agent of the Holland Company was, as far as should be consistent with its security, governed by the direction of the new (equitable) proprietors.

In May, 1836, application was made to me to assume the agency of the estate. Its condition at that time you well recollect. The land-office had been demolished in a popular commotion. The books, maps, records, and most of the bonds, mortgages, and contracts, had been burned. The business of the estate was altogether suspended. Universal distrust prevailed concerning the title of the Holland Company, as well as the terms and conditions which would be required by the proprietors for a settlement of the great mass of contracts, and the country suffered those ruinous consequences which inevitably follow when the title of its landholders is felt to be in jeopardy. The Holland Company having, about the same time, with a view to withdraw its interests from the country, made similar agreements of sale for other parts of their tract, similar difficulties extended throughout the counties of Erie, Genesee, and Cattaraugus. Such was the popular excitement, that a crowd of seven hundred persons made a descent upon the Holland Company's office at Batavia; and when I repaired to that place to determine whether I would accept the agency proposed, I found the citizens of Batavia or

ganized in a military force, and a corps of men armed, as well as the citizens, from the state arsenal, occupying the land-office, and two block-houses erected for its defence.

Of the causes of these difficulties, as I had no connection with them, it is not for me to speak. It was on that occasion that I received at Batavia the proceedings of your convention, held at Mayville, in June, 1836, in which you resolved that the proprietors be invited to open an office in your county, and pledged yourselves that the settlers would cheerfully pay the principal and interest accrued upon their contracts, but would submit to no extortionate demands by way of what was called the Genesee tariff, compound interest, or otherwise. Accustomed always to confide in the intelligence and justice of the people, I was determined by this expression to accept the trust proposed. Compelled by ill health to relinquish my profession, it seemed to me that I might, without wrong or injury to you, contribute to restore peace, harmony, and prosperity in, that flourishing region of the state, where so much unhappy agitation prevailed; and although I may have erred, this seemed to me not an unworthy object of ambition, nor an ungrateful return of the generous confidence its people had, on a former occasion, bestowed upon me. Nor did it appear to me morally wrong to receive from the purchasers an adequate compensation for my services. The compensation tendered, as an equivalent for the not unprofitable professional pursuits which I abandoned, was invested in the purchase.

The Holland Company reposed in me the extreme confidence of constituting me their agent, although I was a purchaser under them, and it is due to them and to the proprietors to say, that without even the previous formality of an agreement in writing, or other instrument than a general letter of attorney, I went among you to undertake the agency you desired should be established.

It was known to me that the Holland Company insisted upon its payments, and that these could only be made by raising a loan in Europe or elsewhere, to meet their demands sooner than they could be collected from you, without intolerable oppressions. I therefore stipulated with the American Trust Company, before commencing my agency, that as soon as the liquidation of the debts by bonds and mortgages could be effected, and the monetary affairs of the country would permit, they should advance me

their bonds for the amount. I secured, also, an understanding with the Holland Company, that they would favor the proprietors and settlers, until I could accomplish this preliminary settlement and security.

Thus prepared, I opened an office, and invited the settlers to liquidate their debts, and to quiet all alarm, as well about the title of their lands, as the terms and conditions of their credit, by taking deeds, and executing bonds aad mortgages for the purchase-money. In less than eighteen months four thousand persons whom I found occupying lands chiefly under expired and legally-forfeited contracts of sale, and excited and embarrassed alike by apprehensions about the uncertainty of ever obtaining titles, and anticipated exaction upon their contracts, became freeholders, upon the terms, at their own option, either of payment of their purchase-money, or payment of a convenient portion thereof, and a credit of five years for the residue.

When the occupant could not pay an advance, and his improvements were insufficient to secure his debt, his contract, no matter how long expired, was renewed without any payment. It was always, as you well know, a principle of my agency, that no man could lose his land by forfeiture if he would but *agree* to pay for it in five years. There was none so poor that he could not secure his "farm and his fireside." I think, too, you will recollect that to the sick and infirm, I invariably sent the papers for securing their farms; to the indigent the money to bear their expenses to the land-office; and, since I am arraigned as a "soulless speculator," I may add, that to the widow, I always made a deduction from the debt of her deceased husband. To the common schools I gave lands gratuitously for their school-houses. From the time I first went among you to this period, I have never refused any indulgence of credit, and postponement that was asked at my hands. When I found a few persons (as there must necessarily be some) who were very obstinate in refusing terms generally esteemed liberal, I appealed to them first through the public newspapers, then by letters through the postoffice, and finally by a message sent directly to their houses. When these efforts failed to arrest their attention, and in a few cases legal proceedings or forfeitures were necessary, I uniformly conveyed the lands upon the same terms as if the occupants had

earlier complied with the terms which their fellow-citizens deemed so reasonable and liberal.

Thus contentment was universally diffused among you, when the pressure of 1837 fell upon you, and me, and the whole country. Foreseeing many cases of embarrassment in making payments on your bonds and mortgages in that season of scarceness of money, I immediately issued a notice that the first payment of principal would be dispensed with if the interest should be paid. Having then obtained a definite proposition from the American Trust Company, that the advance to the proprietors should be upon a credit of ten years, with semi-annual interest, I immediately announced to you the welcome and unexpected proposition to extend your bonds and mortgages for the same period upon the same terms. This proposition has been generally accepted, and it is yet open to all.

On the 11th of July, 1838, after two years' continued notice that the title of the Holland Company would pass from them to the proprietors or their trustees; the improved condition of the estate, and the returning prosperity of the country, enabled me to conclude my arrangement with the American Trust Company. That institution advanced to me its bonds for the amount owed by you to the proprietors, and by the proprietors to the Holland Company; and I paid them over to John Jacob Vanderkemp, agent of the Holland Company, at a sacrifice to my associates and myself, in discharge of their whole demand. Desirous to secure you against all possible inconvenience from this arrangement, it was agreed that the estate should remain as before, under my agency; and the title of the lands, bonds, mortgages, and contracts, was vested by a deed in myself with two others, as trustees, to continue the settlement of the estate for the benefit of the proprietors and the security of the American Trust Company. This deed was immediately placed on record in Chautauque county. The agreement between the parties stipulated that my agency in person, or by my own appointment, shall continue three years; *and that payments made by you in Chautauque county, should be credited as soon as paid there. The bonds, mortgages, and contracts, remain under this arrangement in the Chautauque land-office, whence they have never been removed.*

In this transaction the bank of the United States has had this agency. The general agent of the Holland Company has always

kept his accounts and deposites with that institution, and his remittances were made through it. The payments from the Chautauque office, like those of all the other offices on that tract, passed through the same institution. It received the bonds of the American Trust Company, at the discount stipulated by me, and paid for them by a certificate of deposite to Mr. Vanderkemp, payable at six months.

From this explanation, it appears that your bonds and mortgages are not in Wall streets nor in the bank of the United States, but where you have always found them—in the Chautauque land office:

That no trust company, foreign or domestic, has a deed of your lands, but that the title of the lands of the estate and your securities are vested in myself, and my associate trustees, citizens of this state, instead of Wilhelm Willink, Walrave Van Henkelone, and others in Europe:

That neither through the agency of Nicholas Biddle nor otherwise have I borrowed money in Europe or elsewhere, at five per cent., and loaned it to you at seven per cent.; but that, instead of demanding from you immediate payment of your indebtedness to the Holland Company, I have borrowed the money upon your credit and that of the proprietors, and for your benefit and ours, upon a term of ten years, at seven per cent., of which you have the full benefit:

That the proprietors do not exact of you *semi-annual* interest, while they pay interest *annually;* but that while they pay interest *semi-annually*, you pay *annually* or *semi-annually* at your own option:

That your "farms and firesides" have not been put in jeopardy by me; but in just so much as a deed subject to a bond and mortgage, with ten years' credit, is a more safe tenure than an expired and forfeited contract of sale, they have been secured to you:

And that you have not been delivered over to a "soulless corporation," but that your affairs have been arranged so as to secure you against any possible extortion or oppression in any quarter; and your bonds and mortgages are more certainly accessible to you for payment than before the arrangement was made.

I have only to add, what you well recollect that, in all the settlement of this estate no cent. of advance upon your farms, as

of compound interest, or of costs upon your debts, has gone into my hands or those of any other proprietor; that no man has ever lost an acre of land which he desired or asked to retain, with or without money; no bond, mortgage, or contract, has been prosecuted for arrear of principal, or for less than two years' interest; no proceedings of foreclosure have ever been instituted when the occupant would pay a sum equal to one year's interest; and every forfeiture has been relinquished upon an agreement to pay the principal and interest due.

To the people of Chautauque county, of all political parties, this statement is due, for the generous confidence they have reposed in me, and the hospitality they have extended to me. It is required, moreover, by a due regard for their welfare, since their prosperity must be seriously affected by any discontents about their titles and security. It is due to the harmony and contentment of their "firesides." And, if it needs other apology, it will be found in the duty I owe to others; for, however willing I may be to leave my own conduct to the test of time and candor, I can not suffer their interests to be put in jeopardy.

ST. NICHOLAS SOCIETY.

AUBURN, *December* 3, 1838.

TO ROBERT H. PRUYN:

DEAR SIR: I have to regret that it will be altogether inconvenient for me to accept the invitation with which I have been honored by the managers of the St. Nicholas Society of Albany.

The assiduity, the love of peace, of order, of justice and equality, and the devotion to religion, of the Dutch colonists of this state, were invaluable elements in forming the character and manners of a republican people. I should enjoy the greatest pleasure in doing homage to their worth.

The history of the Netherlands is full of instruction to mankind. Holland has been the rival of the greatest states in arts and arms. She was fortunate in the proud distinction she attained, and more fortunate in her failure to obtain complete superiority. If France has excelled her in science, she once

abjured religion. If Italy has borne away the palm of the fine arts, she has banished all the domestic virtues; and England has achieved the crown of national glory, with the loss of the social equality of her people.

Permit me to offer you, as a sentiment for your celebration, what seems to me to be the moral of the history of the Netherlands:—

National happiness and prosperity! They must be secured, not by ambition for what is GREAT, but by the pursuit of what is USEFUL.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant.

IRISH TESTIMONIAL.

ALBANY, *March* 14, 1839.

TO WILLIAM JAMES MACNEVEN, AND OTHERS:

GENTLEMEN: I have just received a likeness of Washington, which I doubt not is as faithful to the great original as I am sure it is creditable to the arts.

Your letter of the 13th February last informs me that this portrait is the gift of Irishmen and the sons of Irishmen; and that it is their request that it may be placed in the executive chamber. I accept it with great pleasure, and shall assign it the place prescribed. I am unable to express to you, gentlemen, how deeply I am affected by this mark of kindness and respect on the part of so many citizens, all of whom enjoy deserved estimation and respect in their adopted country, and among whom I recognise two honored and aged survivors of those brave united Irishmen who made this state their refuge, after having periled their lives in 1797, in a glorious effort for the deliverance of their native land. I owe it to myself to say, that the sentiments which have elicited it, have not been recently adopted, but, on the contrary, have been long entertained and always expressed on suitable occasions. If I have correctly studied our social condition, I think I may assume that the United States both need and invite emigration from Europe. I say we need it, because,

notwithstanding the astonishing increase of emigration, labor is constantly in demand; and I say we invite it, because our laws permit it, and all the commercial relations of the country afford to emigrants facilities and encouragement. If I am not altogether ignorant of the beautiful country you have left, the Irish are in many respects a subjugated and provincial people. Property is most unequally distributed, and the laws of the land tend effectually to preserve that inequality. Labor is denied its fair equivalent; the liberty allowed is rather held by sufferance than conceded by the government as the inherent right of the people. Education is but imperfectly diffused, and all the civil and ecclesiastical institutions are upheld by power, and not by the voluntary consent of the governed. America, then, will continue, and ought to continue, to be the asylum of Irishmen, and the home of the sons of Irishmen, so long as Ireland is oppressed, and America is free, prosperous, and happy. I entertain no fears of the consequences of this accession to our numbers. Composed as our population is, of emigrants from all the nations of Western Europe and their descendants, I have yet to learn that the elements of Irish character are more unsuitable than those of any other to the perfection and success of republican government. No people have exhibited more generous and lofty devotion to liberty than they in the persons of their Emmett, Fitzgerald, and Macneven. In statesmanship and eloquence, Burke and Grattan, Curran, and another Emmett—ours also by adoption—have seldom been surpassed. In untiring labors for political reform, O'Connell is the remarkable man of the age. The thousands of Irishmen engaged in our public works, and in domestic occupations, are living illustrations of the fidelity, cheerfulness, and patience, with which that people endure the ills of life and discharge its most laborious employments. As our forefathers have done before us, so would I freely admit the people of all countries, and thus increase the moral and physical strength of our new and growing country. I would provide as they did for the security of republican institutions, and the ascendency of republican principles—not by imposing new prohibitions or restraints upon any class of citizens, but by establishing institutions for universal education. I would plant free schools in the city accessible to the children of the most humble; and I would open their doors by the side of our railroads and canals. This

is an adequate, and will prove to be the only, safeguard of liberty.

I can not close this letter, gentlemen, without expressing the hope that the efforts of your countrymen at home may be prosecuted with perseverance and crowned with success, until the people of Ireland shall enjoy equal laws enacted by their own representatives, and administered by their own judges, free and equal toleration of religious faith and worship, and a restoration of the only safeguard of popular rights, an Irish parliament.

I am, with great respect, your fellow-citizen.

ST. ANDREW'S SOCIETY, ALBANY.

ALBANY, *March* 29, 1839.

TO THE COMMITTEE, &C.:

GENTLEMEN: Your note of the 27th, inviting me to attend the anniversary supper of the St. Andrew's Society, has been received. It is with sincere regret that I find myself compelled, by the pressure of public business, to decline this very gratifying invitation. I owe a debt for Scottish hospitality, which I should be most happy to acknowledge at your festival.

I honor your countrymen, alike for the enterprise which leads them to seek the advantages of fortune in other lands, and for that veneration for their native country, to cherish which is one of the objects of your association. While I hope and desire to see our country continue to be an asylum for emigrants from Europe, I would not complain that foreigners retain their attachments to their native countries. Forgetfulness of their native land would afford but questionable evidence of devotion to that which has adopted them.

With grateful acknowledgments, gentlemen, for the honor conferred by your invitation, and cordial wishes for the prosperity and happiness of my fellow-citizens composing the St. Andrew's Society,

I remain, your obedient servant.

THE ADOPTED CITIZENS OF PHILADELPHIA.

ALBANY, *April* 24, 1839.

TO STEPHEN EDWARD RICE, ESQ.:

DEAR SIR: Your kind letter of the 20th inst. has been received. I have no language to express the feelings which have been called forth by the demonstrations of kindness toward me, made by adopted citizens in Philadelphia. It seems to me that there is enough of national interest, of national ambition, and of national pride, in this country, to enable us to banish all sectional feelings and all hereditary prejudices; and enough of philanthropy involved in the success of our form of government, to rally all our fellow-citizens, whatever may be their birth or lineage, around our democratic institutions.

Those institutions ought to be regarded not merely as designed to secure the "largest liberty to the greatest number of our citizens," but as the means of extending throughout the world the knowledge of the inalienable right of man to self-government, and of the means by which that inestimable right may be established and secured. I feel that I can not err in inculcating philanthropy even broader than patriotism, and a love of liberty as comprehensive as human society. With grateful acknowledgments of the kindness expressed in your letter,

I remain, very respectfully, your obedient servant.

EXTRADITION OF FUGITIVES FROM JUSTICE.

ALBANY, *May* 20, 1839.

TO HENRY W. ROGERS, ESQ., DISTRICT ATTORNEY OF ERIE CO.:

DEAR SIR: I have received your communication of the 16th instant, requesting me to make a requisition upon his excellency Sir George Arthur, lieutenant-governor of the province of Upper Canada, for the delivery of Hugh Tracy, to the end that he may be brought to this state to be tried for a felony committed within this state.

The law of nations recognises the mutual rights of states to demand the surrender of fugitives from justice. The regulation of these, however, is a proper subject for treaties, and the refusal of a state to comply with such a requisition in a reasonable case is just cause for war. The right to demand and the obligation to surrender are reciprocal. I am satisfied that the authority necessary to the exercise of this right rests with the general government, and not with the government of the states. The constitution devolves upon the general government the care of foreign relations. That government has the sole power to make treaties with foreign states, and the right to declare war and conclude peace. It thus possesses the power to establish regulations for the exercise of this important right, and to enforce compliance with its requisitions when unreasonably refused by other states, while the state governments have no power to establish general regulations, and no means to enforce their requisitions.

Application was made to me, in a case similar to that now presented, for a requisition upon the lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, for the delivery of a person charged with a felony committed in this state. I considered it my duty to refer the applicant to the general government. The answer of the secretary of state was in substance, that inasmuch as Congress had not passed

any law on the subject, and there was no provision by treaty in relation to it, the general government had declined to act upon such applications. The view of the subject taken by the general government, has served only to convince me that the ground I assumed was correct. If the right could be exercised by the general government, provided its exercise should be regulated by law of Congress or by treaty, the jurisdiction belongs to that government, and not to the states; and if the general government could not exercise it without the previous passage of a law of Congress or the intervention of a treaty, the state governments, even if admitted to divide the responsibility with the general government, could not exercise the power without a similar law or the intervention of a treaty.

I can imagine no circumstance which would more seriously embarrass the general government in its conduct of the foreign relations of the country, and more certainly tend to bring the public peace into jeopardy, than the discordant action of the several states in the exercise of this power. I have observed that the governor of Vermont has taken a different view of the subject from that here presented, and that, having issued his warrant for the delivery of a fugitive upon the requisition of the governor of Upper Canada, a writ of habeas corpus has been issued by a judge of that state, and that the constitutional power of the executive is now undergoing discussion there. Unwilling in any instance to assume doubtful powers, and especially in cases so important to the security of our citizens and to the harmony of our foreign relations, I have concluded that it is inexpedient to deliver citizens of this state upon the demands of governments of foreign states, until the constitutional power of the executive department of the state government is more clearly defined and established. Having arrived at this conclusion, it follows that I can not demand from other states the surrender of fugitives from this state.

While the view I have presented assumes that the constitutional power and responsibility relating to this subject rest with the general government, I apprehend, from a passage in your communication, that you are in error in supposing that there is any provision, by a statute of this state, authorizing the governor to make requisitions upon the governments of foreign countries

for the delivery of persons who have committed crimes in this state.

I am fully sensible of the inconvenience resulting from the want of suitable regulations for the exercise of this important national power; and I shall deem it my duty, in a respectful manner, to bring the subject to the consideration of the president of the United States.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant.

DE WITT CLINTON.

ALBANY, *July* 3, 1839.

TO EDWARD C. DELAVAN, ESQ., LONDON:

DEAR SIR: I had the pleasure to receive, yesterday, your letter of the 17th of May, together with a letter from George W. Greene, Esq., addressed to you from Paris. You will have already learned with sorrow, that the time has not yet arrived, when the legislature of New York will be ready to do full honor to her most gifted son and greatest benefactor. The bill providing for the erection of a monument to De Witt Clinton did not pass. For the honor of the state, I regret the failure, although I have everything to console me in the belief, that my recommendation of the measure has only, by a year or two, anticipated the gratitude of my fellow-citizens.

There is great force in the eloquent argument of your friend, in favor of the employment of an *American* artist. I had always thought the employment of European artists, to produce statues of our countrymen, unfortunate in regard to the execution of the design, and derogatory from the national character; but I did not before understand the process of induction by which my conclusions were obtained.

I return you my thanks for the kindness of personal feeling expressed toward myself in your letter. Wishing you eminent success in your great moral enterprise, and a pleasant sojourn in the fatherland, I remain, yours, very sincerely.

STATE CREDITS.

ALBANY, *September* 16, 1839.

TO WILLIAM BROWN, ESQ., OF THE HOUSE OF BROWN, BROTHERS, & CO., LIVERPOOL.

MY DEAR SIR: I have great pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of your very interesting communication, of the 23d of July last. I rejoice in the indications that a reduction of English postage is about to take place. The policy is an obvious one, both for the purpose of increase of revenue, and what is more important, the increase of intelligence, and the prosperity of commerce. We shall come to the same measure, but I fear not so rapidly as the English government.

I think your suggestions concerning the hazard of confiscation of investments, by foreigners in American stocks, very important and useful. I beg you to consider me under very special obligations for them. I can easily appreciate the solicitude foreign capitalists feel on that subject, although no person here even dreams that our government could be guilty of so gross a violation of faith as to confiscate in time of war, money invested in our securities in time of peace. It will give me great pleasure to use these valuable suggestions in a manner which may be of service in increasing our credit. I have noticed the decline of confidence in American securities. Nothing can be more absurd; but what absurdity does not gain a temporary influence in the operations upon 'change? Can you add to my obligations by any further suggestions, which would be of service to me in presenting to the public the grounds of American credit in Europe?

I am, dear sir, with the most sincere respect and esteem, your friend and obedient servant.

PRISON DISCIPLINE.

ALBANY, *October*, 7, 1839.

TO THE REV. JOHN LUCKEY, CHAPLAIN OF THE STATEPRISON AT MOUNT PLEASANT.

DEAR SIR: My correspondence has become so much deranged during my absence from this city, that I find I have neglected an acknowledgment of your very interesting communication of the 8th of August last. I have great pleasure in saying that all its suggestions seem to me both wise and benevolent. It is my purpose to call the attention of the legislature to the expediency of making some legislative provision for the instruction of convicts in the prisons, and I find myself sustained and enlightened on the subject by your communication. In reply to Mr. Wiltsies' suggestion, that if he could be authorized to do so he would procure sixty or eighty spelling-books, I very cheerfully give my advice that it shall be done; and whatever of influence I may have, shall be exercised to procure the allowance of the expenses incurred for that purpose, as well as obtaining the sanction of the legislature to the same. I shall always be pleased to receive your communications on all subjects affecting the prison.

With sincere respect and esteem, I am, your obedient servant.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

ALBANY, *October* 28, 1839.

To JOHN DILLON SMITH, ESQ.

DEAR SIR: I have received your letter of yesterday, and am gratified with the information which it communicates. I sincerely hope you may be successful in your enterprise, and I am very sure that the talent and research exhibited in your journal ought to secure success.

No truth was ever more clear, than that the connection between religious and civil institutions, is calculated to degrade and corrupt both. It is as applicable to the action of parties, as to the action of government. Religious sentiments and motives ought to have their sway in all political action, as in every other duty of life, and public agents ought always to regard, with equal respect, the consciences of all classes of Christians. I confidently believe, my dear sir, that these principles are so rapidly gaining favor, that he who maintains them will not long be regarded as teaching some new thing.

I believe, sir, that no democratic government can stand but by the support of Christianity. I believe, also, that it is an essential principle of democracy, that there should be unlimited freedom of conscience.

With sincere respect and esteem, your friend and obedient servant.

STATE CREDITS.

ALBANY, *November* 4, 1839

TO WILLIAM BROWN, ESQ., LIVERPOOL:

MY DEAR SIR: I am indebted to you for your very welcome letter of the 14th October. Your suggestions in regard to the expediency of statutory provisions against confiscations of investments made in our stocks by foreigners, are very judicious.

You will have learned, before this will reach you, of the suspension of our southern banks. I fear that intelligence will shake the confidence which had already arisen from the successful negotiations of the bank of the United States in regard to loans. Much speculation has been indulged here concerning the condition and stability of the Bank of England. Indeed the most probable relief of our monetary embarrassments was supposed to be the suspension of that institution. But while the news brought by the Great Western shows that that expectation will not be realized, we have seen with great satisfaction the rate of exchange go down, and the demand for specie subsiding. The New York banks, and other institutions in this state, will, I have no doubt, remain firm. If so, they will be able to assist the suspended banks at an early day in resuming specie payments.

Our general banking law requires amendments, and I entertain great confidence that with such amendments it will prove useful, and institutions established under it will be firm. The improvement you suggest, that of making the stockholders personally liable, would be impracticable; that is to say, it is inconsistent with existing notions and prejudices here. I think, also, that it would be unavailing. The transfer of stock would discharge the liability, and such transfer could be made to insolvent parties.

The currency is very well secured. It would be very beneficial to require, that besides the security given by bankers for their circulation and requiring them to keep on hand twelve and a half per

cent. in specie, they should be required to pay in the capital for their operations. This requirement, together with a careful supervision by commissioners, would probably secure as great soundness in such institutions as would ever be attained in any way.

We are now in the midst of our annual election in this state. The great questions are the financial scheme of the president, called the sub-treasury system, and our local policy of internal improvements. The friends of the general administration support the sub-treasury and oppose state institutions. I forbear to speak upon these subjects, as my public relations and the proprieties of my place require that I should wait the verdict of the people. You will hear the result by the same vessel that carries out this letter. The election is regarded with greater interest, because it is believed by very many that the result will indicate that of the next presidential election.

With most respectful regards to your family, I remain faithfully your friend.

THE ST. GEORGE'S SOCIETY.

ALBANY, *April* 18, 1840.

To B. H. DOWNING, SECRETARY, &c., NEW YORK:

SIR: I have received your note in the name of the president and stewards of the St. George's Society, of the city of New York. I regret that it is not in my power to accept an invitation which offers me so much enjoyment, and is acknowledged as a manifestation of kindness on the part of that highly-respected society.

England and America are so closely bound together, that there can be no permanent alienation between them. Prejudices excited by mercenary traducers have sometimes occasioned irritation, and political questions have heretofore brought us into fearful contention. Yet the citizens of both countries rejoice in the same ancestry, the same devotion to liberty, the same reverence for the common law, the same language, and the same religion, while commerce and arts, operating with equal advantages to both parties, are continually bringing us into more inti-

mate relations. Notwithstanding her independence, America derives, from her relations with England, greater advantages than those heretofore secured by her colonial dependence, and England finds our commerce vastly more profitable than she could have realized, had her sovereignty remained unbroken.

Permit me to express my earnest desire that the statesmen of both countries may discover in these circumstances the indications of the will of Providence, that the peace of the nations shall be perpetual.

With very great respect, I remain your obedient servant.

LAW REFORM.

ALBANY, *June* 2, 1840.

To BENJAMIN CAHOON, ESQ., PRESIDENT, &c., &c., UTICA:

GENTLEMEN: On the 14th ultimo, I received your communication, containing the proceedings of a meeting of the citizens of Utica, concerning measures then pending in the legislature for reform in the practice of the law. The pressure of my duties has been so great, that I have not until now been able to make due acknowledgments. You will have seen that the bills referred to received the favorable consideration of the legislature. That there was a necessity for some relief was, I believe, universally admitted. That that which has been granted was not in the most perfect form, is, I think, very probable. But I do not doubt that it will be found eminently beneficial. If, as is apprehended by some of our fellow-citizens, it shall operate in some respects disadvantageously, the legislature will easily correct its defects. It is a happy result of our system of government, that the will of the people operates directly upon the legislature; that abuses are not as in other countries suffered to become inveterate, and that errors of legislation are promptly corrected, as soon as they are discovered.

I beg you to make known to the citizens you represent my grateful acknowledgments for the kindness expressed toward me, and to assure them that it shall be my constant effort to exercise the powers intrusted to me in such a manner as to maintain

equal rights among all classes of society and promote the general welfare.

Be pleased to accept the assurances of the sincere respect with which I remain your obedient servant.

THE CUNARD STEAMERS.

AUBURN, *July* 18, 1840.

TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, &C., OF BOSTON:

GENTLEMEN: Your letter of the 13th instant, inviting me to the public dinner to be given by the citizens of Boston to the Hon. Samuel Cunard, on the arrival of the steamship Britannia, has been received. I regret that my engagements for the next week prohibit my acceptance of the very gratifying invitation. It would afford me very great pleasure to exchange congratulations with you upon the success of the great enterprise which it is your purpose to celebrate, and to testify my high respect and admiration for the character of the gentlemen to whose munificence and efforts the citizens of Boston are deeply indebted.

What a singular change has come over the relations of the New World to the Old within the last sixty-five years! England was seen exhausting her wealth in 1776 and 1777, in sending troops and munitions of war to exact tribute from the citizens of Boston, and each transport consumed a period of about two months. Now, Europeans compete with each other in sending steamships to secure a willing commerce, which enriches England a hundred times more than the statesmen of George III. anticipated from all their exactions. We of this state have no narrow jealousies of Massachusetts. We rejoice to see the establishment of steam-packets at Boston, and we welcome your extension of your railroad to Albany. We can not avoid being profited by a direct trade with the great manufacturing state of the Union, and the opening of a new market to our citizens. The ocean is wide enough for you and for us; and they have but a very inadequate conception of the resources of the republic, who doubt that there will be an increase of internal trade and foreign commerce, as fast at least as the increase of facilities for them. We see in

the great enterprise you celebrate, an evidence that we have not misestimated the trade of the Great West, to secure which has been the great object of our policy. It shames us that we proceed so slowly in constructing our railroads, and that we are at all skeptical concerning the enlargement of our canal, from the tide-waters to the lakes, when we see the citizens of Boston, always sagacious and successful, extending a railroad to Albany to compete with our own commercial city, and establishing steam-packets to participate in the exchange between the far west and foreign countries. These are practical refutations of the absurdity of the fears recently promulgated among us, that our state is to be impoverished by the improvement of our roads and canals, and the reduction of the expense of transportation. We rejoice, moreover, in the assurance this enterprise gives us of the perpetuity of our Union. None but a despotic government could hold this great nation together under one constitution, without establishing a connection of interest and affection between its several regions. Neither the colonists at Plymouth, nor those at New Amsterdam, nor those on the James river, anticipated such a connection. Their plans embraced only the boundaries defined in their charters. It never entered into their hearts to conceive that they were co-operating in laying the foundation of one great nation, which should extend from the St. Lawrence to the gulf of Mexico. The combination of the colonies resulted from a common exigency, and, in spite of all the patriotic councils of revolutionary age, would probably at no distant day have ceased, had not the natural channels of trade of the several states been connected by these great works of art.

Who can alienate the states from each other, when they shall be bound together by iron bands? How can prejudices continue and collisions arise between us, when the mighty agent, steam, shall have effectually established mutual intercourse among us?

SCHOOLS.

ALBANY, *December* 17, 1840.

To MR. WILLIAM PALMER:

DEAR SIR: I acknowledge with gratitude your very kind letter of the 15th instant, and the gift which accompanied it. Such evidences of generosity and kindness affect me much, and cheer me in my efforts to discharge my difficult responsibilities. I regret that your engagements when in the city did not permit you to visit me. It will afford me great pleasure to see you whenever your business calls you in this direction.

You have very rightly understood my views of education, and have taken a very just view of the importance of the subject. Universal suffrage is a new element in government, and it involves as a necessary consequence universal education for its safe guidance and duration. Knowledge taught by any sect is better than ignorance. I desire to see the children of Catholics educated as well as those of Protestants; not because I want them Catholics, but because I want them to become good citizens. In due time these views will prevail, notwithstanding the prejudices that have assailed them.

Wishing you the blessings of health and domestic happiness, I remain your obliged and obedient servant.

MILITIA DUTY.

ALBANY, *February* 11, 1841.

TO SAMUEL PARSONS, FLUSHING, L. I.:

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 7th instant was duly received. I am happy to see that the Society of Friends is taking measures to appeal to their fellow-citizens to relieve them from the oppression they suffer by reason of their conscientious repugnance to military service. I have also observed with much pleasure that no dissent has been anywhere manifested in regard to the views upon that subject submitted by me to the legislature. I fear I am not able to give advice which will be useful on the subject. Yet I will venture to suggest that it will be found on inquiry that the public do not know the extent of the inconvenience and hardships which arise. I confess I should not have so well understood it myself but from the experience I have had as an appellate military officer. Permit me, therefore, to suggest, as a preliminary to the discussion of the subject, that the society obtain from its members a careful statement of all the military fines adjudged against persons throughout the state conscientiously objecting to military service and commutation — the number of cases in which property is sacrificed, and personal liberty violated. Should such a statement be transmitted to me, it will be very useful.

Be pleased to make known to the representatives of the Society of Friends my grateful acknowledgments of their kind expressions in regard to this and other subjects referred to in your communication. I may have anticipated the liberality of my fellow-citizens in relation to all these subjects, but I am sure that the time is not distant when the sentiments I have expressed will find their full expression in the constitution and laws of the state.

With sincere respect and esteem, I remain your obedient servant.

SCHOOLS.

ALBANY, *May* 18, 1841.

TO REV. JOHN HUGHES, D. D., &C.:

DEAR SIR: You will please accept my acknowledgments for your letter of the 11th instant. It contains a new proof of your kind desire to divert from me the shafts of open enemies and apparent friends. While I do not doubt that your prudential views are as wise as they are kind, in regard to myself, yet you will permit me to observe that, confiding always in truth and in the intelligence of the people, I have not feared at any time to avow distinctly, and maintain in argument and action, the principles and measures which are involved in the effort to extend the system of common-school education to all the children in the state. Nor do the temporary misconstruction and misrepresentation, through which I am passing, alarm me. In this, as in all other cases, I deem it only necessary that my opinions and proceedings be fairly and frankly communicated, even under circumstances most unfavorable to a candid judgment of them, and I cheerfully trust the conclusion with my countrymen. Public opinion is the great agent, in this country, in accomplishing all measures designed to promote the public welfare. That agent can not be called into operation without producing excitement and agitation. Through all the excitement and agitation which the present discussion produces, I look to the great ends of the equal dissemination of knowledge, and the consequent improvement of society.

I trust that my public life has shown that I never hesitate to present even an unwelcome truth to my fellow-citizens; and although I have sometimes been in advance of public opinion, all will agree that I have no reason to complain of want of kindness on the part of the people. I know that truth will ultimately become acceptable; and so in regard to the present state of the school-question, I am desirous that the real interest of the Catho-

lics in the question should be known. If it were true, as some contend, that none but Catholic children are neglected, I would nevertheless maintain that the Catholic children ought to be educated. If it be true that none but Catholics complain, I uphold the Catholics in complaining. If Catholics only are offended in conscience, I maintain that that offence ought not to be continued by authority of law. Many Protestants have been offended because they feared that, by obtaining equal advantages of education for their children, Catholics might acquire undue influence; and, on the other hand, many Catholics have been led, by misrepresentation, to believe that such liberal sentiments as I have advanced could not be sincere.

I assure you, my dear sir, that during all the agitation which we have seen, I have had but one cause of regret — which was, that notwithstanding I have never affected concealment, yet for a brief time, when I was a candidate for public favor, and political and religious excitement ran very high, an impression was to a limited extent made upon the public mind unfavorable to the sincerity of the opinions I have publicly expressed. The time has now arrived for my vindication. I am not now a candidate, nor can I foresee an occasion when I shall either find it my duty, or have a desire, to offer myself for the suffrages of my fellow-citizens. Whatever may have been thought heretofore, I can afford now at least to be frank and honest. I reaffirm all I have before promulgated concerning the policy of this country in regard to foreigners, and the education of their children.

Moreover, I invite all who may take the trouble to look through the records of my public action, and to institute an inquiry into my private correspondence and conversation; and if a word or thought inconsistent with the public opinions I have expressed shall be produced, I shall cheerfully acknowledge the justice of those who temporarily delay the accomplishment of the great public measures I advocate, by questioning the sincerity with which they have been recommended. It can not be necessary to say to you, sir, that I deny altogether the design attributed to me of breaking up the public schools of New York. I would, on the contrary, increase their efficiency, if possible, while I open their doors, or those of other equally useful institutions, to such as are for any cause deprived of the advantages of education they afford.

In regard to the reform desired, I adopt the apostolic injunction, in which all wise statesmen and sound Christians agree: "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good."

I am, dear sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant.

THE SENECA INDIANS.

ALBANY, *June* 15, 1841.

TO JACOB HARVEY, ESQ.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of May 26, has been received, you ask my opinion concerning the treaty which has been made by the United States with the Seneca Indians, and you observe that it is important for those Indians to show, that their removal is against the decided wishes of fifteen sixteenths of the nation, and that it is not called for by the executive of this state, by the legislature, or by the well-disposed and humane people of the western counties.

The history of the several nations which have dwelt within our borders, shows many coincidents of painful interest. Each nation has in its turn been surrounded and crowded by white men. White men have always wanted more room, while an Indian reservation remained, and the Indians have, therefore, been obliged to contract their hunting-grounds. Indians have been ignorant and confiding, and white men shrewd and sagacious. Indians have been reckless of the value of property, and have always found avaricious white men among their neighbors. White men have sold intoxicating liquors, and Indians have too often surrendered themselves to drunkenness. Indians have generally neglected, if they have not despised, agriculture, and white men have suffered inconvenience from the neglected condition of the Indian lands. White men have coveted those neglected lands, and the community has been benefited in consequence of their acquisition. The effect is that we have now among us only some wasting remnants of half a dozen of the Indian nations. Yet each of these nations, for a time, resisted propositions for their removal strenuously, and with apparent unanimity. Each has, in its turn, divided upon the question of

removal. The weak and improvident have been wrought upon to increase the numbers of those disposed to sell their lands, while philanthropic efforts have not been wanting to fortify the domestic party in their resistance.

I do not know that the disproportion of the two parties among the Senecas is so great as you have stated. I must refer you on that head to other persons for information. Neither should I speak candidly, if I said that the people of the western counties did not desire such a change in the condition of the Senecas, as would bring their lands into cultivation, and render them tributary to the aggregate wealth, and general improvement of the state. Such, I must add, is my own wish. The legislature has not spoken on the subject, but its concurrence in the same view might be inferred from the general policy which the state has pursued. Nevertheless, there is nothing which would be more gratifying to the people of this state, and certainly there is, on my part, no desire affecting the Indians more sincere, than to see the remnants of the Indian tribes forsake entirely the manners and customs of their forefathers, and adopt those of civilized life. The signal disappointment of such philanthropic hopes in regard to the other tribes of Indians, has produced a great distrust of any better fate for the Senecas while the contiguity of that people to a great city, exposes them in an especial degree to the frauds, and introduces among them the vices, of depraved men of our own race. Very many who entertain this distrust, and deplore the wretchedness and degradation of a portion of the Senecas, are of opinion that it would be wise and prudent for them to relinquish their lands at a fair valuation, and seek a new home in the far west. But no humane or enlightened citizen can wish to see the expulsion of the Senecas by force or fraud. It is a fearful thing to uproot a whole people, and send them, regardless of their own rights, interests, and welfare, their feelings and affections, into a distant and desolate region. It is peculiarly so when a large portion, relying upon the protection of the laws, and the justice of their white brethren, have become cultivators of the soil, and of the affections and habits of civilized life. Such is the condition of a large portion of the Senecas. Injustice to the Indians is repugnant alike to the settled policy of this state, and the feelings and sentiments of its people. This state has endeavored steadily to pursue a benign policy toward them. We

have suffered every tribe to remain unmolested, and have ever discouraged the desire of small factions among them to effect the sale of their lands without the general consent of the tribe. We have left the Indians to debate and consider the subject without our interference. When a portion of a tribe have made arrangements to purchase lands elsewhere, and obtained the consent of the whole nation to a partition, we have bought that portion of the lands equitably belonging to those who had determined to emigrate, requiring, in all cases, the consent of the whole tribe to such partial sales.

During the last few years, the state, instead of purchasing for its own advantage, has taken the title of the Indians, sold the lands as their trustee, and accounted to them for the whole proceeds of the subsequent sales in fee to actual settlers. We have paid interest upon the purchase-moneys to the emigrating Indians in their new settlements, and have paid them the principal when they have provided a proper and safe investment. At the same time we have endeavored, through the agency of peacemakers and superintendents, to exercise a guardian care over those who preferred to remain among us. No bribe, gratuity, or other improper appliance, has been used, or with knowledge permitted, by the state, to obtain a relinquishment of Indian lands. We take, in all cases, a census of the tribe, and of each family. We regard all their members with perfect equality. And we take care that the moneys paid to the nation are fairly and justly distributed among them.

Such is the course which it may be assumed the people of this state would desire to see prevail in regard to the Senecas. In this way we might hope to accomplish, if it be at all practicable, the civilization of a remnant of the Six Nations, once the proprietors of more than half the state. On the other hand, if the humane experiment must fail, we should enjoy, under such circumstances, the consoling reflection that the effort had failed because a Higher than any human power had forbidden its success.

But, my dear sir, I can not hesitate to declare my full conviction, derived from history now open to the world, that the treaty which has been made by the United States with the Senecas, was made in open violation of the policy I have described. I am fully satisfied that the consent of the Senecas was obtained by fraud, corruption, and violence, and that it is therefore false, and

ought to be held void. The removal of the Indians would, under such circumstances, be a great crime against an unoffending and injured people; and I earnestly hope that, before any further proceedings are taken to accomplish that object, the whole subject may be reconsidered by the United States.

I am, with sincere respect, your obedient servant.

CONDOLENCE.

ALBANY, *June* 28, 1841.

TO LOUIS GAYLORD CLARK, ESQ.:

MY DEAR SIR: I received your affecting account of the death of my esteemed friend, your brother Willis Gaylord Clark, just before my departure on a recent visit to Massachusetts. I forebore to acknowledge it immediately, because I felt that I could not say anything which would not seem cold and unfeeling in the freshness of your affliction.

Your brother was indeed very near to me. I know not why, but he attached himself to me with a younger brother's respect and affection, and he persevered through good and through evil report in defending me against every injury and unkindness. I felt always my poverty in being unable adequately to reciprocate his kind offices. I know and always knew how devoted was the affection he bore toward you, and I know from experience how invaluable are a brother's aid and support in the varied duties of life. I give you my sympathy, although I know it to be unavailing.

For your brother we have nothing to lament. "Whom the gods love die young" was a proverb among the ancients. All my observation confirms the belief that our heavenly Father is most kind to those whom at an early age he calls away from the contentions and corruption of human life. Your brother was permitted to be fortunate here in the mutuality of friendship and affection, in independence of fortune, and in the enjoyment of fame without envy. His bright-eyed boy, although bereaved of both parents, falls into the care of those who will amply provide for him and tenderly watch over him. They are Willis Gaylord

Clark's friends who suffer by his death; myself not a little—you most of all.

I read with fullness of heart Mr. Chandler's tribute to the memory of my friend. It was so just, so generous, and so affectionate, that I thought I was discharging a duty to your brother by conferring upon the writer the office which your brother's decease restored to me. This, as you will have perceived, was done before I received your letter of the 17th instant, suggesting to me a manner in which I could have bestowed the office even more in harmony with your brother's wishes. I need not say that those wishes would have prevailed with me. Possibly I may be able to recognise them hereafter. I shall be very much gratified with the further details you promise me concerning your brother's last hours. Until the occasion offers for communicating them, accept the assurance of my sincere respect and constant friendship.

SCHOOLS.

ALBANY, *June* 30, 1841.

TO BENJAMIN BIRDSALL, ESQ.:

MY DEAR SIR: I have received your letter of the 30th instant, informing me that you have observed indications that the efforts I am making to bring the neglected children in the city of New York within the nurture of the public schools are appreciated by those parents who have regarded the present system as unequal and unjust, and that my views and notions are better understood than heretofore. Unquestionably the cordial co-operation of those to whom you refer is exceedingly important in securing the advantages of education to every child. While I am by no means wearied or disheartened in the cause I have undertaken, and in which at the same time I have boldly opposed myself to the prejudices of native citizens against foreigners, and been made to feel in my own person the retaliation by foreigners of those very prejudices, I will not deny that it would be consoling to me to receive the support and confidence of my fellow-citizens. This however is a consolation of which I have not promised myself an immediate enjoyment. In my policy concerning education and

naturalization, I am accustomed to look not to the present hour but to the future — to that period not a quarter of a century distant when the population of this country shall have swelled to thirty-five millions, and that of our own state to five or six millions. If at that time the prejudices on the grounds of birth, language, and religion, which now array classes of society against each other, shall have disappeared, and the American nation shall have become a homogeneous people, universally educated and imbued with the principles of morality and virtue, my wishes and my anticipations will all be realized. I have an undoubting faith in these results. I feel assured, moreover, that in less than half that time the streets and alleys of New York will cease to be infested with vagrant and vicious children, and the volumes of the school district library will be found in the dwellings of the humblest immigrant as well as of the richest native citizen.

You can easily conceive, therefore, that I can cheerfully submit to temporary misapprehension and misrepresentation, which perhaps would be less endurable if any benevolent reform was ever carried forward without encountering both. Many, I know, think me unwise in regard to popularity. Perhaps I may be so. If so, I am aware that I should be a false and ungrateful citizen to seek popularity by the sacrifice of any interest of my country. Such a course would be an ungrateful return for the confidence my fellow-citizens have already reposed in me. Besides the result alone can show whether those who pursue a temporizing policy, yielding to every prejudice, or those who consider well their principles and firmly adhere to them, are most sure of the favor of a free and enlightened people. The course I am pursuing is the same I have always followed, and none will contend that I have not received the full measure of favor I have deserved. Of all human evils, that which I least fear is that I shall enjoy less of the kindness of my countrymen than I deserve.

With sincere thanks for your kindness and friendship, I remain, dear sir, very truly yours.

IRISH REPEAL.

ALBANY, *November* 3, 1841.

To E. S. DERRY, ESQ., AND OTHERS.

GENTLEMEN: I acknowledge the receipt of a communication from Edmund S. Derry, Esq, corresponding secretary of the New York Repeal Association, informing me that that society had been established in the city of New York, to encourage the people of Ireland in their efforts to procure a re-establishment of their national parliament; and tendering to me the honor of being enrolled as a member of the association. I have also been honored with a letter from William E. Fitzgibbon, Esq., of New York, announcing the organization of the Young Men's Repeal Association, in the same city, for the same object, and inviting me to become a member of that body.

Will you accept, gentlemen, a reply in this form to your respective communications?

I can not, consistently with my official relations, be a member of any political association—not even of one that should be established for the promotion of principles and the accomplishment of domestic measures which receive my cordial approbation. It would be even more incongruous with those relations to connect myself with societies designed to promote a change in the constitution of a foreign government. For this reason, I respectfully decline the honor and privileges proffered to me by the New York Repeal Association, and by the Young Men's Repeal Association of the city of New York. I pray you, nevertheless, in communicating this reply, to make known to those associations my grateful acknowledgments for their respect and kindness.

In my early youth, I learned to regard the people of Ireland as unfortunate and oppressed, but brave, generous, and especially

devoted to liberty. Hence I came to sympathize in the privations of Irishmen at home, and to feel that a kind and cordial welcome was due to them when they sought an asylum under our republican institutions. The reflection of subsequent years has convinced me that such sympathies on the part of American citizens, are not merely not injurious to our national prosperity, but must necessarily result from an enlightened devotion to the welfare of this country, and the cause of democratic liberty throughout the world.

As I read the constitution of the United States, it does not require citizens to withhold their sympathies from any other people struggling to ameliorate their condition, or to regain civil liberty. Our sympathies have been heretofore freely expressed in favor of the French, Greek, South American, Polish, Texan, and Canadian patriots; and I am not aware of any reason why we should suppress similar sympathies for the people of Ireland, unless it be that they freely yielded to us, not only sympathy, but generous aid in our contest for independence. Cherishing such sentiments, I have never been of that number of Americans who believed that Ireland was justly or necessarily deprived of that which is the life of nationality and of liberty — a representative legislature.

It has been my lot to see for myself the deep misfortunes Ireland suffers from her dependence upon Great Britain: and my indignation against oppression never rose higher than when I found her parliament-halls in College-Green converted into a banking-house, and the places of her orators and statesmen filled with money-changers. I have never seen patriotism or genius more deserving of honor than in the character of Daniel O'Connell, who seems to have been raised up for the purpose of restoring the nationality of Ireland.

I confine myself on this occasion to the reiteration of sentiments which, as you kindly remind me, have long since been promulgated. Although, under existing circumstances, I ought not to obtrude opinions concerning the subject of your communication, I know no reason why I should withhold an assurance that opinions heretofore freely expressed remain unchanged. I freely declare, therefore, that no opinion I have ever avowed concerning Ireland or Irishmen — whether such opinion was expressed at home or abroad, in place or as a private citizen,

whether it has brought me favor or censure — has been inconsiderately adopted, or is likely to be changed. I desire to see a representative parliament in Ireland, for the sake of the people of Ireland, but more for the sake of the great cause of human liberty. Regarding representative legislatures as the bulwarks of freedom, I desire to see them established in every nation, state, province, and colony, throughout the world. The only true foundation of government is the consent of the governed expressed by representatives chosen by themselves; and that government is most perfect and most successful which extends most broadly the right of popular suffrage, provided always that education is made as universal as the elective franchise.

Although personally I should have no objection to publish these sentiments at any time and on any suitable occasion, I have thought it not improper to delay this letter until it should be too late to reach its destination before the close of the election which is now in progress. A different course would have perhaps been the subject of misapprehension, injurious to the great objects for which the associations have been formed.

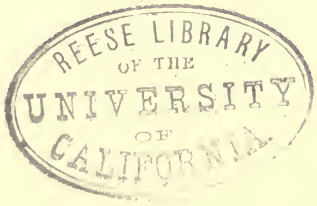
DICKENS'S NOTES.

ALBANY, *November* 18, 1842.

TO HENRY L. WEBB, ESQ.:

MY DEAR SIR: I have looked over Dickens's notes of his visit to the New York House of Detention; and am satisfied, that while the faults in the conduct of that prison are not exaggerated, nor the dialogue untrue, it nevertheless tends to give, unintentionally, a wrong idea of the keeper. I do not doubt that Colonel Jones was his guide. He is one of the most candid of men. So you see he denied nothing and concealed nothing, nor did he prevaricate, but told the truth in a homely way. I recognise some of his customary expressions. But Dickens so turns the dialogue as to make Jones appear bold, swaggering, and rowdyish. On the contrary, notwithstanding his vulgar forms of speech, he is gentle, modest, and respectful, and it would be easy for one who knew him to discover by his answers that he was abashed.

Very truly your friend.



THE IRISHMEN OF AUBURN.

AUBURN, *December* 28, 1843.

TO IRISHMEN AT AUBURN:

GENTLEMEN: I have just received, and read with most grateful emotions, the letter you have addressed to me.

A communication from any of my fellow-citizens, expressing so much respect and kindness, could not but be gratifying. But *this*, coming altogether unlooked for, from all, or nearly all, the voluntary citizens dwelling in the place of my own residence, at a time when I no longer have power or political influence, expectations or desires — bearing an impress of single-hearted sincerity, and transmitted in a manner so modest and unpretending — is worth more than a procession or a title. I can not consent to receive without disclaimer the high praise you have tendered me; for, in reviewing my public life, I find it full rather of wishes and efforts, than of achievements beneficial to my country and mankind. If I have seemed to desire more earnestly than some others to meliorate the social condition of the immigrant, and to extend to his children the benefits and blessings of education, it was chiefly because such a policy was enjoined by moral and official obligations; and if I am more free than some others to yield sympathy and encouragement to your countrymen in their native land, in their struggle for national restoration, it is only because I have witnessed the oppression which they endure. Any American citizen would think, and feel, and act, as I have done, if circumstances should afford him equal information under circumstances as impressive, and he should be charged with equal responsibilities. Gentlemen, we are neighbors, and we need each other's friendship, good offices, and sympathies, in social life. It is an occasion of high and enduring satisfaction, that I am thus assured of yours. It shall be an object of care and solicitude to prove that your respect and

kindness, so generously bestowed, are most gratefully remembered and heartily reciprocated.

With assurances of my best wishes for your individual prosperity and happiness, and with an earnest desire that your children may grow up trustworthy members of the American state, and that you and they, and all moral persons who seek this country as an asylum, may enjoy unquestioned, and in the fullest latitude, the rights, privileges, and advantages of American citizens,

I remain, very respectfully and sincerely, your friend and humble servant.

IRELAND AND IRISHMEN.

AUBURN, *March* 15, 1844.

TO JAMES MAHER, AND OTHERS, ALBANY.

GENEROUS, FAITHFUL AND HONORED FRIENDS: I should be very happy if I could accept your invitation; but, as Lord Bacon said, in urging his petition on the queen, "The practice of the law drinketh up much time that I would willingly devote to higher purposes." The pleasures of an ordinary entertainment would hardly deserve to be so distinguished. But the festival of St. Patrick in America, acquires dignity and interest from its tendency to improve the American people, by making them better acquainted with the virtues, the literature and the achievements of your good and gifted countrymen; and just now it is elevated, because it furnishes an occasion for the expression of our sympathies with the people of Ireland in their heroic and truly majestic though peaceful revolution. Nevertheless, I must forego the hospitalities you tender me, and, so far as duty is concerned, reserve myself for occasions of a sterner character, if any shall happen.

The rebellion of 1798, with all its heroic conceptions, and its deeply tragic catastrophe, were fresh in the memory of the American people, when my earliest instructions were received. My sentiments and sympathies were kindled by the burning arguments of Grattan, of Curran, of Fitzgerald, of Macneven, and of Emmett; and the poetry that engaged me first, and has lingered with me longest, was the national airs of Ireland. I yielded to those

sentiments and sympathies more easily, because, however others might boast of a pure English descent, I was obliged to confess, if it were a cause of shame, that more than one stream from the Celtic spring had commingled with the current of my Saxon blood. We are accustomed in early life to suppose that the opinions we approve are universally accepted. Long years occurred, before I dreamed that mine were at all peculiar. But when I ventured to propose that obstructions to the incorporation of immigrants in our community, and the education of their children, should be removed, and that free toleration of their peculiar creeds and instruction should be exercised, I found that the bias of early sentiments had brought me in conflict with opinions so deeply cherished, and so widely prevalent, that many of my countrymen felt obliged to question at once my orthodoxy as a Protestant, my patriotism as an American, and my sincerity as a man. Next to truth and knowledge, I love peace and harmony with my fellow-men. I have, therefore, reconsidered my early impressions with candor, during a repose not unfavorable to the performance of such a duty.

Some of our citizens study the letter rather than the spirit of our constitution and laws. What they find the constitution and laws tolerate, they regard as immutable; like those theologians who pronounce even human slavery a divine institution, because an apostle commanded servants to be obedient to their masters. But in the American constitution there is, as in Christianity, a *spirit* that "maketh alive again," whenever the letter of the law "killeth" any virtuous or benevolent principle or hope. The principles of the American government I find, indistinct and confused indeed, but nevertheless perceptible, in the philosophy and polity of the Grecian republics. From that source I see the streams descending through the ages of Roman, French, Italian, German, and Saxon ascendency, sometimes diverted, often obstructed, and more than once disappearing altogether, under the foundations of huge fabrics of despotism, but, nevertheless, again breaking forth and flowing onward, until they find, in the close of the eighteenth century, broad and enlarged channels, in which they move onward with irresistible power. The rights asserted by our forefathers were not peculiar to themselves — they were the common rights of mankind. The basis of the constitution was laid broader by far than the superstructure which the con-

flicting interests and prejudices of the day suffered to be erected. Those who erected that superstructure, foresaw and provided for its gradual enlargement, and looked forward to the time when the same foundations would receive and uphold institutions of republican government ample for the whole human race. The principles thus laid down were, that all men were born equal, and had indefeasible and inalienable natural rights, to erect, subvert, and modify governments at their pleasure—that the right of personal freedom was inviolable—that the whole earth was the heritage of man, and every accessible part of it was free to his footsteps; and, that wherever, in the providence of God, he was born, or might be led, and into whatsoever rank or condition he might fall, there he of right was, and ought to be a member of the civil state, and entitled to free and equal suffrage for those who should make, and for those who should execute the laws; and that the suffrage was a condition precedent of his obedience. The constitution and laws of the federal government did not practically extend these principles throughout the new system of government, but they were plainly promulgated in the Declaration of Independence. Their complete development, and reduction to practical operation, constitute the progress which all liberal statesmen desire to promote; and the end of that progress will be complete political equality among ourselves, and the extension and perfection of institutions similar to our own throughout the world.

This great end, however, is not to be obtained suddenly, by enthusiasm or by violence. Providence has only permitted us to reach this, like every other human good, by long and persevering efforts; and the efforts which are most successful are such as tend most to improve ourselves, and to produce harmony and peace among our fellow-men. Education and moral and religious instruction are always incipient means. Thus the principles of the American Revolution seem to me, if it be not irreverent so to speak, destined, certainly but gradually and through many ages, to renovate the political state of mankind, as the gospel of peace is certainly and gradually renovating their moral and social condition. Rather I might say that this political renovation is a new and further development of the Christian system, by the introduction of the golden rule of benevolence in the science of human government.

He is an indifferent observer who does not perceive the upheavings of the principles I have described in every part at least of the civilized world. Here they are moving continually to a more complete equality of suffrage, to universal education, and to the abolition of slavery. They are moving in England to the reduction of the aristocracy; in Scotland to the emancipation of the church; in Ireland to domestic legislation, responsible to the people; and in France and Germany, and throughout western Europe, to the abridgment of executive power and the enfranchisement of the masses. This progress is very unequal, but it is nevertheless certain and irresistible. Everywhere its origin is traced to the United States, though it might in truth be derived from a period long anterior to their existence. The immigration of near one hundred thousand persons annually is a singular manifestation of the more prevalent passion for the enjoyment of liberty. The human mind naturally and justly associates ideas of prosperity and happiness with that of free government; and mankind universally venerate the seat whence beneficent instructions or laws proceed. The Israelite of the ancient covenant, wherever he might sojourn, whether free among the petty states that surrounded his own beloved land, or lamenting his captivity in Babylon, never kneeled to the one God of his fathers without turning his face toward Jerusalem. The Christians of the middle ages deemed themselves unworthy soldiers of the cross, until they should rescue the holy sepulchre from the infidels. The follower of Islam prostrates himself three times a-day with his face turned toward the city of the prophet, and the remnant of the chosen people now dispersed among all nations are still preserved in their unity and identity, by the common hope of returning to Jerusalem to rebuild the sanctuary of their fathers.

I greatly fear that the American people do not know how highly they are respected and venerated by the down-trodden masses of Europe. Some among us are ambitious of the favorable judgment of the privileged classes in the old world, *their* respect and sympathies are not to be expected. We are disturbers, innovators; and the affection we gain in Europe must proceed from those to whom the progress of democratic principles brings hope not terror. To the oppressed masses in France, in Greece, in Poland, in Italy, in England, and Ireland, the United States of America is the Palestine from which comes a revelation

effectual to political salvation. Thence, therefore, come pilgrims of hope, ardent and enthusiastic in the faith they have received from us, and they expect naturally and justly to be received and welcomed as brethren. Strange that any native American citizen should repel those pilgrims, and justly sad is their disappointment when repulsed. Not even the Christian knights who penetrated to the Holy City by crusade were more grieved when they discovered that the Christians of Jerusalem had relapsed into the superstition of the Moslem faith, and forgotten the place of the tomb in which the Savior had reposed.

So, too, when a revolution occurs in Europe, whether tempestuous and convulsive like those in France, Greece, and Poland, or moral and pacific like that in your own native land, the uprising masses turn at once to the United States of America for succor and for support; and such is the mysterious fellowship produced by the love of liberty, that the sympathies of the American people have always been found irrepressible. Ought it to be otherwise? Who would not blush for his country if it were not so? The spirit of freedom, like that of Christianity, is expansive and comprehensive. The church that sends forth no missionaries, need take heed, for its light is about to be darkened. The republic that desires no proselytes, must take warning, for its downfall is at hand.

These sentiments, derived, I trust, from the teachings of the American Revolution, seem to me as wise as they are generous. If there be any petition which mankind might wish added to the formula given by the Savior, it would be that the scourge of war might cease, and that peace and good will might prevail among men. But peace and good will can never prevail until mankind learn and feel the simple truth, that however birth or language or climate may have made them differ—however mountains, deserts, rivers, and seas, may divide states—the nations of the earth are nevertheless one family, and all mankind are brethren, practically equal in endowments, equal in natural and political rights, and equal in the favor of the common Creator.

Exclusion of foreigners and hostility to foreign states always were elements of barbarism. The intermingling of races always was, and always will be, the chief element of civilization. Japan and China are exclusive states. Great Britain and the United States are social nations. So inconsistent is exclusiveness with

progress, that, sooner or later, Providence wills the subjugation of unsocial states, thus securing the advancement of civilization compulsively, when nations obstinately resist it. The conquest of Mexico in the west, of India in the east, and the present humiliation of China, are illustrations of this great truth.

If at St. Petersburg you seek the exchange, where the Russian "merchants most do congregate," the native understands not your inquiry, until you ask for the "Dutch" exchange. Thus do the subjects of the czar unwittingly perpetuate the memory of the fact that they owe their rising commerce to immigration from the Netherlands. I remember that in Clinton's time the Erie canal then in progress was stigmatized as the "Irish ditch." Had we been as generous as the natives of St. Petersburg, we should have persevered in that designation, and we should now confess for the instruction of mankind, that not only the Erie canal, but its numerous and far-reaching veins and arteries, and our railroads, harbors, and fortifications, were chiefly constructed by hardy, joyous, light-hearted, liberty-loving immigrants from Ireland.

We emulate the sway of ancient Rome; but Rome was wiser than those who affect an exclusive monopoly of American citizenship. Provinces and nations as soon as subjugated, became parts of the Roman empire, and although its eagles threatened conquest wherever they advanced, they nevertheless bore on their wings charters of Roman citizenship.

Love for their native land is common to all men, but it exceeds its just bounds when it leads men to despise or hate their fellow-men. This excess is the prejudice of ignorance. The native American can not half so heartily despise the Irishman, as the Chinese despises the American. He who has left his native land to seek an asylum here, has made a sacrifice to liberty which ought to commend him to our respect and affection. His children born here will be native Americans as we are; the parent is a foreigner only as our own parents or ancestors, near or remote, also were.

Do we excel, because the foreigner can not speak our language We can not speak his. It were well if each knew the language of the other, for it is stored with treasures which would add immeasurably to his knowledge and the elements of his happiness.

The battle-cry of liberty is as animating when sounded in

French, in German, or in Spanish, as in English, and the accents of love and affection are tender in whatever dialect they may have utterance. Should differences of religious belief divide us? Washington invoked the Divine blessing on our army in a protestant ritual — Lafayette employed the Roman formulary. Would the prayers of either have been answered, if they had carried into council quarrels from the altar? We ought never to forget that, various as are the expositions of our holy faith, they all agree in this, that without charity there is no Christianity.

Such, gentlemen, are my sentiments. If I indulge more enthusiasm in regard to Daniel O'Connell than many of my countrymen, it is because more truly than any man in Europe he is an apostle of these sentiments in all their length and breadth. If I cherish deeper sympathies with the people of Ireland, it is because they are more imbued than any other European people with the same sentiments, and because Irishmen are grievously wronged here and intolerably oppressed in their native land.

I ask not how far such sympathies and affections are popular. My political faith is an active one, and wo is me if I preach it not when the welfare of my fellow-men demands the exposition. Be assured then, that in summer and in winter, at home and abroad, in the political arena and in the domestic circle, in the church and in the state, in favor and reproach — whether I receive smiles or stripes for it — living and dying — I shall ever remain the faithful friend of Ireland and of Irishmen.

BARBECUE AT CHERRY VALLEY.

AUBURN, *June* 7, 1844.

TO JAMES BRACKETT, ESQ., AND OTHERS:

GENTLEMEN: Severe indisposition has prevented my earlier acknowledgment of your very kind invitation for the 27th instant, and now inflexible engagements prevent its acceptance.

Since this is so, I will frankly confess to you why the circumstance is unattended by regret. When I assumed a public trust at Albany, the political sentiments and principles I entertained were chiefly such as entered into the creed of that large portion of my fellow-citizens who claimed to be disciples of the democratic fathers of the country. Every important measure which my judgment approved, had, at some recent period, received the support of the same party, and formed a part of the policy of the administration of some of my distinguished predecessors. I reckoned, therefore, upon a term of public service that, if it should not be useful, would at least be calm and tranquil. Yet such was the general commotion of political elements, that from the first, the whig administration encountered a vehemence of opposition almost unparalleled, and I was buffeted by storms that have scarcely yet subsided, although I have been almost two years in the quiet haven of private life.

The anniversary of our national independence in 1840 found me seeking some place where my presence would not provoke unkindness, or disturb the becoming solemnities of that interesting occasion. An invitation from your village announced the purpose of its citizens to honor the memory of their forefathers by celebrating on the same day the centennial anniversary of the plantation of Cherry Valley. I accepted the invitation, because I believed that, under those circumstances, there, if anywhere,

NOTE.—This letter was addressed by Governor Seward to the whigs of Cherry Valley, in answer to their invitation to attend a barbecue on the 27th of June, 1844.

party animosities would for a day be hushed into profound repose. My visit was afterward extended to Cooperstown, the capital of your rich and beautiful county. The memory of the generous hospitalities of the people of Otsego, of all parties, and of all sects, and of all conditions, on that occasion, is cherished among the fondest remembrances of my whole life. The long processions; the oration of William W. Campbell, a gifted descendant of one of the founders of Cherry Valley, rich in affecting domestic reminiscences and historical instructions; the paternal greetings of your ancient pastor, the Rev. Dr. Nott, bestowed on the survivors of his flock; the temperate but joyous repast under a rustic bower; the cordial greeting of the people, and their hearty responses to my unstudied speech;* the cavalcade that attended me to Cooperstown, and on my descent to the valley of the Mohawk; the mimic voyage on the beautiful lake; the scenes of the adventures of the "pioneers" of Cooperstown, illustrated by the renowned proprietor of the "Hall;" the visits to the various houses of Christian worship; my hospitable entertainment by distinguished citizens in several villages; and the varied festivities that effaced for the time the memory of public cares and duties—all these are indelibly impressed upon my memory: and the hills and valleys of Otsego are never recalled by me but as scenes luxuriant in fertility, gladdened by the ripening influences of a midsummer sun, and abounding in all the elements of social happiness.

There was no voice or memory of politics on that occasion, and the people of Otsego are unknown to me as politicians. I would not efface these impressions. I desire that there may be one community that I may remember in all after-life as free from the political acrimony which often poisons the springs of hospitality and friendship. I admit my obligations to bear my full part in the political discussions of the day, although I am removed beyond the incentives of personal ambition. But the state is a broader field than I could traverse if I should devote myself exclusively to political agitation. Let others, then, labor in Otsego county, and let me perform my share of political service where, in spite of kinder affections, I am known only as a politician, or at least where I am not under obligations for unrequited hospitality. Let me cherish still longer, and long as I live, the recol-

* See page 224.

lection of the one green spot in the state of New York, where, when my character was most misrepresented and most misapprehended, amid the excitement of the most exciting of political occasions the country ever has known, I was received not only with the kindness, candor, and respect, due to the office I bore, but with a magnanimity beyond my merits as a man, as a citizen, and as a magistrate.

I am, gentlemen, very sincerely, your friend and humble servant.

PRISON DISCIPLINE.

AUBURN, *December* 14, 1846.

TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE PRISON ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK:

GENTLEMEN: You flatter me by inviting me to instruct you on the anniversary of your association. I am only a pupil of your own. If I should suggest anything, it would be that you do not let the reform of prisons lose the just and necessary aid of the state, by being separated from kindred reforms. The great philosopher who wrote on the advancement of learning, said: "Let it be a rule that all partitions of knowledge be accepted rather for *lines* and *veins* than for *sections* and *separations;* and that the *continuance* and *entireness* of knowledge be preserved." So it must be with all the enterprises of the age for meliorating the condition of society. "These things ought ye to have done, and not to have left the other undone," is an instruction as just in politics as it is in religion.

You ask me, gentlemen, to cheer and encourage you. Such encouragement can only be derived from the inflexible purpose of doing good amid much unavoidable misapprehension and reproach. For there is nothing immediately attractive to society in sympathy for offenders who have endangered its safety and disturbed its peace. Humanity to convicts is eminently conservative in its operation. But no man can invoke humanity for the convict without being suspected of a bad ambition, and no man can alleviate the punishment of the criminal without drawing upon himself the anger of those who derive personal satisfaction from the inflictions of social justice. Our holy religion

makes no distinction among the prisoners whom it enjoins us to visit. Your experience has taught you that those ministrations bless those that render them even more than those who receive them, and you are sure of ultimate vindication.

An Oglethorpe, a Howard, and a Clarkson, have gained immortal names on earth in labors similar to yours; and Christianity is a fraud, if the charity which believeth all things, endureth all things, hopeth all things, and withal vaunteth not itself, can not open the gates of heaven.

I am, gentlemen, with many thanks for your remembrance, your obedient servant.

KOSSUTH.

WASHINGTON, *December* 15, 1851.

To CITIZENS OF PHILADELPHIA:

GENTLEMEN: I should be very happy if it were in my power to accept your courteous invitation to the feast which is to be given, by the citizens of Philadelphia, to the now acknowledged nation's guest. But my engagements here forbid.

Give him, gentlemen, a welcome worthy of Philadelphia to give, worthy of Kossuth to receive—a welcome for his own great military and greater civic deeds, although he disclaims them—a welcome for the glorious but mournful memories of his far-off native land, although she can not lift her head from the dust to thank you for it—a welcome for his indomitable zeal in her service, and his almost spiritual hopefulness of its successful results—a welcome for the sake of our own country, for her own liberties will be in danger when she shall have forgotten her desire to extend them to other nations—a welcome for the sake of our common humanity, for when shall it have an apostle or prophet worthy of being honored, if he shall be rejected?

Suffer him with his fervid eloquence to reanimate his fallen country, and to wear the honors and the powers with which she so wisely and justly clothed him; and then consider what you can do, what Congress can do, and what the American people can do, to restore her in fact to her position among the nations of the earth. Without the consent and clearly-expressed will of

the people, Congress can do nothing. With that support, I trust that some measure may be adopted by the government, which, while it will not at all hazard the peace or prosperity of the country, may serve to promote a cause that appeals so strongly to our interests and our sympathies, viz., the establishment of republicanism, in the countries prepared for it, in Europe.

I am, gentlemen, with great respect, your humble servant.

KOSSUTH.

SENATE CHAMBER, WASHINGTON, *December* 17, 1851.

TO THE NEW YORK BAR:

GENTLEMEN: Your letter, inviting me to attend the dinner to be given by the bar of New York to the illustrious European visiter, has been received this morning; and my answer, in order to reach you seasonably, must be despatched immediately.

I rejoice exceedingly that the enlightened and independent bar of New York have made a movement so just and so wise. Where shall the cause of constitutional government and civil liberty look for advocates, if not to the members of the legal profession in free republican countries?

Gentlemen, give to Kossuth the reception he deserves, and which you so well know how to give. And then, I pray you, to open your volumes of international law. Draw from them, as I am sure you can, the precious instruction that every nation may, and every nation ought to, make its position distinctly known, in every case of conflict between despots and states struggling for the inalienable and indefeasible rights of independence and self-government; that when despots combine, free states may *lawfully unite*. When these principles shall have been adopted by the American people, and asserted by their government, it will then be a question of discretion for the government and the people on what occasions and in what way they shall move, when conflicts shall be impending, or shall have actually begun. He who doubts the wisdom and prudence of the government in such emergencies, distrusts unnecessarily the capacity of the American people to sustain their own republican institutions.

Accept, gentlemen, my thanks for your kind remembrance of me, on an occasion so interesting, and believe me, with great respect, your humble servant.

KOSSUTH.

WASHINGTON, *January* 12, 1852.

TO THE PRINTERS OF PITTSBURGH:

GENTLEMEN: Your letter of the 10th instant, inviting me to the festival to be held by the Pittsburgh Typographical Association in honor of the memory of Benjamin Franklin, has been received. The invitation is rendered more attractive by the circumstance that the illustrious Hungarian chief, from whom I have just now parted, will grace the occasion with his august presence.

I regret deeply, gentlemen, that public and private cares combine to deprive me of the pleasure you have thus offered me. My imagination suggests at once the parallel which I trust must occur to all minds, of FRANKLIN in 1777 at the court of Versailles, soliciting recognition of American independence, commercial treaties, and substantial aid, and LOUIS KOSSUTH in the American capital, soliciting similar boons for his country, in a condition apparently not more helpless and hopeless. The application of the former resulted not less auspiciously for America than for mankind. If the visit of the latter is a chimera, a delusion, as many think it is, I desire to hold fast upon it to the last. I would rather be deceived in a generous trust in the justice of mankind, than to know that justice and the love of civil freedom have ceased to animate my countrymen.

Accept, gentlemen, my cordial thanks, and assurances of my distinguished regard.

LETTERS FROM EUROPE.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

In the summer of 1833, Mr. Seward, as is stated elsewhere made a hurried tour through Europe, in company with his father, then an invalid. During his absence he wrote to different friends at home, a series of descriptive letters. The editor of the "Albany Evening Journal," who had himself been favored with several of these letters, prevailed upon Mr. Seward and the parties to whom the letters were addressed, to permit their publication.

After about forty of the series had appeared, their publication was arrested under circumstances which can not, perhaps, be better explained than by inserting the following extract from the Journal of that date:—

"Letters from Europe.—In reply to numerous inquiries for these letters, it is proper to say that their publication was arrested by the 'veto' of the gentleman who wrote them. It is already known to some of our readers that the author of these letters is the whig candidate for governor. They were hastily written to several of his intimate friends, while making a tour upon the continent. On his return, the friends of Mr. Seward earnestly desired the publication of these letters in a more durable form, but this was declined. After much importunity, however, he yielded a reluctant consent to their anonymous publication in the 'Evening Journal.' The series, thus commenced, were continued, contributing to the interest of our readers, and adding new names to our subscription, until the whig state convention placed their author in a new relation to the public; when, unwilling, we suppose, to superadd to other offences the heinous one of writing 'Letters from Europe,' he desired us to suspend their publication.

"From this decision of the author, our readers have appealed to the editor. Having read a portion of these letters, they insist upon the publication of the entire series. They do not, nor can we discover, in the whig nomination for governor, a sufficient reason for cutting off this source of interest and instruction. And besides, the assent of the author, to the publication of the whole series, having been obtained *before* his nomination for governor, we insist that he has not now the right to revoke it.

"Under these circumstances, and at the general solicitation of our readers, we *take the responsibility* of resuming the publication of our 'Letters from Europe.' It is due, however, to Mr. Seward, to say, that they were written solely for the gratification of his own family, and a few intimate friends, without the slightest expectation that they would ever be given to the public. If any of his political opponents should think proper to find fault with these letters, we shall respectfully inquire who among them possesses the industry and the talent to have travelled through England, Ireland, Scotland, Holland, Switzerland, Germany, and France, within a period of *less than three months*, and produce nearly eighty letters (filling upward of nine hundred manuscript pages) of equal interest and intelligence?"

The limited space remaining in these volumes will admit of only a small number of these interesting letters. Those which have found a place were selected without much discrimination, and have probably been somewhat marred in being taken from their original connection as well as by their necessary abridgment. Two of them have never before appeared in print.—*Ed.*

LETTERS FROM EUROPE.

LETTER I.

LIVERPOOL—ENGLISH HOTEL—THEATRE—TOWN-HALL, &C.

LIVERPOOL, *June* 22, 1833.

MY DEAR J——: You will recollect having told me to send you no short letters. As it is probable my earliest letters will be the longest, because, while a novice in travelling, I shall find more numerous objects which seem to be worth description than when I shall have become acquainted with transatlantic scenes and manners, I dedicate to you such part of my notes as relates to Liverpool.

We took lodgings at the Adelphi, and having selected our rooms, went immediately to attend to the inspection of our baggage at the customhouse. We found the office, and all the ways of access to it, filled with immense quantities of the baggage brought by two packets and one transient ship from America. We were compelled to await our turn. During the passage, our Havana merchant had generously presented to one of the passengers from Philadelphia a box of fine cigars. The box was seized by the customhouse officers, and so large a bill of duties and charges was made, that the donor hesitated whether to pay the amount or leave the cigars. In coming to the conclusion to take his property, I believe he was principally determined by a sense of the complaisance due to his Spanish friend. A passenger who arrived in another ship had a large trunk, filled with new and well-selected American books: these passed, without note or comment. Immediately afterward a person entered,

who, it was whispered, was an agent sent down from London to detect malpractices at Liverpool. My trunks were opened in his presence, and the officers, with reluctance, took out my books, and said they could not pass without a clearance, although they were not a fourth part as numerous as those of the other traveller, and were, most or all of them, small books of my own library, brought to relieve the tediousness of the voyage. One of the officers whispered to me, to look over them, and see if I could not find some English books among them. This, of course, was impossible, as nobody buys English books in America. So I had the pleasure of seeing my Shakspeare, and Burns, and Carter, and Silliman, thrown into the scales with Mrs. Trollope and Captain Hall, and other names more unknown to fame. The bill of duties and charges amounted to fourteen shillings sterling, which I paid, taking a resolution, that at the next inspection I would leave Mrs. Trollope and Captain Hall at the customhouse.

We visited the theatre in the evening. The edifice, the arrangements, the scenery, and the performance, were all inferior to those of the best theatres in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. I must except, however, the star of the night. This was Mr. Power, who excels any actor I have ever seen in the performance of Irish characters. The characters he represented were Sir Lucius O'Trigger and Teddy the Tiler. He seemed equally happy in the genteel and low Irish characters. The bill announced that this was his last engagement before going to America, so you will soon have an opportunity to judge of his merits for yourself. At the theatre we met almost all our fellow-passengers, and were not a little surprised to see our steward and his assistant, both colored men, in the box opposite to us. Although our prejudices revolted at the association, I was pleased with the evidence that in England, the caste of men is not determined by the color of the skin.

On Tuesday, having sent our letters of introduction, we commenced the grand business of seeing the lions of the town; but, before descending to particulars, it will be better to give you my observations upon the *tout ensemble* of Liverpool. The situation of the town has nothing imposing. The commercial character of its population is indicated by the modern style of its buildings, which differ, however, from those in New York in their appearance of greater solidity and in their less cheerful aspect. They

are composed of freestone, or of very hard, dark-colored bricks. You see very little of external ornament, and the painted woodwork which is so often seen in American towns is unknown here. The only house I have seen which has light Venetian window-shutters belongs to an American. In every part of the city are manufactories, having very high chimneys constantly emitting columns of dense coal-smoke, and upon all the hills in the vicinity are numerous windmills. The display of goods in the shop-windows is very similar to what you see in Broadway, though more splendid. The streets are generally narrow and irregular, and the coal-smoke, in a very humid atmosphere, gives a sombre color to the most magnificent buildings. The aspect of the population is not different from that of New York, except the great number of females employed in servile and laborious occupations, and the greater number of liveried servants. Liverpool, you know, is a very ancient town: it was fortified by the commonwealth against Prince Rupert, nephew to King Charles I., and, for a long period antecedent to that time, was the seat of the earls of Derby and Stafford. But it acquired no great commercial importance until the latter part of the last century, when its merchants perceived the great advantages of their location in reference to Manchester, whose manufactures were now becoming greatly extended. To this branch of trade was added the unholy traffic in slaves. The former still continues to add to the wealth and importance of Liverpool. As Liverpool began to flourish at about the same time, and for a considerable period continued *pari passu* with New York, the Liverpool merchants anticipated that the two cities would acquire equal importance in reference to the countries in which they were located. But more recently they have been compelled to acknowledge that there must be limits to the extent of the one, while the other has as yet but commenced an apparently interminable career of prosperity.

The most magnificent public building in Liverpool is the town-hall: it is of the Corinthian order, and is of quadrangular form, having a rustic basement on which are placed a range of columns and pilasters; on three sides, the spaces between the capitals of the columns are adorned with bas-reliefs, illustrative of the commercial character of the town. A dome, which rises to the height of about one hundred and fifty feet above the foundation, and is in perfect proportion, surmounts the edifice. On the summit of the

dome is the statue of Britannia. The greater part of this immense edifice, the pride of Liverpool, is, according to our republican notions, appropriated to very unimportant uses; the whole basement story is used for culinary purposes; the ground story contains a few offices for the mayor and committees of the corporation. The third story contains a magnificent suite of rooms for public entertainments. These apartments are shown to the visiter, who ascends through the grand staircase which is adorned by a very excellent statue of Canning, executed by Chantrey. Mr. Canning represented the town in parliament. You will not expect me to describe the splendid apartments. It is sufficient to say, that in magnificence they correspond with the grandeur of the exterior of the edifice. The saloon contains full-length portraits of William IV., taken before his ascent to the throne by Shee; of George III., by Sir Thomas Lawrence; of George IV., when prince of Wales, by Hopner; and of the late duke of York, by Phillips. The portrait of George IV., if I may judge from other pictures I have seen, is a miserable likeness. Perhaps it was the greater celebrity of the artist, which caused me to think that of George III. superior to all the others. After admiring the magnificence of the interior, we ascended to the gallery which surrounds the dome, whence there is, when the atmosphere is clear, a fine view of the town and its environs. The view embraces in the east Everton and Edge hill; in the west the course of the river Mersey to its source, and in the north the mouth of the river and the Irish channel. The town exhibits nothing particularly interesting, but the luxuriance of the adjacent country renders the prospect most beautiful. Beyond the villages of Woodside and Birkenhead, the western prospect is bounded by the lofty hills of Penmanmaur.

Our next visit was to the exchange. This edifice is built on the three sides of an area immediately behind the town-hall. It has three façades, the east and west facing each other, and the northern corresponding to the northern side of the town-hall. The façades consist of a basement supporting Corinthian columns and capitals, with an entablature and balustrade, presenting appropriate figures emblematic of commerce. The centre of the area is adorned with a bronze monument in honor of Lord Nelson. Upon the basement or pedestal is the figure of Nelson, receiving upon his sword a fourth laurel from the hand of Vic-

tory. The figure of Death, half-concealed by the enemy's flag, is seen aiming the mortal blow: a sailor grasps a battle-axe to revenge the death of the hero; and Britannia, leaning on her spear, laments the loss of the veteran. At the angles of the pedestal are captives in chains, and upon each side Nelson's memorable words: "England expects every man to do his duty." The figures of the captives are admirably executed. As for the other parts of the monument, the design is so confused that I did not regard them with pleasure. I have yet to learn to appreciate the beauties of works of this kind, in which heathen divinities and mortal men are brought into so close juxtaposition. The idea of the sailor seizing a battle-axe to retaliate a blow inflicted, not by a human arm, but by the grim king of terrors, is absurd. Such incongruities may pass in poetry, and possibly in painting, but their occurrence in statuary deprives the work of all semblance of truth.

We visited also the *Athenæum*, an institution founded by an association of three hundred and fifty shareholders, each of whom originally subscribed ten guineas, and pays two and a half guineas annually. In the lower story is a spacious reading-room, where is found a very extensive collection of newspapers of all countries. I found in several of the English papers malicious attacks upon the American institutions and character. Just before leaving New York, I read, in an Albany newspaper, an article extracted from the Ithaca Journal, in which a Mr. Seely gave an account of a singular snake, which he saw cut into three distinct parts by the falling of a tree upon it, and yet, strange to relate, in a few hours afterward the same animal collected and adjusted together its three divisions, and was taken home by Mr. Seely aforesaid to his house, where at the date it remained still living — exhibiting, however, marks where the disjunction had taken place! The whole story was so well told, and so fortified upon all points where incredulity might attack it, and was withal so well guarantied by the signature of the said Mr. Seely, and his references to his neighbors who were eye-witnesses, that the Albany editor republished it with the only comment that the singular story seemed to be well authenticated. In a London journal I found the same article introduced as the proof to sustain the proposition that the Americans, for lack of genuine wit, resort to the fabrication of the most improbable tales, and are really suc-

cessful in that kind of Munchausen invention. I wonder if some of the works of Dean Swift, on the same principle, would not convict his countrymen of the same crime.

The library of the Athenæum is well selected, and contains about twenty thousand volumes, many of which are rare and valuable. I was much interested in reading a British magazine cotemporary with the war of the American Revolution. It was curious to mark the different manner in which the same events were described and the same individuals mentioned, in this work and in the whig papers published at the same time in America. One could not but smile, in reading the description of the rebel Congress, and the contemptuous reference of all the difficulties in which the empire was involved to the agitation of a *few leaders*, among whom *John Hancock* and *Samuel Adams* were distinguished as the most unprincipled. It is thus, however, in all political movements, whether they attain the magnitude of revolutions, or are confined to a mere change of men or manners. The party in power represent the reformers as unprincipled agitators. Success crowns rebellion, and failure even in desirable reforms leaves its advocates too often to unsparing censure. We found several works of Dr. Hosack upon the shelves of the library.

The corporation of Liverpool is one among many strange anomalies yet remaining in England. The corporation is what is called a close one; that is to say, the members fill all vacancies which occur in the corporate body: so that all the patronage and interests of this great commercial city are continued perpetually under the control of some twenty or thirty individuals, holding their offices in perpetuity. The mayor is elected by the freemen of the town; but he must be selected from among the members of the corporation. When I learned these particulars, I was no longer surprised at the epicurean luxury displayed in the suite of rooms in the town-hall.

Another anomaly which the stranger will remark is the jumbling together of church and state affairs. Upon a church-door was a notice to all who claimed to be freemen of the borough, to register their names and prove their qualifications before a certain day, preparatory to an election of a member of parliament. This notice was signed by the *church-wardens of the parish.*

I remarked a difference in the dress of different bodies of the

police. A friend explained to me that the one was the corporation-guard; a second the parish-guard, supported by the vestry of the church; and a third the dock-guard, maintained by the dock-corporation. All, however, have equal and similar duties. I shall hereafter never be inclined to doubt the loyalty of the English nation. They seem to be enamored of their aristocracy. Where among our countrymen a ship, an hotel, or a street, would bear some name expressive of the freedom or equality of the people, the English with equal ostentation parade the names of the dukes, earls, and gentlemen, of the aristocracy. The manufacturer and the shopkeeper are most happy if permitted to display over their doors the words "Manufacturers to His Majesty," or "By special letters licensed to make razors for the Duke of Cumberland," &c.

LETTER II.

CHESTER—THE CATHEDRAL, &C.

CHESTER, *June* 24, 1833.

MY DEAR L——: For the first time in my life I find myself surrounded by the interesting monuments of ages so long passed away, that men read their history without party or political bias. I recollect your opinion, expressed in a conversation not long before my departure, that such scenes are those which must be most gratifying to the tourist. Perhaps I can not do better than to choose for the subject of the first letter I promised you, my visit to Chester.

We were desirous to witness the solemnities of religious services in the cathedral of Chester, and for that purpose left Liverpool yesterday morning (Sunday). On leaving Liverpool, we ascended the Mersey seven miles to Woodside, in a small steamboat crowded by passengers seeking pure air and green fields for the enjoyment of Sunday.

We passed through an ancient-looking street in the suburbs, and entered the city of Chester through an arched gate. Passing through various streets of antique appearance and grotesque construction, the diligence drove under an arched gateway into a

court, and stopped at the door of the coach-office. The coachman, who was a large, well-dressed and well-looking man, and might have passed for an alderman, having received his shilling sterling from each passenger, gave himself no further trouble: the porters took our baggage, and the hostlers the horses; and the passengers separated to their respective destinations. On no account will an English coachman set you down at an hotel. We took lodgings at the Red Lion.

Our curiosity to examine the antiquities of this interesting city had been so greatly excited, that we immediately demanded the way to the cathedral. After crossing the street, we traversed a circuitous passage not more than five feet wide, but which it was evident was used as a street, and in a few minutes stood before the immense edifice. Originally the name of *city* was bestowed only upon those towns which were honored with the residence of bishops, and the name of *cathedral* still belongs only to the principal church of the diocese. Chester has been a bishop's see from a very remote period. It is said, but I do not know with what authority, that a temple of Apollo once stood upon the spot now occupied by the cathedral. It seems to be well established, however, that there existed in Chester, in the ninth century, a monastery dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul. In the year 875, the remains of St. Werburgh, daughter of Wulphen, king of Mercia, were removed to this monastery, to preserve them from being polluted by the hands of the Danish invaders. These relics, according to the historian of the monastery, possessed miraculous power. Among other "wonderful works," it is recorded that the whole army of a Welsh king were struck with instant blindness in the sacrilegious attempt to disturb the ashes of the saint. A few years afterward, the ecclesiastical establishment, with the sacred dust, was removed to the present site of the cathedral, and a monastery was erected by Ethelfleda, countess of Mercia, and dedicated to St. Werburgh and St. Oswald. The present cathedral was connected with the monastery, of which only the ruins now remain. It was commenced in the eleventh century, and received continued additions and improvements until the sixteenth. The monastery was dissolved in the general suppression of monasteries and convents during the Reformation, in the sixteenth century.

The cathedral is built of freestone, which does not well resist

the operation of the elements, and exhibits the effects of gradual decomposition. The structure is irregular, and of Gothic architecture. The length from east to west is three hundred and forty-nine feet, the width is seventy-five feet, and the height of the square tower in the centre from the base of the church is one hundred and twenty-seven feet. In the walls are innumerable niches, originally filled with small statues of the saints. Many of these statues have fallen; those which yet remain are disfigured and discolored, as is the whole exterior of the cathedral. The roof is supported by immense columns. You are to recollect, in order to form an idea of the interior, that in the ancient churches there were no galleries. The whole interior, with the exception of the choir and chapels, is unencumbered with divisions or partitions of any kind. You have then to imagine the imposing effect produced upon our minds as we entered this immense temple, constructed with all the solidity and grandeur which distinguish the Gothic order.

The choir, which is unknown in our American churches, is that part of the church containing the altar, the places for the priests, and the seats for the musicians and dignitaries of the church. In Protestant churches, the choir is also furnished with seats for the congregation. In Catholic churches, the people are excluded from the choir. From this description you are not to understand that the choir is enclosed by partition-walls. It is enclosed generally by iron railings with gates, so that it rather forms an inner court than a separate apartment. The choir of the cathedral at Chester is separated from the main part of the building by a screen of beautiful Gothic construction, enriched with figures of saints.

We arrived at the cathedral a few minutes before the commencement of the afternoon service. The service of the established church is celebrated, according to the ritual of the prayer-book, every morning and evening during the year. After walking through the area of the cathedral, we entered the choir, and one of the attendants showed us to a pew which we found to belong to the archdeacon. This being the cathedral church, there were several officiating clergymen of the different grades of rectors, canons, deans, and prebendaries, with a full choir of singers. The latter as well as the former wore white robes, and the clergymen were attended by persons dressed in coarse black gowns,

with a kind of staff or truncheon made of silver. The service, as you are aware, differs very little in substance from that of the Episcopal church in America; but I thought it far less interesting, overloaded as its beautiful simplicity is here with so much pomp and ceremony. The psalms and chants were sung with the aid of an excellent organ, and the service was also improved by the addition of two beautiful anthems. I must leave it to your imagination to conceive the grandeur of this service, performed within the walls of the immense cathedral. I joined the congregation in the service, making a mental reservation in that part of the liturgy where prayers are offered that his most gracious majesty may obtain victory over *all* his enemies, and in some other parts where I preferred to qualify my wishes for the royal family within the limits prescribed by my allegiance and devotion to our own government. There were but few worshippers, other than the functionaries of the church. Most of the inhabitants of the city, I suppose, have more convenient seats in the parish-churches. After the service was concluded, and the clergy had retired, we resumed our survey of the cathedral. The walls are adorned with monuments of the dead buried under the aisles; and the floor itself seems a pavement of marble slabs, covering tombs of more than ten generations.

LETTER III.

DUBLIN—PARLIAMENT—BANK OF IRELAND.

DUBLIN, *June* 24, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR: You know the great desire I had to visit this interesting country, and to see for myself the home of one of the most ardent, generous, and unfortunate people of modern times. We crossed the channel in the steamboat Dublin, leaving Liverpool in the evening. The weather was intensely cold, and the sea rough; our little steamer rolled about very much, and the excursion was more uncomfortable than any part of our voyage across the Atlantic. I could not suppress my astonishment at the wretched accommodations furnished by this steamboat, for the

great number of passengers continually travelling between the two large cities of Liverpool and Dublin. This boat, like all others here, has two cabins with different prices, but it would puzzle one of the Irish barristers I have seen here, to determine wherein the one excels the other. I was amused by witnessing the manner in which they transfer horses and cattle from the dock to the boat. They have small frames like a sentinel's box, each large enough to hold one horse with his hayrack. One of these boxes is rolled to the side of the dock, where the horse is shut within it by bars. The animal and his house are then raised from the ground, by means of pullies, and both are thus with great care transferred to the deck. There were about twenty passengers in our cabin, all of whom, with the exception of ourselves and one Englishman, reside in Ireland. There were two young ladies. The captain was an Irishman. I am confident I shall not experience as great surprise when I arrive upon the continent and find myself surrounded by persons all speaking a language of which I am entirely ignorant, as I have felt on board the steamboat, and since my arrival here in finding all classes of society speaking the English language, in a dialect, which we have been always accustomed to regard as the evidence of a lower caste or education. But although the passengers on board the Dublin spoke English very badly, according to my ear, I found them very agreeable people. The two young ladies had beautiful complexions; countenances which anywhere in the world I would know to be Irish, though by what particular marks I could not describe. They were well educated, intelligent, and modest. A young gentleman, also an Irishman, was all curiosity to learn something about America, as well as full of zeal to make the passage agreeable to me. Having come late on board I was unable to get a berth in the after-cabin, this gentleman immediately offered me his, and pressed me to take it with an importunity which would not admit of refusal. On my consenting to take it we found my friend had committed a bull, his berth being in the fore-cabin, as well as that which had been offered to me. He then represented the case to the captain, who made a good provision for me. All the Irish passengers expressed a strong aversion to the English, and seemed to believe, whether justly or not I do not know, that their countrymen of all classes are treated with too much hauteur by their richer and lordly

neighbors. After tea each had whiskey-punch prepared, and the maxims of the temperance society to the contrary notwithstanding, I could not decline their invitation to join them over their favorite beverage. The twilight lasted until past ten o'clock, when there was still so much light that I could very well read on deck. After passing Holyhead, we retired, the other passengers to their miserable berths, and I to a mattress which the steward had prepared for me. In the morning we had a strange medley for breakfast — cold ham, corned beef, and shrimps, with tea and coffee, which were anything but luxurious.

The road to Dublin passes through a succession of villages, densely populated, and so near to each other that the whole seems like a continuous street. These villages are, for the greater part, composed of the dwelling-houses of the noblemen, gentry, and merchants of Dublin, and I confess I have never seen any more beautiful street than is thus formed. Accustomed as we have been to the habits, appearance, and manners of Irish emigrants, had I waked from a long sleep without any previous knowledge that I was destined to visit Ireland, I should at once have known that I was upon the Emerald Isle. The road the whole distance from Kingstown to Dublin was covered by pedestrians and passengers in all imaginable sorts of vehicles, as if passing to and from some great fair or holiday festival. The strongly-marked Irish physiognomy and dialect, the squalid appearance and tattered threadbare habits, and the reeling steps, all proclaimed that I was among the peasantry of that thriftless but contented people, who "take no thought for the morrow, neither what they shall eat, nor what they shall drink, nor wherewithal they shall be clothed." All this crowd were evidently very poor, but I can not say that I saw one unhappy; not even excepting the beggars, who assumed a woful countenance until they had obtained from the traveller a few halfpence, and then joined their merry companions in spirits as gay as any. Such as our diligence was were all the public coaches we met, but we were mostly amused by a carriage of a peculiar construction, called a *jaunting car*, which seemed to be most favored by the passengers. It is drawn by one horse, and consists of a small cart with a frame erected lengthwise in the centre, from which are suspended two benches or seats, each of which will accommodate three persons, who thus ride as we would say sidewise.

The expense of riding in these vehicles is very cheap. Most of them, as well as the horses and drivers are indescribably old and mean in appearance, and correspond with the habiliments of the passengers. It was amusing to see women and men jostling along the road, as happy as the Irish proverbially are, in these strange-looking vehicles, some with a piece of bread, some small bundles, and some bottles of whiskey — sharing with each other the different promises of each, and regardless of present appearance or future care. At first we supposed these novel carriages were appropriated solely to the use of the poor, but we have since seen many finished very elegantly and drawn by fine horses: and we find that they are the ordinary means of conveyance used by all classes of people as hackney-coaches are in New York. On our way to Dublin, one of our Irish passengers pointed out to me the village of Donnybrook, so much celebrated for its annual fair. It is now one of the suburbs of Dublin. We entered the city through a spacious and splendid street, the houses on both sides being of great height and well constructed of handsome stone. The diligence set us down at the door of Holmes' hotel, upon the corner of College-Green, in the centre of the city, and presenting a more splendid view than I have ever before seen in any town. On our right are the noble and venerable walls of Trinity College, and in front a grand and imposing edifice, formerly the capitol of Ireland. Having been shown to the rooms assigned to us, we protested against them; the chambermaid assured us that they were very clean and nice, notwithstanding the evidence of our senses to the contrary. When we were about to abandon the house, the girl promised with so much earnestness to put them in better condition, that we consented to wait till we should see the result of her operations. And it is but justice to her to say that she fulfilled her promise.

In the coffee-room was a notice, stating the price of reading the journal of the day, by any except lodgers in the house at three pence, and the price of perusal of the journal of a previous day at two pence. From our windows we have a view of the most motley mixture of pedestrians in the streets. Men and women are seen traversing the streets, carrying large placards affixed to poles, and others having them fixed upon pasteboard, carry them suspended upon their shoulders before and behind them. I was curious to see what important intelligence these placards con-

tained, to justify such great efforts and expense to give it publicity. I followed one until I could read: "John Leonard's boot and shoe store is well-supplied," &c. Another was a bill of the play, and another the advertisement of our steamboat on her return passage.

Our dinner was served to us in the most economical manner possible. Nothing was put upon the table, not even the smallest article, except it was demanded and charged for.

After dinner we walked through Sackville street, said to be one of the finest streets in Europe. It is very spacious. The houses are large and imposing. It is adorned with a fine bridge, and with many of the most splendid public buildings, and a column of great height, in commemoration of Nelson's victories. But what was far more interesting to me, was the heterogeneous composition of the population who thronged the streets. Whatever you can imagine of splendor and luxury, of equipage and dress, is to be seen at all times in Sackville street. Coaches with the finest horses, liveried servants, ladies gayly mounted on horseback, and military officers in superb uniform, are continually passing; and by the side of these, and among them, are the most wretched vehicles, the meanness and tatters of absolute poverty and mendicity. Beggars throng every avenue and passage, and the variety of their modes of address, exhibits, often, the impassioned and versatile eloquence of the country. Nowhere have I seen the two extremes of wealth and poverty brought into such glaring contrast as in the streets of Dublin.

Dublin has many magnificent public buildings. Of these, the most beautiful, and in other respects the most interesting, is the bank of Ireland, formerly the parliament-house. The exterior is simple but grand, and may be cited as an instance of the beauty which may be produced by the mere correct adjustment of proportions. The edifice is of Portland stone, so accurately shaded as, at a little distance, to resemble the finest painting. The grand portico is one hundred and forty-seven feet, and fronts upon College-Green. It is of the Ionic order, and almost destitute of ornament. The tympanum of the pediment has, in the centre, the royal arms of Great Britain—on its summit, the figure of Hibernia, with Commerce on her right, and Fidelity on her left. The pediment over the east front is ornamented with statues, representing Fortitude, Justice, and Liberty. The chamber which

was occupied by the house of lords, remains unchanged. It is seventy-three feet long, and thirty feet wide; the walls are covered with tapestry representing the battle of the Boyne, and the siege of Londonderry. At the further end is a statue of George III., in white marble.

The hall of the house of commons is a circle, having a diameter of fifty-five feet inscribed in a square. The hall is surmounted by a dome supported by sixteen Corinthian columns, and richly ornamented with national paintings. I could well conceive, when I visited these rooms, that it was probably no vain boast of the inhabitants of Dublin, that the halls of their parliament were superior to any in Europe. But all this glory has departed. The very shadow (and for a long time the Irish parliament was but the shadow) of independence has vanished. Ireland has surrendered the individuality of her national existence, to share, like a younger sister, that of England.

The walls of the parliament-house remain in all their primitive grandeur, to reproach the degeneracy of her statesmen. My thoughts, while I traversed the apartments, reverted to the debate when the degenerate representatives surrendered their parliament; and I thought that, had I occupied a place there I would have seen English armies wade in blood over my country before I would have assented to so disgraceful a union. Something might have been spared, after the deed was consummated, to the wounded pride of the Irish people. The parliament-house ought to have been closed and left in gloomy solitude, a monument to remind the people that they once had a country. But this was too great a concession for the economy of the English administration of affairs in Ireland. They who build palaces and monuments with a profuse hand on the other side of the channel, sold the Irish capitol, and it was forthwith converted into a hall for money-changers. I confess that, overleaping all the obstacles which are deemed by many well-wishers of Ireland insurmountable, I wish the repeal of the union. I will not believe that, if relieved from that oppressive act, she does not possess the capability to govern herself. I admit, when I advert to the unenlightened condition of the people, the experiment would be difficult, perhaps dangerous. But I have seen enough to convince me, that until the repeal shall take place, the people will never be enlightened and educated. The secret spring of all English

policy in reference to Ireland, is jealousy of the Catholic religion. Even here, in the capital of Ireland, I have found the Protestants urging against all propositions for educating the people, the same arguments used in the southern states of our Union, to justify the penal enactments against the education of slaves, that is to say, the apprehension that when educated, they will demand their natural and inalienable rights. Sure I am that were Ireland united in herself, she would soon command, at the hands of England the surrender of her selfish and cruel policy, but the truth is, that the majority of the inhabitants of the city of Dublin are Protestants. With the change of the government from a Protestant to Catholic administration, would come the prostration of their power and influence; and they pretend, also, that they would be unsafe in the enjoyment of their religion, their property, and their lives, and hence it is that Irishmen are seen strengthening and sustaining the arm which crushes Ireland. I am sorry to add, that this party is so numerous, and possesses so great advantage in respect of education and wealth, that, allied to the government of England, they are likely very long to postpone the regeneration of Ireland. Indeed, that event is treated by them, as well as by many who would ardently wish to see it, as chimerical. If, as I fear, it is so, then there is no hope for Ireland but to wait patiently the event. Sooner or later she must break the power of her oppressor, and compel the sister-nation to be content with the government of their own island. Much was told us of the excellence of the internal arrangement of the bank for the transaction of business, but I had no heart to examine its details, I thought only of the edifice, of what it had been and ought to be, and endeavored to banish all that could tend to weaken those associations.

The bank is guarded day and night by a strong police, and we discovered that the government of the institution had prudently taken care, as soon as they purchased the building, to arm it with small artillery, in order to resist the attacks of mobs, of which they remain in constant apprehension.

We next proceeded to visit the Four Courts, as the building is called, in which the sessions of the higher courts are held. This, like most of the public buildings in Dublin, exhibits much taste and magnificence. It has a front, toward the river, of four hundred and forty feet, and extends in rear, one hundred and seventy

feet. It is built of the same kind of stone so often mentioned. In front is a portico consisting of six large Corinthian pillars. The pediment of the portico is surmounted by a statue of Moses, with the figures of Justice on one side and Mercy on the other. On the angles of the building in front, are statues emblematic of wisdom and authority. Having entered the portico, we found ourselves in a circular hall, lighted by a dome. The diameter of this spacious hall is one hundred and twenty-eight feet. The hall forms the vestibule to the apartments in which the sessions of the four courts are held. The dome contains eight windows, the spaces between which are decorated with statues of colossal size, emblematic of liberty, justice, wisdom, law, prudence, mercy, and eloquence. Still above these, and in a rich frieze which adorns the dome, are medallions representing Moses, Lycurgus, Solon, Numa, Confucius, Alfred, Mancha Capac, and Ollambh Fodlah. The dome is supported by Corinthian columns, and over the entrance to the courts are bas-reliefs of William the Conqueror establishing courts of justice, King John affixing his signature to Magna Charta, Henry II. receiving the Irish chieftains, and James I. abolishing the Brehon law. This great hall exhibits a lively scene of clients, witnesses, advocates, and attornies, and clerks. The gentlemen of the bar here wear black gowns and enormous flaxen wigs, which give them a very grotesque appearance. We entered the court of exchequer, but, finding the court about to adjourn, we applied to a man holding a staff and wearing a kind of black gown, to direct us to one of the other halls in which a court was in session. He immediately went with us across the hall to the court of king's bench, where one of the justices was holding the sittings or circuit court. In all respects the apartment differed from those appropriated to a similar use in America. It was very small, but handsomely fitted-up and well-lighted. In front was the bench, elevated as high as the pulpit ordinarily is placed in our churches. There sat my lord the justice robed and wearing a prodigious white flaxen wig with ringlets descending upon his shoulders. By his side sat the lord-bishop of Kildare, who, by virtue of his high ecclesiastical rank, is entitled to the courtesy of a seat upon the bench, but without the right of participating in the duties of the judge. In a gallery at the right hand of the judge, and elevated still higher than the bench, were the jury, each having paper,

pen, and ink, placed before him. In front of the bench, at the left hand of the judges, was elevated a kind of platform, on which was a single chair, which was occupied by the witness, who was undergoing examination. In front of the bench, and on a level with the floor, was a table occupied by the clerk and reporters. A row of benches, those in rear elevated higher than those in front, was occupied by the counsellors and attorneys. Those dressed in silk gowns, and called the king's counsel, occupied the front seats; those dressed in bombazet robes had their places in rear. The only place allotted to spectators was a small gallery in which, possibly, one hundred and fifty persons might stand. The sheriff whispered to one of the gentlemen of the long robe, who forthwith invited us to a seat within the bar. The counsel invariably stands while examining the witness, and leaves to an associate to take notes of the examination. We were very much interested in the proceedings by the display of the tact and ability of the barrister in the examination of the witnesses. But our time would not allow us to stay until the conclusion of the cause. We subsequently visited the court of exchequer, where we were gratified by hearing a very able address to the jury by one of the barristers, who exhibited the greatest skill in the fortification of his points; but we observed that all the barristers had the same peculiarity of dialect which distinguishes an Irishman everywhere.

LETTER IV.

DUBLIN—REMINISCENCE OF ROBERT EMMETT, &C.

DUBLIN, *June* 26, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR: This morning we repaired, at an early hour, to the castle. We arrived in time to witness the splendid ceremony of mounting guard, by four regiments of cavalry and two regiments of infantry, with regimental music. The troops are elegantly uniformed, and the horsemen most richly mounted. The whole performance occupied an hour, and was attended by several thousands of the people, who were amused by this exhibi-

tion of the rigor of a police, whose only object is to protect the government against their own violence. A gentleman with whom we became acquainted here, adverting to the jealousy of the government, told us his father was one of the jurors by whom Robert Emmett was convicted. He added that, his father had often described the painful sympathies of the jury for the unfortunate and heroic youth, and always reverted to the event as one of the unhappiest incidents of his life. The castle is the residence of the lord-lieutenant, or vicegerent of Ireland. It is situated upon an eminence almost in the centre of the city. Its dimensions and strength, and the display of military power, are all in keeping with the policy of the British government, which studies to render the office of viceroy, in the estimation of the Irish people, little inferior to majesty itself.

The castle is divided into two courts, the upper and lower. The former is principally occupied with the apartments of the lord lieutenant. These rooms are spacious, but the architecture is ancient and plain. They are, nevertheless, expensively ornamented, and furnished in a style corresponding with the rank and wealth of his excellency. This court consists of a quadrangle, two hundred and eighty feet long, and one hundred and thirty feet broad, with uniform buildings on every side.

In the presence-chamber is the throne erected in 1821 for George IV., when he made his gracious visit to this part of his majesty's realms. All the costly furniture of the apartment remains unchanged. I took the liberty to occupy the throne while I made my hasty sketches of my visit to this part of the palace; but I could not discover that there was anything in the fabric itself calculated to inspire lofty emotions; and I doubt whether its present occupant finds it as soft and agreeable a seat as an arm-chair by the fireside, with a cushion for his gouty toe. The room is ornamented with pictures of George III. and Queen Charlotte, with national paintings upon the ceiling, and the devices of England, Ireland, and Scotland (the rose, shamrock, and thistle), entwined in wreaths, with the motto, "*Tria juncta in uno, quis separabit?*" I suppose O'Connell would answer the question, by acknowledging the will to separate the union, and lamenting the want of power to accomplish it. The dining-room, bedchamber, and library, with the other apartments of the suite, are superbly furnished; but the hall which is the most splendid

and imposing is the ballroom called St. Patrick's chamber, from the circumstance that the institution of the order of St. Patrick took place there. It is eighty-two feet in length, forty-one feet in breadth, and thirty-eight feet high, and is furnished with an orchestra, superb damask hangings, chandeliers, and a throne. The whole ceiling is decorated with paintings. In one compartment of the ceiling is the scene of St. Patrick converting the native Irish to Christianity. In another, Henry II. is seated under a canopy, and receives the oath of allegiance of the Irish chieftains; and in the centre is the coronation of George III. It is an allegorical painting, and his majesty is seen surrounded by angels, figures emblematic of Ireland, England, and Scotland, peace, plenty, commerce, &c.

From the state apartments we proceeded to the chapel of the castle, one of the most beautiful specimens of architecture in Europe. The building is seventy-three feet long and thirty five feet broad. The style is modern Gothic; the materials are Portland stone. The exterior is ornamented with ninety busts, including many saints, and all the kings of England. They are sculptured in blue marble. Over the entrance is the bust of St. Peter, holding the keys of heaven, and above is a bust of Dean Swift. The entrance on the other side is adorned with busts of St. Patrick and Brian Borhoime, and over them a bust of the Virgin Mary. The interior is finished in fine Irish oak, with a throne and pews for the nobility in the gallery, and pews on the lower floor for the officers attached to the government. In the great window over the altar is a rich and beautiful painting of Christ before Pilate.

My curiosity led me to go through the chapel and read the names of the noble families and state offices printed upon the doors of the pews. Among the latter I found a pew bearing the name of Mrs. Johnson. I inquired who was this Mrs. Johnson, and was told that she was the widow of the architect, who died just at the completion of the beautiful edifice; and the government, in compliment to her deceased husband, and as an expression of their entire satisfaction with the manner in which his arduous task had been completed, bestowed this pew upon his widow. The compliment was the more valuable, because hers is the only pew in the chapel appropriated to the use of a private individual. The seats of the nobility are decorated with engra-

vings of their arms; and the chancel, in very bad taste, displays the gilded titles and arms of the several lord-lieutenants.

In the pew containing the throne was a small thermometer, used by his excellency, as our conductor informed us, for ascertaining that the room is always heated to a particular temperature, he being a sufferer under the tic-doloreux. Our guide showed us the massive silver and gold vessels of the communion-table, but I dare not trust myself to copy from my notes the great weight of precious metal they are said to contain. You will be able to form some idea of the beauty of this little chapel, when informed that it is built in the purest taste, and cost seventy-five thousand pounds sterling.

Dublin castle boasts an antiquity of about six hundred years, and was originally constructed, as it has always since been used, to maintain the strength of the English interest in Ireland. It was not, however, until the reign of Queen Elizabeth, that it became the residence of the English viceroys. In appearance it is not imposing, but it is capable of being defended with great success. The lower court is surrounded by buildings devoted to military purposes, containing ordnance, armories, arsenals, guardhouses, &c. Our guide pointed out to us a new and very splendid building, resembling a palace of itself, which she commended to our notice. It was the building intended for his excellency's stables. But we did not consider it exactly in as important a light as, from the expense bestowed upon it by his excellency, he seemed to regard it. What devices will not public officers resort to, to expend money so profusely bestowed upon them, as in the case of the government of Ireland? His excellency receives an annual salary of thirty thousand pounds sterling, and has a household consisting of secretaries, stewards, ushers, master-of-horse, gentlemen of the bedchamber, chaplains, battle-axe guards, and I know not what other functionaries.

Having left the castle, we took one of the best we could find of the wretched jaunting-cars, and gave Patrick, our driver, the list of *lions* we desired to visit, with directions to take them in the order most advantageous to save time. One of the peculiarities in which European cities are said to excel our largest American towns is, the preservation of extensive public grounds and promenades, which contribute greatly to the beauty of the city, and are very conducive to the health of the inhabitants. In this

respect, Dublin very far exceeds Liverpool, and all American cities, not excepting Philadelphia. We visited Stephen's Green, a beautiful square containing seventeen acres, in the centre of which is an equestrian statue in brass of George II. This park is handsomely ornamented with forest-trees. Upon an elevated spot in Phœnix park stands a monument in commemoration of Wellington's victories. It consists of a base or platform of considerable height, and an obelisk, upon the four sides of which are inscribed the victories of the Irish general, and in front is a pedestal intended to support an equestrian statue. The whole affair is a complete failure, having no pretensions to either grandeur or beauty. In the same park, and at a distance of about two miles from Dublin, is the palace belonging to the viceroy, and called the Lodge. It is built of stone, covered with yellow stucco. Its dimensions are small compared with those of the upper court of the castle, but the whole design and arrangement are marked by good taste without profusion. This is the favorite residence of the lord-lieutenant.

The palace is embowered in groves of beautiful and ancient forest-trees, and the grounds are ornamented with great art. Notice had been given to the household that his excellency would return to-day with his family to this chateau, from Kingstown, where he has been taking the benefit of the baths. All were preparing to receive the great man, who was hourly expected, and in consequence we were compelled to make our examination very brief, as strangers are admitted to see these residences of the great only when the families are absent. The suite of apartments consisted of the same number of rooms, devoted to the same purposes, as those we had already visited at Eaton hall and in the castle. They were constructed in a more modern style, and furnished with greater taste, though less expense, than those in the castle. The lord-lieutenant's audience-chamber is ornamented with a triumphal star formed of the swords and pistols worn by him in the campaigns on the continent. In the drawing-room was an elegant collection of medals of distinguished generals, among which I noticed those of Washington and Bonaparte. After being hurried through the beautiful apartments of this princely mansion, our guide led us to a little retreat on the banks of the Liffey, called the "Strawberry-beds," where the high and steep banks of the river are covered with that delicious

fruit, raised in such great quantities that they afford the luxury of strawberries and cream at a small expense to the thousands of citizens who daily resort to the garden. The road thence to the compact part of the city is thronged with carriages of all descriptions, and the wayside exhibits at every turn a host of beggars. Persons are seen in rags, walking, sitting, and sleeping, under the shade of the shrubbery. As we were descending a hill on our return to town, we saw a whole family who had left their jaunting-car by the roadside, and were taking a repast under the shade of a tree. Being very thirsty, we went into the circle and asked for a draught of water, which was immediately given us. The lady, who was well dressed and of respectable appearance, pressed us to take some spirits from a bottle she had at her side. It was with difficulty we could make her understand that it was not from mere politeness that we declined it. The woman poured out a cup for herself, and said she did not think it was good to drink water *alone*, it was *so cold*. I fear, from all I have seen, that the temperance society has but an indifferent prospect in Ireland.

Before reaching the town, we had the good fortune to pass by a little village in the suburbs, called St. John's Well, where was being held a fair, which, if it be inferior to those which have given so great celebrity to Donnybrook, was nevertheless interesting, as it gave us an opportunity to witness the amusements of the lower class of the Irish people. But it was a scene which I might in vain attempt to describe. Imagine a field of a quarter of a mile square, lying by the roadside; along the side of the road, and on each of the four sides of the field, a row of tents, all of different dimensions and appearance, from the one made of good Irish linen, and affording accommodations for fifty of the choice spirits of the metropolis, to the humble shed formed by patched and ragged coverlids from the peasant's bed. Each of these booths or tents has a sign, devised in the manner which to the inventor seemed best calculated to attract customers. One bears the appellation of the "Stranger's Home;" another, "Paddy's Retreat;" another, "The Two Friends." Poetry and painting have lent their aid to the completion of these seductive sign-boards. In a festoon of ribands upon one of them was this distich, under the figure of a goose, which was intended to represent a swan: —

"A man loves water — water that is clear:
So do we love good brandy, ale, and beer."

"Mrs. Sarah Oaks keeps her house for the entertainment of the loyal sailor." The device upon her sign is a sailor swinging a bottle over his head, and exclaiming, "The king, God bless him!" But most of the publicans are patriots, that is, against the government. One has a glaring, red-faced Irish portrait, under which is inscribed, "Daniel O'Connell for ever — Erin go bragh for ever!"

Advancing along the line of booths, we stopped at the door of "The Cottage of Content," where a woman was fiddling, and about thirty Irish lads and lasses were dancing — not indeed with "light fantastic toe," but with real solid, clouted shoes.

A little further on was a theatre erected upon cart-wheels, with a small stage at the side, upon which a woman and the clown were holding a dialogue, by way of inducing the spectators to witness the approaching performance. A person among the crowd, of respectable appearance, interrupted the performance, and proceeded to expostulate with the clown upon the folly of his appearing in a grotesque dress, and playing the part of a buffoon for so wretched a compensation. The clown maintained his side of the argument very badly, but the audience were all for him, and I was apprehensive that the moralist would not escape without violence. Nevertheless, the rising storm was allayed when the master of the exhibition appeared and cheerfully offered to the lecturer to abandon his theatre, if he would indemnify him for the expense of scenery and costumes. The audience asserted that the proposition was fair, and, inasmuch as the moralist was not inclined to accept it, they were unanimously resolved that he should hold his peace. In the centre of the area were all manner of swings, wooden horses, and erections for exercise. In another place were wheels of fortune, and a hundred other devices for gambling. Upon one side of the area were women cooking potatoes over the turf-fires, for the accommodation of the poorest class of visiters. The board covered with boiled potatoes was invariably graced with a bottle of whiskey and an empty glass. In the area were thousands of people, who were in continual motion, going from one part of the field to another, as the attraction of a drum-beater, or a buffoon shouting, or a quarrel breaking out, afforded prospects of fun. It was altogether, how-

ever, a disgusting exhibition of poverty and vice, from which the spectator could derive amusement no longer than he forgot the corrupting influence it exerted upon the morals of the people.

On our return to town, we visited the churches of the Irish capital. Of these the principal, as its name imports, is St. Patrick's, originally a Catholic cathedral, but with the same pious disregard to rights of property and of conscience, which distinguished the conduct of the reformers, in too many instances, subsequently appropriated to the use of the protestant diocesan. The historians of Dublin enlarge greatly upon the ancient magnificence of this church. It is said that before it changed masters, the choir was covered with a curious stone roof, of an azure color, inlaid with stars of gold, and that the cathedral was so large that it contained more than one hundred windows. This ancient glory has departed, but St. Patrick's is nevertheless an interesting monument of ancient ecclesiastical wealth and magnificence. That part of the cathedral which yet remains entire, is three hundred feet long and eighty feet broad. It consists of a nave, choir, and transept. The latter is one hundred and fifty-seven feet long, and contains the chapter-house and a church, for the accommodation of a congregation distinct from that of the cathedral, and called the church of St. Nicholas without. The cathedral has a tower one hundred and twenty feet high, containing a fine chime of bells, and surmounted by a stone spire one hundred and three feet in height, so that the whole height of the steeple is two hundred and twenty-three feet.

The choir is arched with a ground stucco roof, which is decorated with the titles and banners of the knights of St. Patrick, suspended upon small staves from the wall. Here is the throne of the archbishop, or primate, of Ireland. It is made of Irish oak. The same material has been used for the construction of the stalls of the dignitaries of the church. The choir contains several monuments of great antiquity, and curious construction. One of these bears an inscription to the memory of Richard Boyle, earl of Cork, and was erected in 1631. It is built of stone, and is not less than twenty-five feet in height, and presents upon a successive series of elevations, carved in rude stone, the effigies of that nobleman in a reclining posture, and of sixteen of his family, some standing, some sitting and reading, and others kneeling in the attitude of prayer around him. How grotesque these figures are

you may possibly imagine, when I mention that they have for drapery the costumes of that age, and are executed with all that rudeness which distinguished the art of sculpture at the period in which those persons lived. There are many similar monuments, but one must suffice to give you an idea of the whole.

In the choir is also a plain black marble slab, with an inscription from the pen of Dean Swift, in commemoration of the duke of Schomburg, a German prince, who fell at the battle of the Boyne. In the choir is suspended a cannon-ball, which is shown to all travellers as the identical instrument by which Saint Ruth, a patron-saint of the nunnery of that name, was killed. Upon this point my guide-book contradicts the authorities of the church, and maintains that it is the ball which killed Adam Loftres, Viscount Lisburne. It is not for me to decide upon so grave a question of history. But whether the one or the other be correct, it is a veritable cannon-ball, and is a singular ornament for a Protestant church.

In the nave of the cathedral are several splendid monuments, in memory of prelates of the churches, but I passed them all to read that which is erected over the ashes of the gifted, learned, and eccentric Swift. It is a plain slab of marble, with a bust, said to be a good likeness. The inscription was written by the dean himself. On the next pillar is a tablet in memory of Mrs. Johnson, his friend, celebrated in his writings under the name of Stella; and upon a pillar near the entrance, is a tablet erected by Swift, to the memory of Alexander M'Gee, an old and faithful servant, whose domestic virtues are recorded in an epitaph written by the dean. After these interesting tombs, you will not expect me to dwell upon more expensive monuments, which cover meaner dust. I take leave of St. Patrick's, after mentioning that, according to tradition, it occupies the site of a parochial church, said to have been founded by the great patron saint himself.

I have so many times adverted to the poverty and mendicity of the lower class of the inhabitants of Dublin, that I should leave in your mind an unjust idea of the higher classes, were I to omit to mention the numerous hospitals and charities of the city. These have been provided, as is believed, upon a scale commensurate with the number of persons actually deserving, or rather in need, of public relief, and with the most careful adapta-

tion to the situation of each class of unfortunate objects of public charity. Among them we particularly observed two extensive institutions which reflect great credit upon the munificence of the city. One of these is the Old Man's House, a very large hospital for the reception of superannuated men; another is the Magdalene, which is said to have been instrumental in reclaiming, and restoring to usefulness and happiness, a great number of females.

We had a great solicitude to see Newgate, the prison of Emmet and Fitzgerald. We found the keeper a very communicative person, who with pleasure showed us all the apartments. This prison exhibited a sorry commentary upon the state of society in Ireland. In the debtors' apartment, were a great number of persons suffering, by duress, for debts which can not be extinguished by years of slavery. In another row of apartments were young men and boys confined for petty offences of shop-lifting. These had a yard, and were enjoying athletic sports, apparently free from regret and remorse. The keeper assured us, that offenders of this description have a regular progress, being committed to prison for brawls in the streets; soon afterward for petit larcenies; and finally they are either executed or transported for more grave offences. In another department of the prison were an equal number of females, evidently hardened in infamy, who had commenced the same career. The number of persons convicted at every term of the court astonished us. The keeper then conducted us to the prison occupied by the unfortunate Emmet, whose course we followed from his cell under the subterranean path, to the dock in the court-room. The recollection of his speech to the judge when asked if he had anything to offer why the sentence of death should not be passed upon him, brought the whole affecting scene to our view. Such was the melancholy fate of a martyr of liberty, who, had the sacred cause been successful, would have taken rank with the idolized deliverers of nations.

The keeper showed us the place of public execution, which is in character with the gloomy and heartless adjustment of everything that appertains to a system of capital punishments for ordinary crimes. In the second story of the prison, is a little chapel, with a door opening to the street. Here the convicts are attended by the clergymen. At the appointed hour they are required to walk out, with ropes upon their necks, upon a nar-

row iron platform, or balustrade, the floor of which, on the mere turning of a crank, drops, and leaves the wretches suspended over the heads of the populace. Four convicts are often executed in this manner at the same instant.

We had many reasons to be grateful to the keeper of the prison for his politeness in showing us everything which could possibly interest us. Although he appeared to be well informed and a highly respectable person, we had been long enough in Great Britain to understand that he would not deem himself insulted by the offer of a douceur. We, as a matter of course, offered him two shillings. "Oh, no" said he, "I don't expect anything for showing to strangers whatever they may desire to see." I was putting the money into my pocket, when the keeper relented and said, "If you have a mind to give anything, I don't object to receive it." He had not virtue enough to distinguish himself from the occupants of other public places, who levy such enormous taxes upon the traveller as to prevent many continental and American tourists from visiting Great Britain.

It was our intention to spend another day in Dublin, but we find it will be out of our power to obtain seats in the diligence for two or three days, unless we take our leave this evening.

Again I subscribe myself, sincerely and affectionately, yours.

LETTER V.

DEPARTURE FROM DUBLIN—BELFAST, &C.

GLASGOW, *June* 30, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR: The mail-coaches in Ireland form an exception to the description I gave in a former letter of the tattered and slovenly diligences of that country. At four o'clock in the afternoon of the 26th, our luggage was stowed away in the receptacle of the mail-coach for Belfast. I mounted on the exterior in front, upon the end of the seat directly in rear of the driver. Two characteristic incidents occurred before we set out upon our journey. A poor woman appeared at the side of the coach, begging us in the name of sweet charity to buy of her some dressed sheep-skins and sponges. While I was hesitating whether it were better to make a matter of traffic in these articles for which I could not

divine any particular use to myself, or to give a douceur at once to the unfortunate vender, the attendants at the coach-office rudely drove her away with the whip-lash. No person present remonstrated against, or seemed shocked by, this inhumanity.

Owing to the difficulty and danger of sleeping on the outside of the coach, the middle place on the bench, of which I occupied a seat at the end, is preferred. A young Irishman, of slovenly though not mean appearance, appropriated this preferred place. Some few minutes afterward, another passenger arrived and claimed the place, by reason of having first engaged it. Paddy, however, not only maintained his right, on the ground of prior occupancy, but alleged that it was indispensably necessary on account of his health. He averred that *he had travelled all the previous night, and was unwell, and was an invalid into the bargain, and finally swore he would not surrender the place.* Convinced by one, or all these cogent arguments, the competitor retired, and Paddy turning to me said—"to be sure it's all the same thing; it's not for me that the place is, but for my master, who is a young collegian of Trinity, who is as fine a gentleman as I ever saw, and is returning home to spend the vacation; but I am his servant, and in his shoes, you see, and so it's the same thing whether its me or him that is going." I asked where his master had been travelling the previous night. "Oh," he said, "it was n't just travelling that his master was, but he and a number of his companions had had a spree like, the night before, and kept it up all night; which to be sure was just the same thing as if he had been travelling." I told him I regretted to hear that his master was in a bad state of health, and that it must be very difficult as well as imprudent to pursue his studies. "Oh," replied Paddy, "one's in a bad state of health, you know, always after such a spree like, but my master in the main is as fine and stout a looking young gentleman as you'll find, and besides that, he is the best scholar in all Trinity." While I thought that the young collegian's claims to scholarship were somewhat doubtful, so far as they rested upon the evidence of his valet, I could not but be amused at the versatility with which the latter coined falsehoods to serve him. When the student took his place, he proved to be a tall, athletic youth of about twenty, whose health seemed quite unimpaired by either the labors of the lamp, or nocturnal dissipation.

All being ready, our coachman drove us under an arched gateway, into the court of the general post-office, where I counted ten post-coaches ready to depart at the same instant. The guard assigned to each, dressed in a red uniform, appeared, deposited the mail-bag in a box before him, and a pair of large pistols in another, took his seat in the rear, sounded his bugle, and the several coaches, precisely at half after four, set out for their respective destinations in remote parts of the island.

If I have found no reason for qualifying my admiration of the splendor of the buildings, public and private, in Dublin, I have as little reason to qualify my expressions of astonishment at the sudden transition from the palaces and costly abodes of the town, to the miserable mud walls, and thatched roofs of the country. Unlike the vicinity of other great cities, the country into which we passed, instead of exhibiting beautiful villas, country-seats, and cottages, was the abode of poverty and wretchedness. At first, the dwellings we passed were built of stone, divided into apartments, and covered with thatch, but after a few miles they were of mud, with mud roofs, and divided only by a bar or gate-way into the different compartments allotted to the family, and the cow and swine. The dwellings, instead of being placed at small distances from each other, and thus relieving the monotony of the road, were clustered into little hamlets, and the intervening distances exhibited the appearance of a rich and fruitful country, monopolized by lords, and from which the people were excluded. The country through which we passed is the most fertile and beautiful part of Ireland, and the population we saw in these miserable abodes are the most comfortable, enlightened, and happy of the peasantry. So say all travellers, and so said my stage-coach companions. Heaven knows what must be the condition of the people in the other parts of Ireland. I wonder no longer when I read the accounts of political agitation, of robbery, and violence, nor when I witness the crowds of unhappy immigrants who throng our shores. The season in which we made our hasty excursion in Ireland, was favorable to our object of seeing the country. I am sure there can be no more fertile land on earth. Harassed as its soil is, with the continued cultivation necessary to support a population of more than eight millions, it is covered with the most luxurious crops of grain and grass, and affords the prospect of an abundant harvest. But to return again to the

painful subject. What a lesson is here furnished of the tendency of society to abuse and pervert the blessings of a munificent providence. All, all without exception, of this beautiful country, is subdivided into immense patrimonial estates, belonging to the nobility; the land is far more imperfectly tilled by the laboring peasantry for the benefit of the proprietors, than it would be were they like American farmers, laboring for their own benefit, and with the hope of accumulation for their families. While the aristocracy are rolling in wealth, and flying to London, or to the continent, to waste the avails of the industry of the peasantry, the latter live in abject poverty, denied not only the many luxuries which in our land are called comforts, but even the necessary protection from inclement weather, decent clothing, and proper food, not to mention their exclusion from all the advantages of education. The people of the country, men, women, and children, are invariably barefoot, and dressed in the most tattered, filthy habiliments. I soon discovered, that my fellow-travellers, accustomed to the spectacle which was so painful to me, were also accustomed to regard these miserable people as a degraded caste. A young man who was, as I had reason to believe, a thriving mechanic in the city, was a whig, and was in favor, of course, of the English ministry, and of the bill for the reform of the Irish church now pending in parliament. Even he asserted the impossibility of the Irish people's sustaining a government, even with all the advantages of education and poor laws, which he hoped to see extended to his country. He feared that the ministry might go too fast, and the union with England he regarded as the ark of safety for his country.

The young student, undoubtedly a youth of talent, talked and acted in such a manner as to produce in my mind, no very favorable opinion of the tories, in which party he had a hereditary interest, he being the younger son of an Irish nobleman. To my astonishment, he unblushingly deprecated all measures calculated to extend to his country the benefits of education, and poor-laws, and religious toleration, as well as an ultimate power in Great Britain, proportioned to her population. His arguments, like those of the leaders in the house of lords, assumed that the church of England is the true church; that it could only be maintained by the oppression of the Catholic population of Ireland, and he, though he did not affect to be a saint himself, was willing

to see his countrymen languish in their present degradation, rather than hazard the safety of the church, by educating them. In accordance with these opinions, he lost no opportunity of insulting, shouting at, and using indecent language toward the peasantry, women, and old men, as well as others whom we passed. A stale jest, a vulgar oath, or an obscene allusion, when he could see that it was understood by those whose feelings it was intended to outrage, afforded great mirth to him and the coachman, and, I am sorry to add, to the whig also. But a young Scottish gentleman, who had travelled in America, and had no fears from the extension of all the blessings of education and civil and religious liberty to the Irish people, united with me in expostulating against the insults offered by this sprig of nobility to the peasantry, and condemned his conduct and that of his associates, as no less insulting to us, than unworthy of the pretensions of a gentleman.

At the little village of Fingal, distant a few miles from Dublin, we saw a tall pine pole so much resembling the liberty-poles so common in our country, that we inquired the design of it. The answer was, that it was a May pole, and that a festival is always celebrated here on May-day. A little further onward, at a village, the name of which I have forgotten, was the celebration of the annual races. It is no more than just to say, that the scene exhibited an appearance of more extensive and licentious dissipation than characterize similar gatherings in our own country, and the feature which most disgusted me, was the great concourse of females, apparently of all grades, who attended as spectators. At intervals of a few miles we passed parks having a superb portal leading through groves of shade-trees, to the houses of nobility and gentry. Our young tory was particularly well-informed concerning the proprietors of these estates, and it is doing him no more than justice to say, that in his discussion upon the taste displayed in the ornaments of the parks, he was very correct and judicious. We passed the ruins of several castles, some of which were overgrown with ivy; others presented only a broken tower, and others merely a heap of rubbish. Of Donleavy castle, which was stormed and sacked in 1400, only a tower is standing, surrounded by rubbish in the midst of a fertile field. By the side of the road is a cross, forming part of an ancient chapel, and it is supposed by many of the peasantry to possess

miraculous power. Before the night closed in upon us, we crossed the field of the battle of the Boyne, celebrated in the melancholy history of Ireland, for the destruction of the Catholic power, under James II., and the establishment of the Protestant influence in the hands of William of Orange. The Boyne water is a short distance north of the battle-ground, and though a pretty little rivulet, is less imposing and beautiful than one would expect who had formed his ideas of it from the songs of the Irish bards.

Drogheda is a town of fifteen thousand inhabitants, having narrow and convenient streets, but possesses numerous and extensive manufactories of Irish linen. Drogheda is destined to immortality as the birth-place of the duke of Wellington. Morington castle is situated at the mouth of the Boyne, within a short distance from the town.

About midnight, we were surprised to meet several parties of peasantry, principally women, and many of them in a state of intoxication, but the mystery was solved when we approached one of the little villages, which was illuminated with blazing turf fires, and torches, and the company, with music, songs, and whiskey, were celebrating the wake around the corpse of one of their neighbors. Our route lay through Newry, Dundalk, and Hillsborough, all of which are important towns in the manufacture of Irish linen; but the two latter, which were all that I had an opportunity to see, presented in their old and thriftless appearance, a strong contrast to the flourishing manufacturing villages in America.

In crossing the mountains of Morne, we had an opportunity of seeing large tracts of heather or furze, which are unsusceptible of tillage, and which furnish peat, the fuel in general use in Ireland, in inexhaustible quantities, and at a very cheap rate. This turf or peat is the soil extending to a depth of six or seven feet, perfectly saturated with water, and what is most surprising, is always found upon mountainous ground.

Ireland, although possessing a milder and clearer climate, and a richer soil, is far less beautiful to the eye of the traveller than England; because it wants the evidence everywhere observed in England, of a contented and comfortable laboring people. The face of the country is destitute, not only of natural forest, but of groves, shade trees, and hedges.

It was nine o'clock on the morning of the 27th day of June, when we arrived at Belfast, which we were agreeably surprised to find a very handsome, and comparatively modern town, exhibiting all the indications of a vigorous commerce. We spent several hours in rambling through the streets, and taking note of the more important objects and institutions. The exchange and reading-room are upon a scale commensurate with the commercial importance of the town. The churches, mostly modern, are of very respectable order, though offering nothing worthy of particular remark. A considerable part of the town belongs to the Marquis of Donegal, one of the representative Irish peers in parliament, who, although constantly experiencing the rapid advance of his property in value, still, we were told, finds his wants exceed his income. The hereditary rights of this nobleman retard the advancement and prosperity of this town. He derives a great monopoly from the exertions and enterprise of his fellow-citizens, yet his swelling revenues are insufficient to support his rank as a peer of the realm at London.

At this point of bidding adieu to Ireland, let me take leave of you. My letters to F—— will inform you of our further progress.

LETTER VI.

GLASGOW—MONUMENTS OF SIR JOHN MOORE AND JAMES WATT.

GLASGOW, *June* 30, 1833.

MY DEAR F——: At 3 o'clock P. M. on the 28th, we embarked at Belfast, on board the steamboat The Maid-of-Islay, for Glasgow. Short as our stay was in Ireland, how much have we seen of what is necessary to understand the deplorable situation of that country, and of the distress which forces its people into exile!

We have been thus far most agreeably disappointed in our examination of Glasgow. We had anticipated finding it a dull, gloomy, and uninteresting spot; but we have experienced much hospitality, and found the town possessing much classic interest. I am sure it must be my own fault if I do not make my journal interesting to you.

Upon the opposite side of St. George's park, from our windows,

is a colossal bronze statue, surmounting a granite pedestal. It bears the following simple but sufficient inscription:—

"To commemorate the military services of
Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, Native of Glasgow,
His fellow-citizens have erected this monument,
1819."

Although it was grateful to our feelings to see this tribute to the memory of the brave soldier, we could not but remark how far sculpture falls short of poetry in perpetuating the memory of the dead. Few persons who have not visited Glasgow are aware of the erection of this monument: but where is the man of education or taste, in the civilized world, to whom the beautiful lines upon "the burial of Sir John Moore," have not made familiar the fame of the hero of the peninsula?

At the western corner of the same square is a monument without inscription, and consisting, likewise, of a bronze statue and granite pedestal, in memory of James Watt, from whose grasp our countryman, Fulton, wrested the honor of the discovery of the application of steam to navigation. The figure is colossal, is in a sitting posture, holding a pair of compasses, and in the attitude of laborious study, and is said to be so correct a resemblance, that an inscription is unnecessary. In America, we are accustomed to call the Scottish people penurious. But what American, when looking at this monument, will not blush for the ingratitude of his country! Glasgow has erected a statue in memory of the humble mechanic who spent twenty years of laborious research in investigating the great problem, and only fell short of the grand discovery. Fulton, whose genius *accomplished* the great work, and bestowed the honor upon his country—Fulton, who completed a discovery which has contributed and is destined to contribute so much to the prosperity and power of the United States—sleeps in an unhonored grave, and his children suffer want in the midst of millions of wealth created by his genius!

The engrossing theme of conversation in all political circles is the pending discussion, in parliament, of the bill for the reform of the church in Ireland, the bishops having expressed a very decided opposition to the bill, which is a favorite measure with the whig ministry. Their conduct, as you will have learned, has drawn the attention of the king, as the head of the church. The people here are very much excited on the subject. Numerous

addresses to parliament, praying the passage of the bill, are held in the reading-rooms for signatures. A placard at every corner of the streets announces the meeting of a society called a political union, at which the question will be discussed, "Ought bishops to have a seat in parliament?" This is going to a most essential reform in the British constitution, and no American can avoid hoping it may speedily take place. But I have been surprised to see how few advocates so valuable a reform has, even among those who consider themselves liberalists. I am abundantly satisfied that if I were an inhabitant of Great Britain, with my present views of the politics of the nation, I should be a radical. I think, although as yet perhaps I ought not to express an opinion, we are very much deceived in America, in relation to the views and feelings of the whigs. They have, as between them and the tories they are entitled to have, all our sympathies and good wishes; but we deceive ourselves when we think that the whigs contemplate nearly or remotely the establishment of republican institutions, or the separation of the anomalous connection between church and state. No. O'Connell and Cobbett, and their coadjutors, are right, at least, in saying that the whigs have been but tories seeking places, and that now they have attained power, they will continue to assimilate toward those whom they have ejected. But into what a digression have I strayed, merely from an accidental allusion to a placard upon the corner of the street.

Glasgow has two principal streets which cross each other at right angles. By following these streets, the tourist obtains with facility a view of the most important objects, as well as a pretty correct idea of the *tout ensemble* of the city. The more important of the two is that which runs nearly east and west, and in different parts of the town bears the different names of Gallowgate, Trongate, and Argyle. This street is about eighty feet wide and two miles long. The other principal street, called in its different parts High street, Kirk street, and Castle street, is about one mile long and fifty feet wide. Our friend, Mr. L——, was so obliging as to traverse these streets with us, and we derived great aid from his attentions. Being a native of the city, he is familiarly acquainted with every part of it. Glasgow has no unity of aspect. It consist of two parts very different from each other. The *new* town, where the important mercantile business is transacted, and where

the dwellings of the more wealthy inhabitants are situated, is built in a comparatively modern and very handsome style, with stone houses three and four stories in height, and has spacious and pleasant streets and public squares. The *old* town, consisting of immense buildings, five, six, seven, and even eight stories high, upon narrow streets and courts, or passages, has been abandoned by those whose circumstances permit them to indulge their choice of residence, and is, although very interesting from its antiquity, a scene of much filth and wretchedness. The difference in appearance of the people one meets in these two great parts of the town, arrests the attention of the traveller at once. In the one he sees a population very plainly but comfortably dressed, without any display of style, or equipage, or fashion, all apparently composed and pursuing their occupations with industry and perseverance, but without anxiety. In the other, although he does not meet, as in Dublin, persons exhibiting squalid poverty and drunkenness, he finds the streets thronged with men, women, and children, meanly dressed, and the women, particularly, barefooted and bareheaded. The difference in dialect also attracts his attention. In the former, although he finds the broad Scottish accent which he may have heard used by emigrants in his own country, he will find the English language spoken with great purity of expression, and only distinguished by the intonation I have mentioned, from that which is spoken in the southern part of the island and in the United States. In the other, he will find the same intonation so much broader, and the use of so many of the ancient Scottish words still remaining, that he will often be at a loss in the first instance to comprehend what is said to him. In other and more important particulars, however, he will find an entire agreement. He will find the people deeply imbued with a sense of religious obligation, and he will also discover that the circumstances of his being a foreigner, instead of being regarded as a justification for rapacity and mendicity among the lower classes, commends him to the attention and kindness of all. Ask a Scotchman the way to a church or a street, and he will go with you to show it to you, and will decline all compensation for the favor; whereas in England or Ireland, your informant, if respectable, will content himself with pointing the way, and, if of the lower class, will demand an exorbitant price for the courtesy. The stranger

will also discover, all around him, the evidence that he is among an educated and reading community, where the humblest citizen is instructed in the history and classic romance of his country.

The cathedral was the scene of many of the labors of the intrepid and severe reformer, John Knox. It is said that great efforts were made to destroy it by the zealous and bigoted reformers who spared no similar monument in all Scotland. The fact is asserted, and though it is disputed, I think it is well sustained, that the reformers determined upon its destruction under the instigation of the celebrated Andrew Melville, who preached the performance of this Vandal work as a sacred duty. The reformers were assembled for the purpose, but were prevented from accomplishing it by the opposition of the craftsmen and burghers of the city, and a suspension was agreed upon until the pleasure of the queen could be made known. Elizabeth saved the cathedral, by declaring that enough of destruction had been committed. But there yet remains to be described what adds greatly to the interest of the spot. Upon an eminence at the right of the spectator, still higher than the site of the cathedral, and which, together with the intervening ground, is occupied as a cemetery, stands a colossal statue of John Knox, surmounting a Doric column fifty-eight feet in height, from the summit of which the founder of the kirk of Scotland seems to look down with affection upon the scene of his labors, and the resting-place of his associates.

On the next morning after our visit to the cathedral, we took breakfast with the American consul and his agreeable family. We found them all American in their associations and preferences. After breakfast, Mr. Thompson directed the servant to bring some oaten-bread, that we might see some of that article which forms so great a part of the sustenance of the population of Scotland. We found here American books, pictures, and newspapers; and after taking leave of the hospitable family, with the expression of the hope that we should meet them thereafter on the other side of the Atlantic, we resumed our walks through the town.

The city of Glasgow was the first in the kingdom which erected a monument in memory of Lord Nelson. The monument stands in the public green, and consists of an obelisk one hundred and forty-three feet in height, on the pedestal of which are recorded the birth and death, and the battles, of the hero of Trafalgar.

In the course of the day we visited the infirmary, an excellent and spacious hospital, situated upon an eminence and near to the cathedral. It contains two hundred and fifty patients. In company with our friend, Dr. A——, one of the consulting physicians, we traversed every ward and chamber of this interesting institution, which we found was kept in a style of cleanliness, order, and comfort, which we have never seen excelled. In another building, but connected with the infirmary, is the fever-hospital, which is assigned to cases of disease which are supposed to be contagious.

Having provided ourselves with a noddy (as the one-horse hackney-coach is called) we paid a visit to the lunatic asylum. This is one of the most interesting institutions I have ever seen. The edifice is constructed with great judgment in reference to the purposes to which it is applied. It consists of four principal buildings connected at the centre; avenues from the centre traverse the whole length of the chambers. The winding staircase in the centre is a beautiful and curious piece of workmanship. Here, too, everything was arranged and conducted in the most perfect order, silence, and cleanliness. But, in several respects, the science of treating in this unfortunate class of cases has been carried further in America than here. The superintendent assured me that the number of cases cured here is inferior to those in the Hartford institution, or in Dr. White's institution at Hudson. He attributed the fact to the circumstance that the patients are not brought to the European hospitals until they have suffered so long under the malady as to diminish the probability of cure. Whether this is the true reason, I have not the necessary information to determine.

From this institution we proceeded to the town hospital, where are collected all the squalid and miserable poor, who have neither friends nor the requisite means to provide them a place in the other institutions. Dr. A—— here showed us an idiot, the formation of whose head, according to the theory of Spurzheim, was marked by all the strongest indications of natural genius and force of mind. He conducted us also to a cell where a lunatic deaf mute was confined. Let him who is proud of his person and powers of mind, look upon this miserable object, and ask who it is that has made his lot so widely different from the wretch before him, more loathsome than the beast of the field?

We dined in the afternoon, with our friend Dr. A., where we met a rich, pious, and benevolent individual, who had long been a deacon in Dr. Chalmers' church, and three other gentlemen of much scientific merit, one of whom is a professor in the university. The dinner was served in a manner so similar to those of which I have read in Scotch novels, that you will excuse me for detailing the order. First was the soup (called here broth) of which kail was a principal ingredient. After which, a dram of whiskey, without water. Turbot followed, and then another dram, which "was necessary," as the Scotch proverb says, "to make the fish swim." Herring followed the turbot, and another dram was "necessary to make the herring swim." After the meats and dessert, the wine circulated a few times, when the great punch-bowl, with the wooden spoon and the materials, came. Over this beverage we discussed church and state, Captain Hall, and Mrs. Trollope, until eight o'clock, when we retired. My fellow-traveller advanced the doctrine, in speaking of the church of England, that there ought not to be in any country an established religion. Our religious friend admitted the doctrine, with an exception in favor of the established kirk of Scotland. The allowance, however, of one exception destroys the principle. Mrs. Trollope and Captain Hall have unquestionably succeeded in inspiring a belief among their countrymen, that religion is at a very low ebb in the United States, and one can not but smile at the simplicity with which well-informed persons here cite our country as an evidence that it is a ruinous expedient to release the citizen from the political obligation to support a national church. You will perceive from my account of our dinner-party, that the temperance reformation has scarcely commenced here. It is still the fashion to drink ardent spirits, but I have found many persons who are preparing for an essay to correct the public taste in this respect.

The American consul, as is his custom, gives a dinner on the Fourth of July, and has very warmly invited us to remain; but we look forward to the extent of the journeyings yet before us, and remember how short a time we have been able to appropriate to so great a business, and have therefore concluded to take leave of Glasgow to-morrow morning. Adieu. Keep my remembrance alive among my friends. I shall write to you again at our next resting-place, which will be at Edinburgh.

LETTER VII.

AN AMERICAN SLAVE AT LARGE—BURNS—HUME.

EDINBURGH, *July* 4, 1833.

MY DEAR F——: We arrived in the metropolis of Scotland last evening. Having as yet made no acquaintances here, our celebration of this anniversary has been solitary, but not less cheerful than if it had been attended with all the accompaniments of the festival on your side of the Atlantic. We drank the health of our absent friends, the prosperity of our beloved country, and the memory of her patriots, with an enthusiasm increased by the reflection that we were wanderers in a foreign land. Having left the table in a more composed state of mind than many perhaps better patriots will do on your side of the Ocean, I propose to close the enjoyments of the day by giving you the history of our progress since the date of my last letter.

On Monday we left Glasgow, proceeding by the steamboat Dumbarton, down the river Clyde. I can not control the desire of telling you minutely, too minutely perhaps, every little incident in our progress. In doing so, I enjoy a kind of illusive sense of your presence and your participation with me in all that I see and hear and learn. I examine objects much more closely, and take more copious notes, because I feel that I am seeing and hearing as well for you as for myself.

In going to the boat my attention was arrested by a negro, the only one I had seen, with the exception of the servants on board our ship, since I left New York. He was black as a native African, and was so well dressed that it was evident he suffered no want and was not in service. I asked him if he was from America. He replied that he was from Virginia. I inquired how it happened that he was here. He replied that a gentleman, who

was his master, had brought him here many years ago. I again inquired if his master had left him here. He answered, "No, that he had left his master." The dialogue had proceeded thus far, when it seemed to occur to him that there might be some peculiar reason for my inquisitiveness. I asked him the name of his master, but he declined to give it, and asked me if I were an American. I relieved him from his fears by telling him that I knew nothing of him or his master, and was heartily glad that he had obtained his freedom, and would not for the world contribute, even if it were possible, to deprive him of it. He then told me the history of his arriving here as a slave, his desertion from his master, his secreting himself, and the return of his master to America. He added, that pious people in Scotland had been very kind; they had enabled him to get employment, and had taught him to read and write, and he had been blessed with plenty and comfort. But he still cherished respect and affection for his master and America, which he would like to revisit if he could be assured of his freedom.

I encroach upon hours necessary for repose, to give you a hurried account of all we have seen in this delightful city. I confess my respect and admiration for the Scottish nation have been somewhat abated by the many evidences still remaining here, like those in Ireland, of their too profound sense of the honor conferred upon the nation by the condescension of his gracious majesty, George IV., in visiting them. I can imagine no duty more important on the part of a sovereign, than that of seeing for himself, once at least in his lifetime, all parts of his dominions, which are convenient of access — and it seems to me supremely ridiculous to magnify and laud, as an act of condescension, a trip from Windsor to Edinburgh, which his majesty can make in a diligence or steamer, very comfortably, in three days, and which is no greater journey than every lawyer, merchant, and milliner, makes two or three times a year. Of the same character with this homage, is a notice in my guide-book, which was written too by an accomplished literary man, of the approbation expressed by his majesty in his triumphal entry through Prince street, and over Regent's bridge: "It was on entering from the west upon this street, and seeing its splendid vista terminated so finely by Nelson's monument, and a portion of the Calton Hill, which was covered from top to bottom with acclaiming multitudes, that his present maj-

esty exclaimed, in a sort of rapture, 'How superb!'" Heaven save us from such sycophancy to our rulers! The approbation of one man of taste would go further to convince me of the superlative splendor of the scene, than the eulogiums of the whole dull family of Hanover. I do not say that I would, were I a citizen of England or Scotland, refuse a hearty and enthusiastic welcome to the visit of a monarch; but I do say, there is too much worth in the homage of a people to be wasted on every man who wears a crown. Such a man as Lafayette, as Washington, as Wallace, or Bruce, can seldom be too much honored; but unfortunately, Lafayettes, Washingtons, Wallaces, and Bruces, appear but at intervals of many generations, and I had almost said never wear crowns.

In the vicinity of the observatory is a very handsome plain monument, in memory of the late Professor Playfair. Upon a ridge on the southern side of the hill, is a monument about twenty feet high, in the form of a mausoleum, in honor of Burns. It is a very appropriate tribute to his memory, although it would have been more in accordance with my taste, were it decorated with some illustration from his writings. Any of his numerous pieces would have afforded a scene which represented, in bas relief, would have added greatly to the effect. The only ornament of this kind, which distinguishes this from the monuments of those who were not favorites of the muses, are the Caledonian harps, which support the crown of the mausoleum. Retracing our walk over the hill, and arrived at the copse of evergreens, which adorns the declivity toward Regent's bridge, we recognised, in a church-yard, on the other side of the road, and surrounded by humbler dust, the tomb of Hume, the historian. You recollect how beautifully this resting-place of the infidel philosopher, who believed nothing, by the side of the poor ignorant Christian woman, whose faith received everything, is described by Lockhart in Peter's letters to his kinsfolk.

We next turned down a street leading to the house occupied by one of the earliest and best of the Scottish poets, Allan Ramsay, author of the "Gentle Shepherd." We were quite amused as we descended the hill, by seeing a merry bevy of little girls, "all in a ring," enjoying identically the childish play of our infancy, which we had never dreamed was of trans-Atlantic origin —"How oats, peas, beans, and barley grow." Ramsay's house

is very prettily situated on the declivity of a hill, shaded by trees and adorned with a little garden. The house is still called "the Poet's Nest," and is occupied by the principal of the university. Our curiosity was limited to a survey of the exterior, and we did not intrude upon the worthy family who have succeeded the poet.

Some of the houses in the vicinity of the castle still bear the marks of the balls discharged at the castle during the siege in 1745. While the old town contributes half the effect of the panoramic view of Edinburgh, so often and justly lauded, it is only the exterior, and at a distance that will bear examination. The immense masses of buildings, which I have already described, without ventilation, and with no passages but the narrow closes seldom more than five or six feet wide, have long ago been abandoned by the noble and rich, and are now crowded, one story above another, with wretched families. The old town is, without qualification, the filthiest I have ever seen. It was in a low, obscure dwelling, situated in one of these closes, that the individual, whose name is immortalized in infamy, pursued so long with impunity, the horrible vocation of murdering victims in order to furnish subjects to the schools of anatomy. Yet it was here, and in these same dwellings, that the nobles and the scholars of Edinburgh, whose names are identified with her history, her science, and learning, lived. In one of the meanest and most obscure of these closes, called Blyth's close, is the palace and oratory formerly occupied by Mary of Lorrain, queen of Scotland.

We penetrated another of these closes called Libberton's Wynd, and were so fortunate, as, without meeting any obstacle or annoyance, to find, by the aid of the sign-board, "Burns' Tavern," the real Johnny Dowie's house. Having called, by way of propitiating the landlord, for something less than a pint-stoup, we requested the occupant to show us to the rooms occupied by Burns. With this request he immediately complied, and bringing a candle and our beverage, placed them upon a table in "the coffin," a dark room, with ceiled walls, admitting only of a small table, with a wooden bench on each of three sides. Our landlord closed the door and left us to drink the memory of Burns in this apartment, which, small as it is, was the scene of many a revel of the poet and his friends. In this room, it is said, that Burns composed, among other pieces, his beautiful dedication of his

works "to the noblemen and gentlemen of the Caledonian Hunt." Johnny Dowie, Burns' host, is long since dead. His widow has removed to a distant part of the town, and taken with her the relics, which, according to other tourists, graced the poet's retreat; but none of them were necessary to kindle recollections which made this visit to Johnny Dowie's house one of the most exciting and agreeable incidents of our journey.

Knox's house was granted to him by the magistrates, after the reformation, free of rent. He was the settled preacher in the church of St. Giles, and is said also to have sometimes preached in the streets. In the front of the house is a small figure representing the reformer in his ministerial robes. Hume's house, such are the vicissitudes in human affairs, is graced with a sign-board, containing the name of one who labors no less necessarily, but less gloriously for the comfort of his fellow-beings, "D. M'Laren, draper and tailor."

In the neighborhood of Hume's house, I entered the bookstore of Blackwood, but did not, I trust, remain long enough to imbibe any of the tory principles, as I am sure I did not long enough to acquire any of the inspiration so freely poured forth in "Blackwood's Magazine." Our friend introduced us to the publisher of the "Edinburgh Review," who showed us all his new American works, and was perfectly well-informed upon all matters relating to our country, an advantage in which this gentleman very far excels most of his countrymen.

We began our toilsome pleasures this morning, by visiting the public buildings in High street. The town-hall is an elegant specimen of architecture upon a Grecian model. The design is said to have been copied from the temple of Erychtheus in the Acropolis, and that of its vestibule was taken from the Choragie monument of Thrasyllus. The pediment of the portico is adorned with fluted Ionic columns. The whole is in perfectly correct taste, but it is so badly located, as to lose all appearance of grandeur. In the great hall is an excellent statue of the Lord Chief-Baron Dundas, executed by Chantrey, it is said, in his best style.

More interesting to us than this beautiful modern edifice, was the church of St. Giles, the ancient parish church of John Knox. But we found it impossible to make a satisfactory examination of it. It presents a broad front to High street. Through this porch, we advanced to enter a very spacious church directly

before us, which was undergoing repairs. A man in authority told us that entrance at this part of the edifice was at present forbidden. We turned to the left, that too was undergoing repairs, and was forbidden. Turning again to our right, we proposed to ascend a staircase, but a placard appeared here prohibiting access. We then threw ourselves among a crowd of worshippers, who were entering a door on our right, at the foot of the staircase, and were soon in the midst of a spacious, plain, and beautiful church, of modern taste and construction, in which a young gentlemen, who falls very far short of John Knox, was officiating at the altar, in front of the pulpit. We remained here a short time, and then set out again to find whatever of interest might be connected with St. Giles. The immense building contains four places of public worship, occupied by as many different congregations of Presbyterians, besides aisles which have been otherwise appropriated. The whole edifice has been remodelled, and contains few reminiscences, either of its glory before the Reformation, or of that era. In an aisle of the church, which has since been used for a police-office, rest the remains of the murdered regent, Murray, and of Napier, the inventor of logarithms, and in a small vestry attached to the same aisle, are the ashes of the gallant Montrose.

The tower of St. Giles is very imposing; it is surmounted by a steeple one hundred and sixty-one feet high, and formed at the summit into the shape of an imperial crown. At the time of the Reformation, great indignities were offered to this alleged temple of Catholic idolatry. A venerable statue of the saint whose name it bears, was tumbled into the ducking-pool, provided for the punishment of offenders against the kirk, and the relics and jewels of the church were appropriated by the town council to their own use. St. Giles afterward underwent so many alterations, that the saint himself would, at no subsequent time, have been able to recognise the places dedicated to his honor. In this church King James VI. took leave of his people in 1653, when setting out for England. It is recorded of this monarch, and is an interesting trait in the character of the times, that he used frequently, when attending church at St. Giles, to retort upon the bold presbyterian preachers, who wounded his conscience in their discourses. In 1643, the solemn league and covenant was ratified by the English commissioners in this church.

Leaving St. Giles', very little satisfied with our examination, and promising ourselves to renew it, under the auspices of one of our friends in the city, we sought the spot where stood "the Heart of Mid Lothian," the Tolbooth prison of Edinburgh. No trace of it now remains. I leave you to search out its reminiscences in the beautiful legend of it given by Scott.

In a large open square in front of the libraries of the faculty of advocates and writers to the signet, we were reminded that we trod upon the most ancient burying-ground of Edinburgh. Here rest the ashes of the great and the obscure, warring knights and nobles and their serfs—of Catholics and Protestants. I inquired where was the grave of Knox? "It is in this place," was the reply, "but nobody knows in what part of it." The whole place, once so sacredly appropriated, is now a thoroughfare, preserving no memorial of the dust gathered beneath it. Subsequent to its ceasing to be a burying-ground, it became a precinct of the Scottish parliament-house, and was the scene of a thousand tempestuous assemblages of the people during the civil wars and the union.

Passing this square, we entered the parliament-house, which yet remains a monument of the former independence of the Scottish nation. Going through a small lobby, we entered an immense Gothic hall, one hundred and twenty-three feet long, fifty feet broad, and fifty feet in height, arched in the most elaborate and curious manner. This was the hall of the ancient parliaments of Scotland, the three estates of which always occupied the same chamber, and transacted business together. But all historical reminiscenses were banished from our minds by the strange and noisy scene which here presented itself. You are to know, my dear F——, that Edinburgh is the seat of the great courts of justice for all Scotland, that it is to this possession of the courts and to her literary publications, that Edinburgh owes all her distinction over the more prosperous and commercial town of Glasgow. The courts are held by terms at certain seasons of the year. The judges, advocates, and counsellors, give the tone to society. What the session of parliament is for London, the courts of law are for Edinburgh; all these courts are held in the old parliament-house, and fortunately, were in session when we entered. This immense hall was thronged by crowds of persons, many sauntering at their ease up and down the hall, as a prome-

nade, others groups of counsellors, clients, and witnesses, others consisting of parties traversing the halls in great haste to call their counsel, clerks, attorneys, and all the usual attendants of courts. All this multitude were employed in unrestrained conversation, which produced a confused noise, in which, to use the old simile, a man could hardly hear himself speak. To add to the confusion, loud voices proceeding from little recesses in the sides of the room, were heard at intervals of every few seconds, calling in a loud tone the names of parties or witnesses in causes, which were on trial, or the titles of causes next in order. In this strange scene I applied to a young gentleman of the profession, who was standing near me disengaged, for information as to where I could find a distinguished counsellor to whom I had a letter, which, owing to the short stay we proposed to make in Edinburgh, I wished to deliver in person at the court. The gentleman had seen him but a few minutes before, and doubted not that he was in the hall, and therefore kindly offered to direct one of the criers to call him. Thinking that this was rather too professional a way of obtaining an interview for the purpose of making acquaintance with a brother-lawyer, I declined the offer. The gentleman kindly walked with us in the hope of finding the advocate in some of the different courts, or in the hall. Being unsuccessful, he yet insisted the counsellor was in the crowd, and declared that it was entirely consistent with the etiquette of the place to have the object of our search called by the crier. I preferred, however, not to hazard so bold a measure, and the gentleman then very kindly rendered us all the attention that my letter could have commanded, had it been delivered.

The most curious part of the arrangement of this singular scene remains yet to be described. Traversing the hall, we came to a recess deep enough to allow a seat for a judge, who sat there in his robes and wig, holding a court, and hearing arguments undisturbed in the midst of the confusion I have described. There were four of these courts in session on different sides of the hall, and it was from them that the discordant voices of as many criers were heard throughout the hall. It was with difficulty that, when we approached close to the tribunal, we could hear enough of the arguments of counsel to form an idea of the nature of the cause; but all the parties concerned seemed to proceed with as much regularity as if they were in the most favored location for trans-

acting business. These courts are called the outer tribunals. Causes are tried here by one judge without a jury, for the purpose of expediting business. If the party against whom judgment is rendered is dissatisfied, an appeal is brought, and the cause is with greater deliberation and solemnity tried before a court and jury. We next visited the chambers provided for the sessions of the inner or higher courts, where we found business conducted with less formality than in the high courts we had visited in Ireland. The judges and counsel, however, wore robes. Our new and obliging friend next introduced us to the court of sessions, and pointed out to us the chair which Sir Walter Scott had so long occupied as clerk.

From this hurried visit to the courts we returned to the hall, where we found it less difficult than when we had first entered to trace the history of the important events which had occurred within its walls — a history whose interest commences and terminates with that revolution so long protracted, and exhibiting so many vicissitudes, by which Scotland gained her religious and civil liberty, at the expense of her independence. How interesting must have been that debate, which was the last of the Scottish parliament, on the bill for the adoption of the union proposed by England! The people of Edinburgh yet love to dwell upon the reminiscences of that event; and, although there is less disloyalty during the present age in Scotland than in any other part of Great Britain, it is not difficult to discover the natural love of independence in the homage paid to the memory of the eloquent opponents of the union, and the veneration in which they hold their regalia, their lofty parliament-house, and the desolated grandeur of Holyrood. Time has done much, however, to break down the moral barriers which once divided Scotland and England — barriers far more impassable than the Tweed, or even the Grampian hills. Their language, their literature, their religion, and their agricultural and commercial interests, have gradually assimilated. Their common sacrifices, common fame, and common triumphs, in the recent European wars, have bound the people of the two countries closely together; and while it is my firm conviction that the day is not distant when Ireland, whose capital has almost forgotten that it contains the ancient seat of kings and parliaments, will become an independent nation, I have no doubt that Scotland, in whose capital similar reminiscences are now so

much venerated, will gradually assimilate to England, until the memory of her lost independence will be recalled without regret.

Jeanie Dean's house (what would you not give, my dear F——, to see the identical house of the homeliest but loveliest and most interesting of all the heroines of the "Wizard of the North"?) is still standing, embosomed in a parterre of roses and shrubbery at the foot of the crag, and invites all tourists who descend the hill to refresh themselves before they pursue further their laborious vocation. The friends who were with me were so impatient to proceed, that I was hurried past the door — not, however, without making a mental resolution that I would revisit it before taking leave of Edinburgh. We were now upon the royal domain of Holyrood, but how melancholy was the contrast of its gloomy environs now, with the royal splendor they exhibited when Scotland "had a whole king of her own"! It would be too severe an imposition to drag you now through Holyrood. So once more a respite.

At Boroughbridge, in Yorkshire, I was amused by a bookseller's sign-board, quite as extravagantly setting forth his stock in trade as any we have among our more boasting people, as the English call us: "Books in ALL languages, ancient and modern." Well is it for the proprietor that books can not speak; if that were possible, he would have the confusion of Babel in his shop continually. I observed, not only here, but at Edinburgh, and in all the towns through which we have passed, Cooper's novels advertised. From the conversation I have had with many gentlemen, and the enthusiastic manner in which they all speak of Cooper, I am convinced that our countrymen at home are not conscious of the extent of his popularity. There is something in the richness of his descriptions of American scenery, and the peculiarity of incidents, which procures readers for all his works. In truth, it is no exaggeration to say that he is ranked here as the only successor to Walter Scott, and as inferior only to him. It is a curious circumstance that Cooper enjoys here a popularity equal to that of Bulwer in America, while the latter would delight in a popularity at home as great as that of our American novelist here.

We were all impatient to see the minster or cathedral of York, the fame of which is no inconsiderable part of the entire attraction of our countrymen to visit England. Our wishes in this respect were gratified long before reaching the town.

LETTER VIII.

FROM YORK TO LONDON—THE METROPOLIS—WINDSOR, &C.

London, *July* 12, 1833.

My Dear W——: On Wednesday morning, the 10th instant, we left York, and proceeded on our journey to the great metropolis. The country, as we approached London, appeared still more highly cultivated. The number of stage-coaches continually passing, crowded with passengers, indicated the vicinity of the capital. At Tadcaster, distant nine miles from York, I saw conspicuously placed upon the roadside a pair of stocks. I had not believed, before this evidence, that corporeal punishments were yet continued in this enlightened country.

At Highgate we passed from Hertfordshire into the county of Middlesex. The road went under a lofty arch raised upon an eminence, over which Hornsley lane (a new road) is carried. From beneath this arch we enjoyed our first sight of London, which was seen at a short distance before us, stretching out a dense, sombre mass of buildings, over and around which hung a cloud of black coal-smoke, through which the eye could not penetrate further than imperfectly to distinguish the lofty dome of St. Paul's. This first view, although it presented distinctly nothing which the eye could rest upon with interest, was, from its vagueness, and the vast extent which we were left to imagine where we could not see, well calculated to swell the conceptions we already entertained of the magnitude of the capital of the modern world. Descending rapidly from this hill, we soon entered the streets of Islington, the scene of John Gilpin's "merry gambols." But it is now so changed, that if the "trainband captain" could return to "ride another race," he would not recognise the merry Islington through which he rode so rapidly. Islington, then a country village, is now a suburb of the metropolis.

A high ridge on the west side is occupied with the villas of rich merchants and gentlemen, while the great area below is as compactly built, and covered with as dense an atmosphere of coal-smoke, as any other part of the metropolis. Our coachman hurried on, and soon "the stones of Cheapside rattled underneath" our wheels. The coach turned, entered an open court, and deposited us at the door of the "Saracen inn." Thus we had arrived in London unknown to any, unregarded by all, and forming a minute portion of the population of one and a half millions of the British capital.

Shall I confess to you that my emotions were painful? Long as I had indulged the hope at some distant day of seeing the great city, anxious as in our rapid journey I had become to reach this important destination, and excited as I was as we approached it, I suffered a despondency more oppressive than I can describe, which was produced by a consciousness of the immensity of the city, and my own solitude. I had come far to see it, to examine and study it in detail, and I hoped to be improved and instructed by the examination; but I saw at once that all this was a task too great, and I felt then, as I feel now, that I should linger a few days, looking at a few prominent objects, and leave it without knowing it. Had our arrival been in any other city in the world, I should have known what to do, and should soon have ascertained where to go; but it was not so in London.

In the evening I determined to visit some one of the theatres, to banish an *ennui* which was becoming quite insupportable. I was in the vicinity of Covent-Garden, for which I had a great veneration. It being associated with all my recollections of the English drama, thither I went.

Covent-Garden theatre has a fame which is calculated to raise expectations of a very imposing edifice, and a name importing an agreeable location; but the approach to it by traversing the market, which now occupies in part the site of the garden which gave its name to this portion of the town, and the entrance through a circuitous and mean passage-way, dash to the earth all these anticipations. The interior of the edifice is much more extensive, and perhaps more splendid, than that of any of our American theatres; but in the latter particular the contrast is not great. Covent-Garden theatre is known to us Americans only by its connection for two centuries with the classic drama. We know

all the dramas of merit which it has ushered to the world; we know *only* the fame of its distinguished actors; and in contemplating it at a distance, we forget that, like our own and all other theatres, it has given a short-lived celebrity to a thousand productions of dullness for every one of real genius; and that while one actor has achieved an imperishable fame upon its boards, a hundred have "strutted their brief hour" upon the same boards, and then have been forgotten for ever. I went to the theatre, regretting that instead of a standard drama, as I had expected, or some new one of superior merit, as I had ventured to hope, we were to be presented with an opera, a modern invention and substitute for the classic drama of the olden time. I confess my regret, although meliorated, was not banished by reading upon my play-bill the name of Madame Malibran as the principal singer. Destitute as I am of musical talent and taste, the opera has never presented any powerful attraction to me, and I only tolerate it as being much better than the raree-shows, vulgar wit, and dull dialogue, which form so great a portion of the entertainment of modern theatres. You will at once conclude that I was not in a frame of mind to be greatly pleased with the performance, but I was most agreeably disappointed.

The business of the morning after our arrival was to deliver our letters. According to custom, we visited in person the *chargé d'affaires* by whom our government is represented to the court of St. James. We found the residence of Mr. Vail in a fashionable part of the west end of the town. No republican could complain of the *de-facto* minister's economy, although he might of his taste in selecting his apartments over the shop of a court tailor! A valet received our letters and cards, and returned with directions to show us into the presence of Mr. Aaron Vail. We were received by a young man of middle stature and dark complexion, who spoke English with so marked a French accent, that we doubted whether the gentleman were the *chargé* himself or a secretary. He had forgotten how to give the cordial, hearty shake of the hand which we thought was familiar to all our countrymen. He was attended by an American youth of twenty, who graciously lounged in a damask-covered arm-chair, and displayed an imposing pair of mustaches. The room was well furnished, and decorated with a fine collection of pictures and other ornaments. The conversation was cold and formal. It indicated on

the part of the representative scarcely any interest in his native country. Nor did he dwell upon the politics of the court at which he resides, or any of the interesting questions which agitate the political circles on the continent.

Had not our friends who furnished us letters been kind enough to send them to us open — had they not been written in a spirit calculated to elicit all the kindness he had in his composition — we should have inferred, from what seemed to us the coldness of our reception, that they had contained some sinister caution against extending to us much courtesy. We took a formal leave, and returned to our lodgings, contrasting the reception given us by the *chargé* at London — upon whom courtesy toward his countrymen is enjoined as an official duty — with the hearty and unstinted welcome we had experienced from the hands of Mr. Miller, as well as from Mr. Alexander Thompson, a native of Scotland, the American consul at Glasgow.

Our first view of Windsor palace was through an opening of the trees about two miles from Windsor. Its coarse stone walls and towers are finely contrasted with the luxuriant vegetation by which it is surrounded. The Thames, with its sedgy banks, is much more beautiful at Windsor than at London. We dined at about one o'clock, and being informed that their majesties were attending public worship in the chapel, "Boots" was soon put in requisition to show us the place where we might hope to obtain a glimpse, for the first and only time in our lives, of royalty. Arriving at the chapel, we found the choir was crowded and the gates were shut. It remained for us to be content to hear the service in the area of the church. Here several hundreds of his majesty's loyal subjects were promenading under the arches and in the aisles, grieving that they had come too late to get within, and thus obtain a sight of their sovereign. Their disappointment was more tolerable than ours, as they could come another day. I applied to a man who wore a black gown and staff, and stated to him that we were Americans, who never had, and trusted in Heaven we never should have, a king of our own to look upon, that we were desirous to see whether royalty made its possessor anything more than other mortals. With my moving eloquence and a piece of silver, I so far overcame his fear of offending against the established rules, that he directed us by a circuitous route to a door at the further end of the chapel,

where he admitted us unobserved into the aisle immediately under the royal pew, and having a full view of the choir. The sermon was a common-place production. The music was excellent beyond any I have ever heard, especially a new anthem at the conclusion of the service. The pew of the royal family is in the gallery. The access to it is through the vestry-house, which has a door leading into the aisle, in which we stood. Our new friend placed us directly in front of this door, and within four feet from it, and directed us to wait the exit of his majesty. In a few minutes after the service was concluded, we saw the officiating clergymen, who were standing within the vestry-room, bow very low, and immediately after a lady, apparently of middle age, tall, and fashionably though modestly dressed, issued from the room, attended by several young gentlemen, and preceded by three or four guards. The clergymen bowed again, and a gentleman apparently of sixty years, of a robust constitution, dressed in a plain blue coat, decorated with a single star, appeared in the door. He looked hastily at the assembled crowd, bowed, and passed on. Thus we had seen the king and queen of Great Britain. His majesty has a benevolent but not particularly intelligent countenance, and is correctly represented in most of the numerous portraits which you have seen of him. The royal party were attended by a small guard, and followed by the crowd. We remained to make a hasty examination of the chapel.

We gave an hour to a promenade upon the Long Walk, shaded with ancient oaks, and at the end of which is the equestrian bronze statue of George III., erected by George IV.; after which, and a dinner in which our loyalty warmed by the opportunity of contrasting our own simple and beautiful principles of government with that under which we happened to be, we returned to London. Once more, dear W——, I subscribe myself yours.

LETTER IX.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—COBBETT—PEEL—O'CONNELL—HOUSE OF LORDS.

LONDON, *July*, 1833.

MY DEAR W——: On Monday we visited, in the evening, the house of commons. It had unfortunately happened, that, owing to the short stay we had determined to make in London, we had left but one of several letters with which we had been furnished to members of the commons. That letter, to Mr. Hume, had not been acknowledged. We therefore repaired to the hall of the commons, with the expectation of purchasing an admission by the payment of half a crown each: for you are to understand, that in parliamentary language, all persons, whether British subjects or not, are called strangers. No person has a *right* to witness the debates. That is a privilege granted by the house to reporters, and to others, upon such terms as the house deems proper. Any person who wishes to gain admittance must take one of two methods, obtain an order from a member (each member being authorized to admit two persons), or buy a ticket of the doorkeepers at half a crown. I was determined to make my acquaintance with some of the members by means of my letters. The entrance to St. Stephen's chapel is through a spacious arch chamber in Westminster hall. On arriving at this ante-chamber, we found an avenue formed of persons who, like ourselves, wished to obtain admission as spectators. These persons were ranged in two lines, and the members of parliament passed through the avenue to the door, where they were admitted by the doorkeepers; occasionally one returned, having obtained the speaker's check in favor of a friend among the crowd in the ante-chamber, who was immediately admitted. I was disappointed in finding that none of the gentlemen to whom I had letters had arrived until several minutes after five. I at length learned that Mr. Hume

had passed in, and immediately wrote a note to him. In a few seconds he appeared in the lobby and made our acquaintance. We were immediately admitted and directed to seats under the gallery; that is to say, to seats in the body of the chapel appropriated to the members themselves. Here Mr. Hume, who is a very agreeable man as well as one of the most conspicuous members of the house, took his seat with us, and made known, from time to time, the names of the different members, in answer to our inquiries, or as he supposed we would be pleased to learn them. Often as I had read of the mean and contracted dimensions and appearance of St. Stephen's chapel, I confess I had no just idea of it. The whole is as plain and unimposing as an American Presbyterian church a hundred years old. The room is perhaps fifty or sixty feet in length and thirty feet wide. The number of members is about four hundred. The speaker's chair is at the further end of the hall. In the rear is a high bench occupied by reporters; below which, and on the sides and opposite ends of the hall are rows of benches covered with green cloth. Those in rear are elevated above those in front, so that the heads of the members upon the furthest benches almost touch the gallery. In the centre, a passage-way of perhaps ten feet is preserved, through which members pass and repass to and from the door. A plain flat table which is occupied by the clerks blocks up this avenue just in front of the speaker's chair. The speaker is dressed in the fantastical wig and gown, similar to those worn by the judges. No peculiarity of dress distinguishes the members, except that they wear their hats. The members, I thought, were in appearance a far less dignified and grave assemblage than any of our American legislative bodies. Their dress was less uniform, and exhibited a greater conformity to fashion. I was surprised to see so large a number of young men. When we entered, the seats were not yet considerably filled. An old gentleman, apparently sixty years of age, plainly but neatly dressed, and having a fluent delivery and melodious voice, was speaking, with his hand resting upon the clerk's table, in a tone so low, and with so little appearance of effort to command attention, that I doubted whether the house had yet commenced the transaction of business, and was inclined to suppose the members around the table, as well as the speaker, were engaged in conversation with the gentleman who had the floor. Pres-

ently I heard from members near the speaker cries of no, no, and from others, hear! hear! hear! The member who was speaking now raised his voice, and delivered his remarks with so distinct an utterance that I understood the subject. "That is Mr. Cobbett," said my friend. He complained that, through the partiality of some one or more of the members of a committee of which he was a minority member, exposure had been made of testimony which good faith required to be kept secret. He exhibited great prudence. When he spoke of the publisher (who was not a member of the house) his epithets were severe and coarse. He called him a *spy*. When he reflected upon the conduct of members of the house, his language was qualified and guarded, and exhibited no evidence of passion. Just the reverse was the case with the several other members of the committee who replied to him: they were intemperate and discourteous. Cobbett rose to reply. Cries were heard of, "You have spoken once!" But he continued on, so cool and clear in his statements that he was suffered to conclude. The debate was desultory, and no question was taken upon the subject.

You are aware that the all-engrossing question in English politics is the bill which has passed the commons, providing for the reform of the Irish Church. The bill is now in the lords, where there is a strong tory majority, who have the power, and it is said are determined to defeat the bill, which is a favorite measure of the ministry. Indeed, upon its fate depends their continuance in office. Wednesday next is the day assigned for the second reading of the bill in the house of lords. The debate in the commons to-day related to this bill. Sir John Wrottlesey, a gentleman about forty-five years of age, arose, and in a confused manner delivered himself of a set speech of some length, in which he assigned his reasons for a motion which he had previously given notice he would submit at this time. It was evident that Sir John was no orator. But there was one trait which commanded respect; this was the diffidence of the speaker. The motion which he submitted was, that on Thursday next the roll of the house should be called. After stating that the East India charter, the bank charter, and the West India slavery bills, were yet before the house, and were so important in their nature as to demand a full attendance of members, he proceeded (under a disclaimer of all intention to menace the house of lords) to say that

"the commons had a lawful right to express their solicitude for the fate of the Irish church bill in the other house. That this house knew from rumor that the bill had been called, by members of great importance in the other house, a bill of spoliation, and certain members against whose influence the bill could not be expected to pass, had declared their opposition to it. To the possible defeat of the bill in question, he looked forward as a crisis so important, as in all probability to demand from the throne some vigorous measure to preserve the peace and prosperity of the kingdom. Should such a crisis occur, the commons, the representatives of the people, ought to be present to rally around the throne, and boldly as well as firmly sustain the king."

Sir John Wrottlesey has no pretensions to oratory—his delivery of this speech was slow and labored. I have heard many equal efforts in a political meeting in New York. As soon as he had resumed his seat, a member on the opposite side of the house, and who was apparently thirty-six or thirty-seven years old, tall, and of slender constitution, dressed *a la mode*, rose, and advancing to the clerk's table, took off his hat, and commenced a reply. He deprecated discussion on this subject, but immediately proceeded to so vigorous a battle with the motion, that his protestando was evidently a figure of speech. He adverted to the two reasons assigned by the mover, and in reference to the first, maintained that there had been no unfaithfulness in attendance on the part of the great mass of members of the house; but this, he said, could not be the reason for the motion. The true reason must be the apprehension of members for the fate of the Irish Church Reform Bill in the other house. He ingeniously underrated the grounds of alarm on this subject; showed that the reports on the subject were vague and inconclusive; and then turning toward the tory members, appealed to the self-respect of the house of commons, "whether it was consistent with their dignity, to proceed upon such evidence as this." [Cries of "Hear!" "Hear!" "No!" "No!" responded from the tory benches.] The whig members seemed uneasy, and the speaker, in an animated and happy manner, prosecuted his advantage. He demanded whether this measure would not be justly regarded as a menace, as an attempt to intimidate the lords, before they had discussed the bill; and would not this be an unprecedented as well as unwarranted attack upon the constitutional independence of a co-ordi-

nate branch of the legislature? Would the house of commons, jealous of its own rights, thus, without precedent, and upon mere vague conjecture, strike a blow at the constitution? The speaker became impassioned. His appeal was cheered, and the tories responded with warmth. Sir Robert Peel concluded with deprecating discussion, and expressing a hope that the mover would withdraw his proposition. I have no person now in my recollection, whose manner is like that of Sir Robert Peel, except it be Mr. J. C. S., in some of his expostulations with a house, the majority of whom are opposed to him. But there was in the English orator's address, on this occasion, no evidence of that deep and varied universal learning and reading, which distinguishes even the most common of Mr. S.'s efforts. In one respect it differed from anything we see in our legislature. The speaker is surrounded by his audience; they resemble rather a popular than a representative assembly. The manner is less studied, less restrained, and more impassioned, than that always adopted by speakers in our legislature. It was evident that the champion of the tories had made a decided impression upon the house. He sat down amid the cheers of his partisans. In one minute, the whole effect of his brilliant effort was destroyed by one of those homely occurrences which, being well-timed, quickly restore the equilibrium in a popular assembly. Colonel Hay, a firm-looking, middle-aged man, of martial appearance, and no pretensions to parliamentary display, answered the baronet by a speech much shorter and equally impassioned: "I think," said he, "that when a bill is under consideration in either house of Parliament, so vitally important to the interests, and so deeply interesting to the feelings of the country, it is the duty of the members of this house to be at their posts. We know members are *not* here now —we know they *ought* to be here—and I therefore hope the mover will not withdraw his motion." This speech was warmly applauded. The tories in their turn were silent.

A gentleman who sat in the centre of the hall, of a sturdy frame, a broad Irish countenance, now arose, and commanded the most perfect attention by one of those bold expressions of indignant contempt, which are seldom used in parliamentary discussions. "I hate," said Daniel O'Connell, "all kinds of hypocrisy. A reformed parliament professes to be the friend of Ireland, and of reforming the oppression under which my coun-

try labors. This bill will do but very little toward effecting that reform, but it is all that ministers have offered. Although it is only an instalment of what I want, I don't want it thrown out of the house of lords, because it's all that I can get. I want now to see the members of the house of this reformed parliament *here*, that their sincerity may be tested. Therefore, I shall vote for the motion. It has been said that there is no precedent for a measure of this kind in the history of the commons. How could there be a precedent, when for the last century the house of commons have been only a department of the house of lords, their nominees and representatives. They durst not vote against their masters. I am as much opposed to the bill as anybody, but I don't want to see it thrown out. I want to see whether the people are not stronger than the enemies of the people." [Cries of "Why did you vote against the bill if you want it to pass?" echoed from all sides of the house; to which O'Connell replied, "that was a different thing altogether."] "He wanted a better bill, he would not vote for this, he hated all political hypocrisy, and, inasmuch as the government had, as a matter of grace, proffered this bill, he wished to see the responsibility of its defeat fall where it ought."

It was obvious that everybody admired the boldness and the force of this homely address by an eloquent man, but it was equally obvious that the speaker found no sympathies among his hearers, nor was it more difficult to see that the very freedom of his speech arose from the consciousness that he stood alone between belligerent parties, in neither of whom could his countrymen place confidence. O'Connell more resembles General R—— than any of the American debaters whom I have seen, and the triumph enjoyed by both whigs and tories over his inconsistency, was not unlike that with which the modern republicans exulted when they discovered, a year ago, similar error on the part of the Delaware chief.

Mr. O'Connell was followed by Colonel Evans, an impetuous and obtrusive speaker, who is one of the multitude who speak always, and utter nothing but commonplace. Mr. Dennison, a new member (the same who formerly visited America), followed in opposition to the motion. He was of the ministerial side, but he was opposed to the measure proposed as unnecessary, undignified, and impolitic. Mr. D. is a school-boy—his declamation

is affected and pedantic. He excited no interest, although his remarks were just; the reason was that his manner was unnatural. He delivered truisms as new theories and trifles, with the pomp of grave doctrines. Unfortunately, Mr. D. has so many imitators in all deliberative bodies that I need not specify any. You will have perceived that the debate had taken a singular course. The motion was undoubtedly made for the purpose of supporting the whig ministry. The tories, instead of challenging a trial of strength, begged the mover to withdraw it. The radicals only appeared to be zealous for the motion, while the whigs deprecated it as a measure of doubtful expediency. Lord Ebrington, a very dull speaker, advocated the motion, and begged the mover not to withdraw it. When he concluded, a gentleman apparently of about thirty years of age, who sat opposite to Sir Robert Peel, obtained the floor. The speaker seemed too young to grapple in such a debate. His voice was musical, but seemed too weak for such a contest. He was graceful in his manner and perfectly self-possessed. He commenced in a strain of the mildest compliment, and acknowledgment of the favor intended by the mover to be conferred upon the minority. "Who is that young man?" said I. "That is Mr. Stanley," was the reply. Would you inquire who of our American speakers is like Stanley? I answer none. In the elegance and grace of his delivery he excels Webster—in force and originality he falls far below Clay. He has no imagination but much good sense. Poor Sir John Wrottlesey rose again to withdraw his motion. O'Connell threw himself upon his reserved rights, demanded that the motion should be put, again expressed for both whigs and tories the same haughty contempt, and sat down unconquered by the combination. Sir John Russell, a plain man of good sense, defended his vote against the motion and in support of the ministry. The cries were increased, "Divide!" "Divide!" "No!" "No!" until all was confusion. With some effort the speaker succeeded in obtaining silence. The question was read from the chair. Immediately the doorkeepers made proclamation, requiring strangers to withdraw. I followed the crowd of strangers into an adjacent apartment. The members then divided, and the motion was lost by a great vote. On going into the lobby, as with us it would be called, I found a kind of eating-house, where divers of the honorable members were refreshing themselves. I

inquired of them the reason for excluding spectators during the vote. They answered, "So that the numbers of members might be more accurately ascertained." Does it not seem strange to you, that in the English house of commons, they have not yet learned the convenience of having a roll, and taking the votes of the house by ayes and noes? When we returned to the house the seats were almost unoccupied; not more than twenty or thirty members were in their places: the house was in committee upon bills which excited no interest, and the debates could with difficulty be heard. We, therefore, shortened our stay, and a visit to Drury-Lane theatre concluded the labors and pleasures of the day.

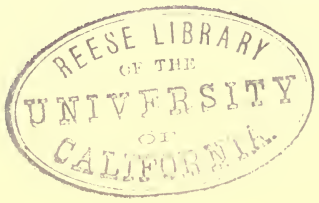
The next day we set apart to visit the house of lords. But this was a less easy affair than to make one's way into the house of commons. The American charge d'affaires had informed us that the course generally adopted by our countrymen, who had time, was to obtain an order from a peer, or from the secretary for foreign affairs, but either of these required one or two days. Money will not admit to the house of lords. We repaired to the ante-chamber, and as other Americans had done before me, I wrote a note on a card to the lord-chancellor, stating that two American gentlemen (giving our names) were desirous to be admitted as spectators of the sitting of the lords. This card I gave to one of the attendants, who rudely returned it to me without reading it, saying, "Never carry cards to members." I returned to the committee-room, and wrote the same communication in the form of a note, returned and handed it to the attendant, who told me that the house was not yet organized, and I might deliver the note in person to his lordship. This was rather a formidable business. But I knew too much of the good sense of Lord Brougham, and had heard too much of his urbanity to our countrymen, to fear that he would give me an ungracious reception. I entered his chamber, but instead of finding him, was informed that he would not, to-day, attend the house. Here was new trouble. On my way back through the narrow corridor, I encountered a new and more gracious guide, who introduced me to the usher of the black rod, to whom I communicated my desire, as a stranger, to see the house of lords. He very kindly obtained an order immediately, and we were soon at the bar of the house. The chamber of the lords is more splendid than that

of the commons; but is far inferior to our assembly chamber. The seats consist of benches covered with thin cushions. At the upper end of the hall is a throne elevated above the floor, the woolsack is immediately before it, is upon the level of the other seats, and is literally a sack of wool covered with red cloth like the seats. The usher of the black rod, who is a baron, was a well-looking gentleman, dressed in black, and wearing a sword. He gave me a convenient place, and named the lords as they entered the chamber. The Duke of Wellington, Lord Grey, Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Ellenborough, and the Duke of Richmond. The lords were not distinguished by their dress from other gentlemen. The bishops, however, all wore their canonical robes. There was nothing so grave and severe as I had expected to see in this meeting of the aristocracy of the land. The chair was occupied by a lord *pro tem.;* some petitions were presented, and the house adjourned without transacting business. It was said that the Marquis of Westminster gave a great party in the evening, and both houses, therefore, adjourned at an early hour.

While the disproportionate numbers, the narrow accommodations, and the noisy conduct of business, is less favorable to the despatch of business, as well as to calm deliberation, than the smaller number of members, and the better arrangements in our capitols, I have no doubt they contribute to produce a more animated and eloquent style of debate. Contrary to all previous anticipation, I found the house of commons more nearly resemble a crowded popular American caucus than one of our legislative bodies. There is no speaking from memory; much vigor is given to debate by the personal interest evinced by all the members. One will necessarily speak much better who is cheered when he speaks well, while one who can not speak well, will soon cease to obtrude himself against the obstructions thrown in the way of the dull and stupid. The whole scene is full of excitement and encouragement for the ardent, and of discouragement to the dull and prosing. In the lords I had no opportunity to hear any debate. The lord-primate of Ireland made a few remarks on presenting a petition, and called for some explanation from the prime minister, who replied in a conversational tone and manner. I was agreeably disappointed in finding the whole appearance of the lords less affected and pompous than I had anticipated.

I have described at so great length my visit to Covent-Garden theatre, that it would be unpardonable to detain you by a particular detail of the exhibition at Drury-Lane. It was altogether musical, and consisted of a concert, in which Signor Paganini was the principal performer. He played solely upon the violin, but pieces of rare difficulty and beauty. I found that just now Signor Paganini is the fashion, and everybody acts as ridiculously here as some do in America when it becomes the fashion to worship a new theatrical star. Among other ridiculous things, the fashionable world is agitated by a report that Signor Paganini is to be married to an English lady of great beauty and wealth. He is apparently fifty years old, and as uninteresting a man in his appearance as you will find among a thousand. I can not believe even London contains any female so extravagant a devotee to fashion, as to fall in love with so unprepossessing a being, merely because he plays well on the violin.

I have yet many other things to tell you about London, but I find my letters so prolix that I must finish here. We have visited many other places than those I have mentioned, especially the parks, the prisons, and several places interesting from historical association. Of all these we will talk when we meet. Tomorrow we bid adieu to England. You see how rapidly we proceed, and therefore you can not doubt how anxious we are to return to America. We have found the English people all they are represented to be, as concerns their devotion to their government, with all its absurdities of a religious establishment, hereditary aristocracy and monarchy. There are no bold thinkers, no theorists, no republicans. We have found the common people less intelligent, and possessing fewer of the luxuries of life, than our countrymen, but we have found them cheerful in their ignorance, loyal and contented. Adieu.



LETTER X.

HOLLAND, &C.

THE HAGUE, *July*, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR: By the date of this letter you will perceive that I have availed myself of the opportunity offered me to visit the Netherlands, a country of which we have conversed so much and so often.

We find travelling in Holland an agreeable relief from the exactions to which we were continually subject in England. The rate of passage on board the canal-boat is about two stivers a mile, but wo to the traveller who is so unwise as we are, and encumbers himself with baggage. It has hitherto cost more for the porters' fees from boat to boat, than our own fare from town to town. The scenery on the banks of the canal, though destitute of everything like natural beauty or variety, is interesting beyond conception. The banks are adorned with neat, tasteful villas, and pavilions, and tea-houses, shaded by elms and rich orchards. Abundance and ease seem to be the lot of the inhabitants. When we pass a little village, people are seen at almost all hours of the day drinking coffee, and reading news or books, under the shade-trees. Every farmhouse and country-seat on the banks of the canal, has a shady avenue, conducting to a tasteful and romantic little pavilion, which overhangs the canal, and in the afternoon is occupied by the ladies of the family; between these and the voyagers a kindly salute always takes place. In short, my dear sir, this, your fatherland, is the first country I have visited in which all looks like enjoyment without luxury, and taste without affectation.

From Rotterdam to Delft is a distance of about thirteen miles, but this we had to ascertain by calculation. The canal-boat is

drawn by one horse, and goes at the rate (including stopping on the way) of three miles an hour. The journey is made with the greatest punctuality, but the boatman, or the driver of a diligence, can not be induced, either by "fear, favor, affection, or hope of reward," to accomplish his task one minute short of the time, which custom has so entirely sanctioned, that whenever you ask the distance from place to place, the answer always gives you the number of hours which are required to accomplish the journey.

When we had been about two hours on the canal, we arrived at a little village with one street running along the bank. Our captain pushed the boat to the shore, left it, and proceeded to a stand where a woman had her coffee in readiness under the shade of the elms. Here we lounged about fifteen minutes, admiring the remarkable neatness of the dwellings, as well as their antiquity and striking resemblance to those of the Dutch settlers in New York. Then we re-embarked, and renewing the tobacco in our pipes, proceeded on our voyage. We observed that, when we met boats the tow-line was raised so as to pass over instead of under them, as on our canals. This is doubtless far more inconvenient than the manner adopted by us, but the tenacity of the Dutch to their own ancient customs is proverbial. We found, here, many things, the novelty of which excited our surprise. One of these is the great number of storks throughout the country. They serve as scavengers, and are preserved with great care by means of municipal regulations, as well as a kind of superstitious regard entertained for them by the peasantry. The road from Rotterdam to Delft runs along the banks of the canal. The *outre* appearance of the rope-harness, the clumsy carriages, in form resembling those of our own country, but made in the fashions which prevailed among us twenty years ago, excited no little interest, and we certainly could not withhold our surprise when we saw military officers, evidently of respectable rank, with pipes puffing the smoke from their mustaches into the faces of their wives and mistresses, while making an afternoon excursion. We became aware of our entrance to Delft only by the greater compactness of suburbs, which had extended for miles. Splendid villas and pavilions became more frequent. At length we passed the arsenals, very ancient edifices, bearing the arms of the Netherlands, and mottoes which we could not translate.

Delft, although a town of only thirteen thousand inhabitants, is no unimportant place. It derives no mean distinction from being the birth-place of Grotius, and the burying-place of the family of the prince of Orange. In one of the antique churches is the mausoleum of William of Nassau, the Liberator of Holland. He is represented lying upon the monument with his faithful dog at his feet. In the same church is the tomb of Grotius; and in another church is that of the brave Admiral Van Tromp. One of the steeples was pointed to us, affording, from its tower, a fine view of the country. Such views are exceedingly rare in Holland, and, therefore, must be very gratifying to those who have the enterprise to climb towers and windmills to obtain them. Thus far we have seen not even a hillock. All is one dead level as far as the eye can reach, and the fields are principally occupied as pasturages. In every direction the country is intersected by canals, the banks of which are elevated so as to prevent inundation. These canals have no other locks than guard-locks, and the water being constantly flowing to and from the ocean, the canals are kept perfectly clean and wholesome.

We traversed the streets of Delft, which are not dissimilar to those of Rotterdam, except in the greater antiquity and simplicity of the dwellings. The same broad streets, canals, and rows of elms, the same quiet and untroubled appearance of the people, render it a pleasing place. We surveyed the piles of heavy artillery, fabricated and stored here, and then proceeded to the north side of the town, where the canal-boat was in readiness to bring us to the Hague. At Delft I remarked, as at Rotterdam and here, a singular custom. Most of the houses have mirrors affixed to the wall, and projecting into the streets, so as to reflect the persons of those who traverse the road. The Dutch ladies take their seats at the windows, with their sewing and knitting-work, and thus, without obtruding their heads from the windows, by means of the two reflectors, have notice of what is passing in the streets. I remarked several buildings, in which every window, even to the third story, is thus furnished with reflectors. And not unfrequently have I encountered, in a mirror, the face of a lady whose person was concealed from view.

After a promenade through Delft, we entered a new canal-boat, and passing through a succession of scenes similar to those already described, and which yet seemed to belong to a land

of rather romance than reality, we arrived at half past four o'clock at this town, the capital of the Low Countries. Our entrance was through a singularly beautiful street, adorned with elms, and affording a delightful promenade, where people of taste and fashion, as well as many of the humble classes, were enjoying the luxuries of the coffeehouses, or sitting upon benches regarding the passing boats. Our captain left us, of course, at the entrance of the town, and we proceeded with the porter, who took our baggage to the hotel de Bellevue, at the other side of the town. The hotel de Bellevue (hotel of the fine prospect), so the house is called, although it is surrounded by canals, and although you can not see half a mile from its turrets, is, nevertheless, properly named. It fronts upon a park, and thus affords a view of the promenades and parade-grounds. A splendid and truly excellent house is the hotel de Bellevue. Scarcely were our effects bestowed in our comfortable chambers, and orders given for our dinner, before the keeper of the house presented a printed sheet, in which, in pursuance of law, we were required to insert our respective names, ages, places of birth and residence, our destination, and our object in visiting the dominions of his most sacred majesty the good King William. Having given this report, and sent our passports to the police, we proceeded to view, in this town, the most beautiful and delightful place we have yet seen in Europe. The Hague contains a population of about forty thousand. It is fortified, but not by walls. Instead of walls, it is surrounded by wide deep canals, and for gates it has draw-bridges. What you will demand, can make the Hague so beautiful a town? It is that the whole city is laid-out taste fully and magnificently, with broad streets and parks — that these streets present none but spacious and splendid edifices, each of which rather resembles a palace than a dwelling-house, and through the centre of the streets, broad, clean, deep canals pass under the shades of double rows of elms upon each side.

Utrecht is about twenty miles from Amsterdam, and is situated upon a branch of the Rhine. It is about as large as Albany, but is much more ancient in its aspect. It is strongly fortified. We entered through a gate which is surmounted by a tower in which is a bell. It was the closing day of the annual fair. Booths were erected in the public square, and theatres, circuses, gambling-houses, and all the other appurtenances belonging to these

fetes, which are common in every part of western Europe. We strolled through the market-grounds, and found it quite impossible, while passing the shops, to resist the persuasion of the fair Dutch merchant-women, who bestowed upon the English mynheers the attentions, which, during the fair, were divided among a multitude of visiters. Utrecht is renowned for having been the scene of the union of the provinces in 1579. In 1712 and 1713, the general congress was held here, the labor of which terminated in the treaty for the pacification of Europe, called in history, the Peace of Utrecht. In the palace, or, as it is called in French, the chateau of Loo, is still preserved the pen with which this treaty was written. Utrecht was captured by the French in the third year of the French republic, and was, during the brief reign of Louis Bonaparte, the favorite residence of Hortense. Its university is one of the most celebrated in Europe. Some parts of the town are exceedingly beautiful, and every part exhibits the characteristic neatness of the Dutch. But it is in its environs that Utrecht excels all other towns I have seen. It seems as if all that natural fertility could render, has been brought forth to crown the labor which immense wealth has bestowed. In the immediate vicinity of Utrecht, is Zeyst, a town established by the United Moravian brethren, one of the most pure and exemplary societies of Christians of modern times. A branch of this sect, you will recollect, exists at Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania. I wish it were in my power to give you an idea of the beautiful scene we witnessed at the village of the Three Bells. It was about one o'clock when we reached the Auberge, where we were to change horses. The hotel was upon the bank of the river, shaded by a grove. There are, perhaps, twenty houses, each of which is a country-seat, and is surrounded by gardens. The village-church is an interesting antique monument. Tables were arranged before the door of the Auberge, and numerous parties of ladies and gentlemen were enjoying their coffee and cakes, with newspapers and books. The whole scene more resembled the descriptions given in romances, than any reality I have ever before seen.

I have not been able to keep a record of the villages and towns through which we passed, and the mere catalogue would not interest you, even had I been able to understand their Dutch appelations. I remember that Rhening is a town hardly as large as

Auburn, which looks as if it had stood unaltered, half a dozen centuries. It is enclosed by a wall, and has all the characteristics so often mentioned of a Dutch town.

About fifteen miles after leaving Utrecht, we entered upon that part of the country, whence, doubtless, the greater part of the Dutch settlers of New York emigrated. This was evident from the exact resemblance of the farmhouses and barns to those upon the Mohawk. In England and Holland, farmers have much more rarely than in America, barns for the storing of grain and hay, but we had now entered a tobacco-growing district, and we found, in the barns constructed for storing this herb, the exact counterpart of the Dutch barn in America. The very same plough, mounted upon wheels, now discarded in New York, is the only one in use here. In the town of Wageningen, one of the most beautiful in Holland, we found a garden called the Rosendal, which reminded us of the furious stream of the same name in the good old Dutch county of Ulster.

LETTER XI.

FROM SENS TO PARIS—ARRIVAL AT PARIS.

PARIS, *August*, 1833.

MY DEAR F——: Our road to the Pont sur Yonne (the bridge over the Yonne) was through a country rich in vineyards. From this point small boats descend the river, by a slow and difficult navigation, to Paris. In my walk in advance of the carriage, I overtook a man who had charge of one of these boats, and was going to the place where it had been freighted to commence his voyage. He described the voyage as a slow one, and requiring much preparation. I found him intelligent upon all matters relating to his business; and, like all his countrymen with whom I have met, polite and desirous to gratify my curiosity. How much more deservedly would Louis XIV. have won the appellation of *le Grand*, had he expended a little of the treasure wasted upon foreign conquests, or even of that expended upon his palaces, in improving the facilities for internal commerce. After taking breakfast at Montereau, a mean village, we entered the

forest of Fontainebleau, and our ride for the residue of the day was within its shades. It was a subject of surprise and regret when we found that our route left Fontainebleau on the left. That place, interesting as one of the royal residences, but still more so as the scene where Napoleon, in despair, first submitted to his destiny, and wrote his abdication of a throne won and lost by the sword, had been a prominent object of our anticipated visit in taking this route to Paris. But it was not in our bond with our conducteur, and we were compelled to postpone the visit until another time. The forest of Fontainebleau is much more imposing in poetry and romance than in reality. It is a part of the royal domain appurtenant to the chateau of Fontainebleau. The wood being periodically cut off when it arrives at sufficient maturity to be profitably used, it has none of the imposing grandeur and solitude of our native forests. And the green grass under the trees is but a poor compensation for the inequality of surface, the underwood and fallen timber of the American woods. Nothing, it is said, is more ludicrous in the eyes of our countrymen than the royal sporting in these forests: the deer are tame, they are not without exertion set to flight; the dogs imbibe the dullness of court society, and exhibit little eagerness for the chase, while the pursuit by the mounted party, instead of deriving excitement from the leaping of bars and ditches, is a fashionable *promenade à cheval.* When the monarch, or the heirs of royalty, as Pindar says, are "weary of worrying the poor defenceless, harmless buck," the grooms overtake the game, the party come in at the death, and the sports of the day are ended. We entered Melun in the evening, and rested there during the night. This town contains eight thousand inhabitants, and is one of the handsomest through which we passed. The buildings are more modern, and the streets much more neat, than in other towns. But, after all, none of the small towns in France can be compared, in point of beauty, with the villages in New England and New York. You lose the contrast of the white-painted dwellings and the verdure of court-yards, and the architecture is of the very worst taste and ruinous in aspect. Melun contains nothing to interest the traveller, except its beautiful situation on the bank of the river, and its promenades. At seven o'clock on Tuesday morning, we resumed our journey through a level and not particularly interesting country. As we

approached the metropolis, the number of villages increased, but they afforded nothing gratifying to the eye or the curiosity. In my walk through them, I noticed, as I had often done before, the irreverence with which sacred names are used, not in conversation, but in their application to taverns and other places: for instance, we passed the "Hotel de Saint Esprit," and the "Hotel de la Grace de Dieu."

We stopped for breakfast at eleven o'clock, at the little village of Mongeneaux. As this was our last stopping-place before arriving at Paris, the hour while our meal was being prepared, was employed in the exchange of cards, and the reciprocation of parting sympathies between us and our fellow-travellers. On again entering the voiture, one common curiosity prevailed over every other feeling, and all eagerly looked to obtain the first view of the great city. For the first time we saw numerous villas, chateaux, and country-seats; and at the distance of three leagues from Paris, the villages are so large and nearly connected, as to seem continued suburbs. Nothing can be meaner than the appearance of the Seine and its boats. The country is level, and the river in size hardly greater than the Owasco. The few boats are propelled by poles. It was at Challenton that we crossed the Seine, and as we arrived upon the bridge, our conducteur pointed to towers and dome in the bright perspective, and exclaimed: "Voila Paris, Messieurs!" The dome which we saw was that of the Pantheon, and the towers were those of Nôtre Dame. I hardly know which of our little party was most excited by this first and distant view of the great city. Our Genevese girls had all the curiosity of their time of life (not to say sex) to see the seat of fashion, literature, and power, of which in their native Switzerland they had never ceased to hear. Besides this, their parents were impatiently waiting their arrival. The Belgian and his bride were anticipating the continuance of their honeymoon amid the splendors of Paris, to which Belgium now stands almost in the relation of a province. Even our conducteur, who, for the last one or two days, had lost his equanimity of temper, in relating to me the degeneracy of Paris and of France under the reign of the Canaille, as he described the existing order of things, and in lamenting the national glory buried in the grave of Napoleon, had a wife and children to whom he was soon to be reunited. But we were all impatience to see the city whose history was

identified with all the stirring and miraculous history of the age in which we live. Besides, Paris was the climax of all the interest our travels were to afford. It was the last stage of our journey before our return to America and our homes. There we expected to find the letters which were to assure us whether those homes were yet happy or were desolate. Yielding to similar feelings, though arising from different associations, a general silence pervaded our party. The three leagues of distance were speedily passed, and we were aroused from our revery by finding ourselves at the barrier of the city. This was an iron railing across the street, with a customhouse, where our baggage was again inspected, in order to secure the duties levied upon articles of commerce of every kind, brought into the city. Here, also, was a small police establishment, with a guard selected from the *gens-d'armes*. All these public offices and military stations bear the conspicuous inscription, "*Liberte et ordre publique.*" You probably recollect the history of these words; once those of magic, but which, like other high-sounding phrases, have now become familiar as household words. They were the words of Lafayette in the national assembly in the first revolution, and were his motto while contending for actual liberty and permanent popular institutions in opposition to the anarchy of the *sans culottes*. The motto served, for almost half a century, no other purpose than to mark the peculiar character, and lofty yet just views, of their author. Experience seemed, by the introduction of the temporary governments, the consular power and the imperial throne, to have proved the theory of government which they express to be a revery. But, in the revolution of the three days, they were again brought forward as the magic words, as Lafayette was, as the author of the system which then the people hailed as the renovation of their country. Louis Philippe adopted both, but has been untrue to the one, perhaps from a desire to be true to the other.

No stronger evidence need be mentioned of the "hoary errors" of government, which yet remain in France, than the barriers at the entrance of the metropolis, erected to secure the collection of duties levied upon every article of consumption, whether of luxury or for necessary use, which duties constitute the greater part, if not the entire, revenues of the city. It needs no more than a knowledge of the difficulties for internal communication,

the neglect by government of foreign commerce, and the exactions practised upon those who bring articles of consumption into even market-towns, to satisfy the observer of the true reason that, while London in the last quarter of a century has added one third to its population, Paris is at least stationary, if it be not retrograding. While we were at the barrier, diligences, omnibuses, cabrioles, and carts, were continually arriving: not one was suffered to enter until it had been rigidly examined. After this vexatious interruption, we pursued our way down the street upon the bank of the Seine, passing on one side the Garden of Plants, and on the other the *Pont d'Austerlitz* and the venerable cathedral of Nôtre Dame; and then turning into a narrow street, were soon set down at the hotel of our *voiturier*, in the centre of the oldest, busiest, and most crowded part of Paris. The mother of the Genevese young ladies was there waiting to receive them and conduct them to their home. While *fiacres* were preparing to conduct our party to their separate hotels, my two young friends presented me to their mother, in a manner which expressed much sense of obligation for kindnesses and attentions which I had shown them on the journey. The fond mother spared no exertions to interest me in conversation, and bestowed upon me a thousand thanks, to which, partly because I felt they were undeserved, and partly because I was unable to sustain a conversation in French with a stranger, in any way corresponding to the warmth which she expressed, I could not make any suitable reply. I perceived at once that the kind and affectionate lady thought me a cold, insensible Englishman, and we parted, with the old lady's invitation, much less warmly expressed than that of her daughters, to visit them in their house in the faubourg du Temple.

In half an hour we had taken our rooms in the hotel Montmorenci, on the Boulevard Montmartre, one of the finest hotels, and in the most fashionable part of the city.

Rejoice with me that I have brought to a close this tedious account of one of the most delightful journeys I ever made, but which I have been unable to make interesting, because of the impossibility of describing, so as to give any just idea of it, the beautiful vine-growing regions of France, or the hospitable peasantry who inhabit them.

I must, at the hazard of writing too hastily to write correctly,

proceed with my notes of the thousand wonders by which I am surrounded. I prefer to write while the impressions are vivid upon my memory, and before the feelings have passed away which the objects have excited.

Is it not strange that from the first I regarded Paris without any of that awe, that sense of nothingness, which rendered London during so many days painful to me? In everything, except mere dimensions, Paris is vastly more imposing than London. Its palaces and its monuments are incomparably more grand, more splendid. To me it is a city of strangers — strangers still more than the people of London, because I can scarcely master enough of the language to make my feelings or my desires understood. Yet so it is: the first day after my arrival in Paris, a stranger and ignorant of the language, I was more at my ease than I could have been in London had I resided there until this time. What is the reason? It is the absence of the evidences of an aristocratic or artificial state of society. A city where all that can attract the eye, gratify the taste, or interest the curiosity, seems accessible to all. One lives without restraint. The fact of his being a stranger entitles him to respect and attention, and his passport is his best and sufficient introduction everywhere.

LETTER XII.

PARIS—CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES—LOUIS PHILIPPE, &C.

PARIS, *September* 8, 1833.

MY DEAR F——: And now, supposing you in one of our morning walks to have crossed with me the *Pont Louis XVI.*, we will visit the chamber of deputies.

The chamber of deputies was originally a part of the *Palais d'Elysée Bourbon.* Subsequently it was called the *Palais du Corps Legislatif.* But it has undergone many and frequent alterations, and is now, as well in exterior as in interior, a splendid modern edifice. The front, toward the bridge Louis XVI., consists of twelve massive Corinthian pillars, surmounted by a pediment. In the pediment is a bas-relief, representing Law seated on the charter, supported by Strength and Justice; on her left,

Peace is conducting Commerce. Behind this group the rivers Seine and Marne are mingling their waters, and Abundance advances, followed by the Arts and Sciences. The ascent is adorned with colossal statues of Minerva and Themis. On the summit are statues of Sully, Colbert, and D'Aguesseau. There are in the palace two large courts, and numerous apartments for the sitting of committees, libraries, public records, and other purposes. In one of these apartments is a statue in marble of Louis Philippe, in the attitude of taking the oath to support the charter adopted by the legislature. The decorations of all the apartments are splendid, and of modern taste, and indicate a great devotion to the principles of liberal government. The hall of the chamber of deputies is a spacious room, lighted from the dome. On one side is very sumptuously fitted up the chair of the president, which is sunk within a curved recess. This part of the chamber is decorated with appropriate statues. In front of the president's chair are the clerks' desks, and in advance of these is the tribune, from which members address the house. The seats of the members are chairs, with small desks, permanently attached to the floor, and arranged in concentric segments of a circle, the seats in the rear being elevated higher than those in front. On the side of the room opposite the president's chair is a spacious gallery for spectators. The ministers, when in attendance, have a bench immediately in front of the tribune. The whole aspect of the room, the drapery of which is crimson, is magnificent rather than imposing. I thought, from its construction, it was better calculated for hearing than the hall of representatives. But the seats of the members are so closely crowded, that it wants the air of convenience and comfort, not to say grandeur, of the assembly-room of the state of New York, to which it is inferior in dimensions. Parliament is not now in session, and we have therefore to regret the privation of an opportunity of witnessing the debates of the popular assemblies of this enthusiastic and eloquent nation. I had no difficulty in finding the place of General Lafayette. I would have deemed it a compensation for half the trouble and expense of my voyage to have heard this venerable, unchanging American republican address the representatives of the people of France. You will permit me to supply the place of observations of my own upon such a scene by the following description of it from a work recently published here, entitled

"France," by Monsieur Hayne. I can not, I fear, give the spirit of the original in my translation:—

"Lafayette is perhaps the most important speaker of the chamber of deputies. When he speaks he always strikes the nail upon the head, and he does the same for his opponent. When any great question interesting to the welfare of mankind is agitated, Lafayette never fails to rise as ardent for the combat as a young man. It is only his frame that is feeble and trembling, worn by age and by the war of time, like an old suit of iron armor, hacked and marred; it is affecting to see him drag his weight to the tribune, and when he has reached his ancient post, resume at once his breath and his smile. That smile, the manner of utterance, and the whole exterior of the man at this moment, are indescribable. There is so much of sincerity and yet such fine irony at the same moment, that one feels himself enchained as by some curious magic, a delightful enigma. One can not say whether his is the aristocratic manner of a French marquis, or the straightforward open simplicity of an American citizen. All the good side of the ancient regime, the chivalry, the courtesy, the tact, are marvellously mingled with the better part of the modern common people, the love of equality, honesty, and the absence of pride. Nothing is more interesting than when some member, in speaking of the early period of the Revolution, and with a self-sufficient air of giving instruction selects a single fact without its true connection, and fashions it to his own advantage in an argument, to see Lafayette destroy, in a few words, all the sophistry, re-establishing the fact in its true coloring, and giving it its true bearing by a reference to all the circumstances with which it was connected. Thiers (one of the ministers) in such a case, is forced to set sail and make off, and the great historiographer of the Revolution bows before its great, its living monument—its general, Lafayette. One may see in the chamber, sitting opposite the tribune, a man as old as the stones around him, his silver hair falls upon a black habit; he is girt with a large tri-colored scarf. This is the old messenger who has filled the same employment in the chamber since the commencement of the Revolution, and who, in that situation, has added to the general history for that long period, from the first national assembly, until the establishment of the *juste milieu*. It is said that he yet speaks often of the good Monsieur de Robespierre. During the restoration, the good old man had the colic, but since he has again begirt himself with the tri-colored scarf, he finds himself very well. His only disease is his inclination to sleep during these dull times of the *juste milieu*. I have myself seen him sleeping once when M—— was speaking. The poor man had doubtless heard many better than M—— who is about the best of the opposition speakers, and he found nothing in what was said sufficiently revolutionary, for him who had been well acquainted with the good Monsieur de Robespierre But when Lafayette speaks, the old messenger starts instantly from his slumbers, and appears all animated and fierce as an old horse of the dragoons when he hears the trumpet. A sweet recollection of his youthful days arises in his mind, and he inclines his head and hoary hair with eagerness."

Louis Philippe has had a series of pieces painted, illustrative of every important incident in the history of the house of Orleans, and connected with that of the Palais Royale. Some of these, referring to events in the life of Cardinal Richelieu (especially the closing scene), are very interesting. No less so are those relating to the history of Anne of Austria and the infancy of Louis XIV. One of these represents the scene when the populace of Paris, excited by suspicions and alarms, rushed to the gates of the Palais Royale at midnight, clamoring for revenge against the queen-mother and her ministers, because Louis XIV., then an infant, had been sent away, as they said, out of their kingdom. The queen, hastily hurrying on her garments, appeared at the

window, and commanded them to send in the mayor and other officers of the city. When they had entered, she showed them to the apartment where the young king was quietly sleeping, unconcerned and ignorant of the excitement which his supposed abduction had produced. But there were two others of these pictures still more gratifying to us as Americans. One of these represents Benjamin Franklin, American minister resident at the court of France (to obtain an acknowledgment of the independence of his country), received at the Palais Royale by the duke of Orleans and his family. The mild, philosophic countenance is one of the best portraits I have ever seen of our illustrious countryman. The whole scene depicted is one in which domestic peace and simplicity of manners are sought to be portrayed, instead of luxuries inconsistent with the character of the guest. It is also evident that with great good sense the figure of Franklin is made most prominent, his introduction being admitted to confer more honor on his princely entertainers than himself. Another picture which also pleased us much is that which represents Louis Philippe having returned to France in 1814, after his wanderings in America and England, and recovering the keys of the Palais Royale. He is represented here as dressed with great simplicity and plainness. Both parental and kingly pride are displayed in the selection of the subject of a third picture, which represents Louis Philippe receiving at the Palais Royale the deputies of the Belgian congress, who wait upon him to tender to him the throne of that country for his son the duke de Nemours. But I will not delay you longer in describing these splendid pictures.

I will close this letter by a few facts concerning Louis Philippe. The wealth which descended to him is immense, and I believe he is considered the richest man in France. On the restoration of Louis XVIII., these immense estates were restored to him; but there was necessary a confirmatory grant, which was made during the reign and at the instance of Charles X. The royalists reproach him with peculiar ingratitude to the latter monarch, in accepting the throne from which his benefactor was banished, and still more for leaving Charles and his family to struggle with poverty; the resources of that monarch being understood to be very limited. Doubtless Louis Philippe was largely indebted to his immense wealth for his accession to the throne, but he must nevertheless be admitted to have been a man

of good morals and unobjectionable deportment, or he could never have gained the sanction of Lafayette and the people—especially when we recollect the odium and execration which rest upon the name of his father. Of course, Louis Philippe is popular with his party, and unpopular with both the ultra-monarchists and republicans, by both of which parties he is opposed. He is universally admitted to be a man possessed of both fine talents and extensive learning, perfectly moral, and very affable. He is reproached by the Catholics for want of religious principles. All admit him to be a careful manager of his estates and revenues, and the Carlists call him mean and penurious. He has, greatly to his credit, done much to gradually reform the grossest outrages against decency and public morals in his management of the affairs of the Palais Royale. The queen, as I learn, is above suspicion and reproach, and is universally respected and beloved. The sons are also popular; they attend the colleges and schools, and subject themselves to competition with the plebeians—a competition in which, to their great credit, it is said by their force of talent and application they ably sustain themselves. The queen is a zealous Catholic, and thus secures the favor of the church, which is disregarded by the king.

LETTER XIII.*

LAFAYETTE IN PARIS.

PARIS, *September* 12, 1833.

MY DEAR F——: Soon after we arrived at Paris, we sent our letters with our cards to the house occupied by General Lafayette (when in the city), No. 6 *Rue d'Anjou St. Honore*, in the faubourg St. Honore. A few days afterward, we received a letter from him, dated La Grange, and post-marked *Rosoit*, in which he stated that he "hastened to welcome us on our arrival in France," and added that he "hoped with his family to have the pleasure soon of receiving us at La Grange;" that in the meantime he was "to be in Paris on the Wednesday following, for

* This and the succeeding letter have never before been published.—*Ed.*

one day only, and would receive us that day at his own house, or call on us, as should suit our convenience."

On the day appointed we repaired to his house at the earliest hour for receiving calls, so as to anticipate his coming to our hotel. We were shown by a servant into an ante-chamber, neatly but plainly furnished, and were informed that the general would soon be ready to see us. We waited nearly half an hour, not without some misgivings that we had called at too early an hour. A message came to us that the general was engaged, but would soon be with us. We amused ourselves with surveying the apartment. The floor, like most others in Paris, was of oak, and without a carpet. The furniture was of the simplest fashion, but of rich material, and, though old, was in good preservation. Simple muslin curtains were suspended before the windows. There were no ornaments, except on one side of the room a bust of Washington, and on the other a bust of Lafayette.

At length a venerable gentleman passed through the ante-chamber, bowing to us as he made his exit, and immediately after him the patriarch appeared. He gave both his hands to us, expressed himself happy to see us, and apologized for having detained us so long, stating that the gentleman who had just left him was a Polish general officer, who desired to converse with him (as he always does when he came to town) upon the affairs of his unhappy country. Thus saying, he conducted us through a parlor to his bedchamber, which was furnished with a table, books, and papers; and, again pressing our hands, he said, "I am happy to see you again." It is barely possible he may have remembered one or the other of us as among the hundreds of thousands who tendered him their welcome on his last visit to our country. But it is much more probable that he assumed, of course, that we were among the number; as he can seldom mistake in making the same supposition concerning all Americans who visit Paris. Everything in the apartment was in keeping with the character of its venerable occupant. The only decorations which graced it were the Declaration of Independence and one or two patriot busts. The general looked much better than when I saw him in America. His complexion was fair, and his countenance less heavy and dull than our pictures represent him. He was dressed in a black frock-coat, and with a white vest. He seemed to walk with difficulty, but in every other respect ap-

peared younger and in greener health than when we knew him. After the ordinary inquiries concerning our voyage, the route we had travelled, and the state of our health — "And how," said he, "did you leave all my friends?" I told him the question was too broad; we could answer, however, as to the continued health and usefulness of those by whom we had been favored with letters to him. He then spoke of his friends among the distinguished public men at Washington, and we gave him all the information we possessed concerning them. Leaving the subject, he again assured us that his family would enjoy the greatest happiness in seeing us at La Grange. In truth, we had thought that the general must be oppressed with the numerous visits of Americans, and were therefore sincere in the declaration that we had not intended to go to La Grange, or tax his politeness further than the present call. He declared that he had a right and his family had a right to a visit at least from every American who arrived in Paris. We "must come to La Grange —he would not have a doubt left upon it. We might make our stay there as short as should be required by our convenience, but we must come."

The general then adverted to the recent convulsion in South Carolina, and congratulated us that all was now tranquil in the United States. He spoke very briefly on the subject, and without reference to any of the prominent individuals who had risen in the storm. He said the suspense under which the friends of republicanism in Europe remained during the excitement was dreadful, and his own position exceedingly embarrassing. The tories in every country in Europe exulted in the anticipated overthrow of the government upon the stability of which the liberals had risked their all.

Although General Lafayette was unreserved in his expressions on this great question, I could not but discover and admire the prudence he exhibited in relation to individuals among us, not only on this occasion, but whenever American politics became the subject of conversation. He spoke in terms of the highest friendship for many living statesmen of different political parties, and in terms of veneration and respect for the memory of many departed patriots, without distinction of party; but of the living and the dead, there was only one individual concerning whom one unfavorable expression escaped him, that person has long

since been without the field of public controversy, and what the general said of him was more in sorrow than in anger. It is not, indeed, until one visits Lafayette at home that he realizes the truly paternal character of his feelings toward America. His solicitude is for the *whole nation*, and in the exercise of that feeling he overlooks the bickerings and controversies which disturb our domestic peace. While listening to him I involuntarily yielded to the belief, that if he were among us, his example and his teachings would produce among us greater mutual forbearance, and greater purity of individual purpose. But in this I doubtless erred. It is not in the nature of political controversies to yield to such high and redeeming influences, and even Lafayette himself, if among us, would retain his influence only as that influence was thrown into the scale of popular opinion on one side or the other. Have we not now, in a political sense, "Moses and the prophets? If we will not hear them neither would we hear though one were sent from the dead."

The more immediate and engrossing theme of French politics next became the subject of conversation, and, I confess, it was with feelings strangely compounded of surprise and gratification, that I heard the patriot general describe the events of the Revolution of three days, with as much simplicity as if the recital concerned only a village excitement. I was glad to hear the general on this subject. It relieved my own mind of the uncomfortable belief I had indulged, that he had been governed by caprice in his abandonment of Louis Philippe, and, if possible, exalted him still higher in my respect and admiration; as I am sure it would in the admiration and esteem of our countrymen, could I communicate the recital to them. He said, Louis Philippe had abandoned the principles the profession of which brought him to the throne, and he therefore abandoned him. "It has been said," continued the general, "that I made him king. That is not true. It is true, however, that I consented he should be king, and without my consent he could not have been king. It was not without doubts that I acted thus far in the matter. But what was to be done? The people had achieved a revolution. The chamber of deputies contained a large majority of whigs, there were many republicans among them. But such a horror in regard to republicanism existed in France on account of the terrible scenes of the republic of 1793, that nobody was

willing to renew the experiment yet. The great desire of all was to have the revolution terminated, because, although the people had behaved with the greatest moderation and prudence thus far, the deputies were apprehensive that, unless the government was immediately established they would become turbulent, anarchy would ensue, and the bloody scenes of '93 be re-enacted. What was to be done?" continued Lafayette. "The only one of the Bonaparte family whom it was practicable to call to the throne, was the young duke of Reichstadt; and he was a minor, an invalid, in the hands of the Austrians, and had been educated by them; and, it was natural to believe, was imbued with the prepossessions, and prejudices, and principles of that court. Besides, the name of Bonaparte was associated with the recollections of a despotism. The throne of a successor must be rendered safe by a return, in a great measure, to the same principles, and thus there were insuperable objections to a restoration of the Napoleon dynasty. We could not safely proclaim a republic; we had no republican army to rely upon, nor could such a government, at this time, secure the confidence of the people, and we knew well that, no sooner should it be established, than we should have all Europe combined against us. The attention of all the actors in the revolution," said Lafayette, "was preoccupied by Louis Philippe, with whom I was little acquainted. I knew that in his youth he had been a republican; he had talents and information; he was a little too fond of money, but had hitherto behaved, as a man, very well, especially in America. The general sentiment indicated Louis Philippe, but it was agreed that, before he should be created king, he should be seen, and his sentiments and principles should be ascertained, and he should be bound to a constitutional monarchy, which would be so framed as to be the first great advance to a republic. I left the people at the Hotel de Ville, and visited Louis Philippe. The first thing he said to me was, 'General Lafayette! what is to be done?' I told him he was well aware that I was a republican, that to me the constitution of the United States seemed the best government that had ever been devised by man. He answered that his sentiments precisely accorded with mine, and no man could be in America, as he had been, two years and not be convinced that the American government was the best that could be framed; 'but,' said he, 'what shall be done? You know,' con-

tinued Louis Philippe, 'the prejudices and alarms concerning a republic entertained by the people. We can not depend upon the army; half the troops are Carlists, and we shall have all Europe down upon us as soon as we proclaim a republic.' I answered," said Lafayette, "that I was aware of all this, and therefore thought, as it was most desirable to give quiet to France, and to consumate the revolution, it was best to establish, at present, a monarchy, but as much a limited monarchy as possible, and to surround it with republican institutions, which would prepare the way by educating the people, for establishing, as soon as might be prudent, a republic. Louis Philippe declared these were the very thoughts he had entertained, and he fully accorded in them. I returned," added Lafayette, "to the Hotel de Ville, and announced to the people that the sentiments of the duke of Orleans accorded with our own, and he was then, as you know, made king. We had him swear to a charter containing two fundamental principles, one the superiority of the people, and the responsibility of the government to them; and the other universal suffrage. And he pledged himself that laws should be passed, to commence immediately the work of general education. I was made lieutenant-general of the kingdom. I did not wish to accept the office, but it seemed necessary to satisfy the people, and attach them to the government; besides, if I should not accept it, it would furnish occasion to say, that I wanted to be king myself. I therefore accepted it, and, for a short time, all went on well. Louis Philippe promised to support Italy and the liberal cause throughout Europe. Excited by our example and success," said Lafayette, "the republican cause commenced in Poland, Belgium, and Italy. It met the resistance we had anticipated, and looked to us for support. Louis Philippe had not courage to sustain the republicans as he had promised: I remonstrated, he insisted, and finally abandoned them to their fate. Then he became very desirous I should resign. Alarms were now entertained or affected, lest the office I held might, in the hands of my successor, be too powerful; but they were unwilling to deprive me of it. I was more desirous to resign it than they that I should. I felt that I could no longer hold it in justice to myself and my principles. Louis Philippe had already begun to lay the foundation of a new Bourbon dynasty which should be perpetual, instead of so wielding the

government as to introduce a republic as he had promised me. In this I would have no part. I was a citizen of the United States—a republican. I knew that my name was associated with the cause of liberty and republicanism, wherever that cause was cherished. I never intended to seek or hold office merely for the sake of office, under any government, but had accepted my post merely to advance the general cause. I could not, therefore, retain it without giving the sanction of my name, whatever might be its worth, to the principles of the new dynasty; and that would have been to violate the great general principles of government which I entertained, and to discourage the friends of republican government throughout Europe. I therefore resigned. Louis Philippe has since said that he made no engagement with me, preparatory to his being created king, concerning the principles of his government. As soon as I learned this from a source sufficiently authentic to rely upon, I sent word to him that I should not any longer go to the Tuilleries, and thus the breach was completed."

After some reminiscences of his tour in the United States, and the renewal of his pressing invitation to visit La Grange, the general permitted us to take leave. I have thus, my dear friend, given you the details of our first and very interesting interview, I am sure that it is substantially correct, as I transcribe it from notes made immediately after my return to our lodgings. Every word sank deep in my memory, for I listened to the venerable man's narrative with an interest hardly less intense than that with which mortal ears listen to the communication of the messenger of Heaven. I have but one reflection to add. Does not this simple relation show that Lafayette has acted, throughout the late revolution in France, in the closest keeping with his former principles? Regarding as his highest character that of being an American citizen, the scholar and associate of Washington, and the representative of republicanism in Europe, he guarded his conduct with reference to the obligations resting upon him in that character, and with a view, not to personal advantage, nor even to the temporary security of the French nation, but to the ultimate triumph of free principles and the establishment of republican governments. None can censure him for his abandonment of Louis Philippe, unless he be prepared to adopt the principle of Louis Philippe's government, that republican

governments can never be established in Europe—a principle at war with Lafayette's principles through his whole life, and which he could not adopt without inconsistency so gross as to forfeit his entire claim to the homage of mankind—a principle which would deprive him of all the respect and affection of the American people.

LETTER XIV.

LAFAYETTE AT LA GRANGE.

La Grange, *September* 11, 1833.

I know you will be gratified by the date of this letter. How rich is the enjoyment of such a visit as this to the venerable patriarch and his family. The reproach of tourists is that they are vain and coxcombical. I am proud of this achievement, and I will be vain of it as long as I live, and I will inflict not only long letters upon you about La Grange, but I will dwell upon it when I return and ever afterward.

Yesterday morning, "in pursuance of previous arrangement," we left Paris in the coupe of a diligence at eight o'clock. We passed Vincennes, its prisons and its forests, and followed some distance the route of the Seine. About six miles of our journey were completed, when we found it necessary to descend and walk up the long hill, so as to relieve the horses. We were richly repaid for our muddy walk up the hill, by a fine view of the windings of the Seine for six miles, ending with the towers of Nôtre Dame and the Pantheon. The sun deigned to smile upon us, and we found the appearance of the country delightful after our long residence in Paris. We passed through several mean villages, among which were La Queene, which exhibits the remains of a chateau.

A solitary tower broken off at the top, but still seventy feet high, is all that remains. The villagers raise fruit and vegetables in what were the court-yard and drawing-room. A tattered tri-colored flag waves from the highest turret, and has probably weathered all the storms since the revolution of 1830. Tournau and Fontenay, two market-towns, lay on our road. At two o'clock we arrived at Rosoit, a village of about two thousand

inhabitants, and distant thirty miles from Paris. It is meanly built, like most of the French provincial towns. The annual fête had collected several thousand people in the streets. The auberge was crowded with peasantry devouring the simple meal of brown-bread with abundance of wine. Crowds of men, women, and children, thronged the streets. In this confusion we were met by a servant of General Lafayette's, who waited with a plain, neat coach, to carry us to La Grange. We entered the domain as soon as we left the village, and a ride of something more than half a mile brought us to a grove so rich and dense as to exclude the chateau from view. A winding of the road now discovered to us a venerable castle, built of stone, on the three sides of a square with an open court in the centre. The chateau is three stories in height, and at each angle is flanked by a circular tower. It is surrounded by a moat or canal filled with water and traversed by bridges. An ivy clusters upon its front wall which was planted by Charles James Fox. The coach stopped in the paved court at the entrance of the chateau. We entered a large hall containing the grand staircase in the centre. At the foot of the stairs were two small brass cannon, mounted and facing each entrance. The cannon bore inscriptions, stating that they were captured from the royal troops by the people of Paris, in the revolution of the three days, and presented to General Lafayette. Over them and in front of the ascent of the stairs is a triumphal ornament, composed of flags taken from the royal troops in the same revolution. At the top of the staircase is an ornament not less appropriate and characteristic: it is formed of the graceful foldings of our own standard with its stars and stripes. We were received by Madame Maubourg, the general's oldest daughter, and by two of his grandsons. This lady spoke to us in English, but, being unaccustomed to the language in ordinary conversation, she found it so difficult that she gave me to understand we must use my bad French instead of her difficult English. She is a middle-aged woman, plainly dressed, exceedingly well informed, vivacious, and agreeable. In half an hour the general appeared, well, cheerful, and animated, and we passed an hour in conversation upon French and English politics. The apartment which is the common parlor is still more plainly furnished than the rooms in the general's house in town. The floor is of polished oak. The room contains a bust of Washington at the age of fifty-eight,

and portraits of all the presidents of the United States except the present incumbent. The general informed us that one of the latter had been forwarded by his friends in America, but had been lost on the way: he had written for another, but it was not yet received. In the course of the morning (afternoon) the several members of the family appeared and warmly welcomed us to La Grange. The conversation was redundant in incidents of the Revolution. The general alluded to the difficulty he encountered in learning the English language so as to pronounce it well, saying that, soon after he joined the American army, he was requested to name the watchword for the day. He gave "Paris." He was himself challenged by an American sentinel and pronounced a spy, because he pronounced the pass-word Pà-rè. He alluded to Colonel Burr's visit to France: said he did not visit the colonel at Paris; he could not—he had recently killed one of his friends (Hamilton), and conspired against another (Jefferson). I mention this as an evidence of the catholicism of the general's attachment to America, which embraced these two rival politicians and widely opposed statesmen, without marking by a single expression his consciousness of their mutual opposition to each other. After sitting two hours, the general called a domestic and proceeded to show us to our rooms. The one prepared for S—— was in the first story, comfortably warmed in consideration of his ill health. He conducted me through long, winding corridors with brick pavement, to the tower in the angle of the chateau in the third story, saying: "You see, sir, that this is a very old house." But, although it was old, it was, in all that concerned the comfort of guests, perfectly *au fait*. "We dine," said the general, "at half-past six. Here is paper and materials for writing. My library is on this floor: if you want anything, you will ring for a servant." I wanted no books: I was reading the choicest history and character from the lips of Lafayette himself, and husbanded my time so as to lose nothing of the precious treasure. He spoke again in our interview this afternoon, and very freely, of Louis Philippe; said that he distinctly engaged to him that the new monarchy should be surrounded by republican institutions, to be of temporary duration, and to prepare the way for a republic; but he had chosen to build up a dynasty and had made a bad choice. "Had he fulfilled his engagements," said Lafayette, "he might have been

king twenty-five years; but, to secure the support promised him by the other powers of Europe, he preferred building up his own dynasty, to make it perpetual. In the former case, the great revolution of France would have ended in four acts; now it would be five. The people would be educated and prepared for a republic in twenty years. When that time should come, France would not be content to be governed by kings. Louis Philippe and his family were sure to come down some time, and that not distant; he (Lafayette) did not think they had twenty years to reign.

One can not be an hour at La Grange without discovering that Lafayette and his family are all American in their attachments and feelings. The conversation is animated beyond measure, when it turns upon American affairs, reminiscences, anticipations, and hopes. The drawing-room is adorned with pictures of the American presidents; the grand staircase with the American flag, the antechamber with busts of Washington, and Franklin, and American maps; the library contains a choice collection of American books, and the sleeping-rooms have no pictures but those of the American battle-fields, naval victories, landscapes, Mount Vernon, Hancock's house, Quincy, &c. Would there were among American statesmen such lofty and exclusive devotion to the republic. Oh, for the return of the days when such patriotism that knows no party could return to our public councils and our firesides! At the dinner-hour we met the entire family, consisting of twenty-two persons. The dining-room was a large and plain apartment on the ground floor. The general occupied the centre, on his right Madame Maubourg at the upper end of the table, and Madame Perier at the other end of the table. The dinner was served with a degree of republican simplicity which would shame our dinners in our cities. The viands were good, and the wine abundant, all, with the exception of a bottle of Champagne and a bottle of Madeira, the produce of La Grange. The general told many anecdotes of his tour in the United States, and expatiated upon the different parts of the Union. That spot of all others which he most admired was Goat island, at Niagara Falls. He described its beauties to his family, and said that he never thought of it without feeling a desire to purchase it, and make it his residence. Madame Maubourg, by whose side I had the honor to be seated, interested me exceedingly. She described

to me the castle of Olmutz, and her stay there, with her mother and sister, during the imprisonment of her father; and I felt that I had not now a wish ungratified, since I had seen the hero and the survivors of the three heroines of that dungeon. "I will subscribe," said Lafayette, to the agent of the Prussian government, who proposed to him a renunciation of his republican principles as a condition for his release, "I will subscribe no declaration inconsistent with my duties as an American citizen." Such was his language forty years ago, when the American republic was in its infancy. "I will not support," said he in 1830, "a government which is inconsistent with my principles as an American citizen." Was ever human character, through all vicissitudes, so consistent as that of Lafayette. Madame Maubourg told me, that the most sincere and unmingled pleasure she had ever enjoyed, was in reading the American newspapers, which recorded her father's arrival and progress through the United States. It was the triumph, the reward, the crown of a life of sacrifices, perils, and sufferings in the cause of human freedom. Now I find it impossible to write these things without my letter running into a kind of grandiloquence. But I wish you to understand, that in all their conversation there is not the slightest indication of a desire to magnify the importance of anything relating to themselves. The general's tour was spoken of with no more apparent self-complacency, than if it had been a ride in his little glass-coach from La Grange to Paris, and the revolution of the three days was treated with no more effort at effect than if it had been an election of a congressman in our own country. The party (rather the family) remained at the table about an hour and a half, and then retired to the drawing-room, where the evening was spent in free and unrestrained conversation. The ladies, as if they were the females of a farmer's family, had their sewing and knitting-work; the elder being employed principally in the homely operation of mending, with conversation, upon books, and music, and the newspapers, which were by turns resorted to. If any American of respectable education and associations fears to trespass upon Lafayette's goodness by accepting his hospitality, let him, upon my assurance, dismiss all his fears. He will find, when he arrives at La Grange, that his visit causes neither trouble nor expense. The habits of the family are fixed, the household is adapted to them. He will find no neglect of

any duty, and no extra provision of cheer on his account; the addition of another pair of sheets to the wash-woman, another cover on the table, is all that marks the visit of a stranger, who, while there, becomes one of the family, and may amuse himself as he will, and depart when he will. But it is the duty of Americans to visit La Grange. The approbation of Americans is prima-facie evidence, in France, that the man or measure upon which it is bestowed is right. Lafayette has sacrificed power greater than that of the throne, and gone into a minority of about thirty-nine in the chamber of delegates, to preserve his principles of American republicanism. While it can not be perceived that the tribute is so acknowledged by Lafayette, any one who is familiar with the French journals, will see that every carriage which rolls up to La Grange excites the enthusiasm of the people, and the discontent of the *juste milieu*. At precisely ten o'clock each of the younger members of the party affectionately saluted the general, who retired after taking leave of us for the night, and saying to us that we should take breakfast at ten o'clock. When I retired to my room I found every measure had been taken to render my sleep tranquil. The curtains were dropped, the arm-chair and slippers placed before the bed, and the covering turned down. I was weary, and soon sank into a sleep so profound that it was undisturbed by dreams.

This morning the hours seemed long before breakfast, but I supposed one must perforce remain in his chamber. Of course, I was surprised on meeting the family at breakfast by the inquiry if I had been out. The general said he rose every morning at six, and I found all the gentlemen, and some of the ladies, had been abroad over the plantation. From breakfast the ladies retired to the shade-trees on the lawn in front of the chateau. Mademoiselle Clementine, the daughter of George Lafayette, and an adopted daughter of the general, accompanied us in a long walk over the grounds, until we reached a small artificial lake containing several islands planted with evergreens. S—— and other gentlemen walked over the farm, while one of the young gentlemen and myself applied ourselves to the oar, and rowed the ladies from island to island. On our return to the chateau we found the general waiting for us. He first exhibited to us the beautiful barge which had been presented to him by the Whitehall boatmen, after they had won the boat race against the

Thames barge. It is a beautiful and graceful craft some thirty feet long. It bears an inscription reciting the wager and prize, and the names of the oarsmen, and the fact that it was presented to Lafayette. The vanquished Englishmen offered the victors three thousand dollars for the boat. It is evidently a favorite among the multitude of American presents which meet your eye everywhere. He has built a house over it, with a substantial tiled roof, and enclosed by network of iron, which excludes it even from the touch. He next walked with us through every department of his farming affairs, which are in the most perfect order. He showed an entire familiarity with the whole, and is passionately fond of the pursuit. His horses, cattle, sheep, and swine, were all housed and taken care of in the most systematic manner. I could not but mark the economy which prevailed. Even the acorns were all hoarded as food for the swine. The farm attached to the chateau contains about eight hundred acres. Besides this he has another and larger farm in the south of France. George Washington Lafayette resides there during the summer and takes charge of it. The care of La Grange is intrusted to one superintendent. Regular daily accounts are kept, and these are carefully posted and examined every Saturday. A portion of the concern, such as the dairy, &c., and the use of what is required in the family is subject to the supervision of his daughters. I was struck by the homage paid him by every domestic and laborer. It was merited, for his manner toward them was parental. It was three o'clock when we completed this interesting survey. The morning's conversation ended with the exhibition of his museum of American presents, among which I remarked he was particularly pleased with the vase presented to him by the officers of the Brandywine, and the volume published at New York in commemoration of his visit. But I ought not to forget to say that the general told me to tell the Whitehallers, that "he had their boat safe, and it would last longer than he would."

At dinner he descanted to his family in glowing terms upon the homage universally exhibited in America to the soldiers of the Revolution, as witnessed by him on public occasions. We have taken leave of this most interesting family, and to-morrow morning at six o'clock will bid farewell for ever to La Grange, the most endearing spot in France, and that one which will live

the greenest in all our recollections of this hurried but delightful tour. On parting with the general, I said to him that we had a long time anticipated his return to America to spend the evening of his days there. "My dear sir," replied he, "I should be very sorry to think I shall never again see America, but you know how it is. I am confined to France for two or three years to come, by my office as a member of the house of deputies, and what may happen within that time God only knows."

SPEECHES

IN

THE UNITED STATES SENATE.

SPEECHES IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE.*

CONTINENTAL RIGHTS AND RELATIONS.

JANUARY 26, 1853.

Mr. President: On the 23d day February, 1848, John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, who had completed a circle of public service filling fifty years, beginning with an inferior diplomatic function, passing through the chief magistracy, and closing with the trust of a representative in Congress, departed from the earth, certainly respected by mankind, and, if all posthumous honors are not insincere and false, deplored by his countrymen.

On a fair and cloudless day in the month of June, 1850, when the loud and deep voice of wailing had just died away in the land, the senator from Michigan, of New England born, and by New England reared, the leader of a great party, not only here, but in the whole country, rose in the senate-chamber, and after complaining that a member of the family of that great statesman of the east, instead of going backward with a garment to cover his infirmities, had revealed them by publishing portions of his private diary, himself proceeded to read the obnoxious extracts. They showed the author's strong opinions, that by the federal compact the slaveholding class had obtained, and they had exercised, a controlling influence in the government of the country.

Placing these extracts by the side of passages taken from the Farewell Address of Washington, the senator from Michigan said—"He is unworthy the name of an American who does not feel at his heart's core the difference between the lofty patriotism and noble sentiments of *one* of these documents, and——; but I

* Continued from vol. i, p. 388.

will not say what the occasion would justify. I will only say, and that is enough, *the other*, for it is *another*."—"It can not, nor will it, nor should it, escape the censure of an age like this."—"Better that it had been entombed, like the ancient Egyptian records, till its language was lost, than thus to have been exposed to the light of day."

The senator then proceeded to set forth by contrast his own greater justice and generosity to the southern states, and his own higher fidelity to the Union. This was in the senate of the United States. And yet no one rose to vindicate the memory of John Quincy Adams, or to express an emotion even of *surprise*, or of *regret*, that it had been thought necessary thus to invade the sanctity of the honored grave where the illustrious statesman who had so recently passed the gates of death was sleeping. I was not of New England, by residence, education, or descent, and there were reasons enough why I should then endure in silence a pain that I shared with so many of my countrymen. But I determined, that when the tempest of popular passion that was then raging in the country should have passed by, I would claim a hearing here—not to defend or vindicate the sentiments which the senator from Michigan had thus severely censured, for Mr. Adams himself had referred them, together with all his actions and opinions concerning slavery—not to this tribunal, or even to the present time, but to that after-age which gathers and records the impartial and *ultimate judgment* of mankind—but to show how just and generous he had been in his public career toward all the members of this confederacy, and how devoted to the Union of the states, and to the aggrandizement of this republic. I am thankful that the necessity for performing that duty has passed by, and that the statesman of Quincy has, earlier than I hoped received his vindication, and has received it, too, at the hands of him from whom it was justly due—the accuser himself. I regret only this—that the vindication was not as generously as it was effectually made.

There are two propositions arising out of our interests in and around the gulf of Mexico, which are admitted by all our statesmen. One of them is, that the safety of the southern states requires a watchful jealousy of the presence of European powers in the southern portions of the North American continent; and the other is, that the tendency of commercial and political events

invites the United States to assume and exercise a paramount influence in the affairs of the nations situated in this hemisphere; that is, to become and remain a great western continental power, balancing itself against the possible combinations of Europe. The advance of the country toward that position constitutes what, in the language of many, is called "progress;" and the position itself is what, by the same class, is called "manifest destiny." It is held by all who approve that progress, and expect that destiny, to be necessary to prevent the re-colonization of this continent by the European states, and to save the island of Cuba from passing out of the possession of decayed Spain, into that of any one of the more vigorous maritime powers of the old world.

In December, 1823, James Monroe, president of the United States, in his annual message to Congress, proclaimed the first of these two policies substantially as follows: "The American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power; and while existing rights should be respected, the safety and interest of the United States require them to announce that no future colony or dominion shall, with their consent, be planted or established in any part of the North American continent." This is what is called, here and elsewhere, the Monroe doctrine, so far as it involves re-colonization.

John Quincy Adams and John C. Calhoun were then members, chief members, of Monroe's administration. John Quincy Adams afterward acknowledged that he was the author of that doctrine or policy; and John C. Calhoun, on the 15th of May, 1848, in the senate, testified on that point fully. A senator had related an alleged conversation, in which Mr. Adams was represented as having said that three memorable propositions contained in that message, of which what I have quoted was one. had originated with himself. Mr. Calhoun replied, that "Mr. Adams, if he had so stated, must have referred to only the one proposition concerning re-colonization [the one now in question]," and then added as follows: "As respects that, his (Mr. Adams's) memory does not differ from mine. * * * * It originated entirely with Mr. Adams."—*App. Cong. Globe*, 1847–'48, p. 631.

Thus much for the origin of the Monroe doctrine on re-coloni-

zation. Now, let us turn to the position of John Quincy Adams, concerning national jealousy of the designs of European powers upon the island of Cuba. The recent revelations of our diplomacy on that subject begin with the period when that statesman presided in the department of state. On the 17th of December, 1822, Mr. Adams informed Mr. Forsyth, then American minister in Spain, that "the island of Cuba had excited much attention, and had become of deep interest to the American Union;" and, referring to reported rival designs of France and Great Britain upon that island, instructed him to make known to Spain "the sentiments of the United States, which were favorable to the continuance of Cuba in its connection with Spain." On the 28th of April, 1823, Mr. Adams thus instructed Mr. Nelson, the successor of Mr. Forsyth:—

"The islands of Cuba and Porto-Rico still remain, nominally, and so far really dependent upon Spain, that she yet possesses the power of transferring her own dominion over them to others. These islands, from their local position, are natural appendages to the North American continent; and one of them, Cuba, almost in sight of our shores, from a multitude of considerations, has become an object of transcendent importance to the commercial and political interests of our Union. Its commanding position, with reference to the gulf of Mexico and the West India seas; *the character of its population;* its situation midway between our southern coast and the island of St. Domingo; its safe and capacious harbor of the Havana, fronting a long line of our shores destitute of the same advantage; the nature of its productions and of its wants, furnishing the supplies and needing the returns of a commerce immensely profitable and mutually beneficial—give it an importance in the sum of our national interests with which that of no other foreign territory can be compared, and little inferior to that which binds the different members of this Union together. Such, indeed, are, between the interests of that island and of this country, the geographical, commercial, moral, and political relations, formed by nature, gathering in the process of time, and even now verging to maturity, that, in looking forward to the probable course of events, for the short period of half a century, it is scarcely possible to resist the conviction that the annexation of Cuba to our federal republic will be indispensable to the continuance and integrity of the Union itself. It is obvious, however, that for this event we are not yet prepared. Numerous and formidable objections to the extension of our territorial dominions beyond sea, present themselves to the first contemplation of the subject; obstacles to the system of policy by which alone that result can be compassed and maintained, are to be foreseen and surmounted, both from at home and abroad; but there are laws of political as well as of physical gravitation; and if an apple, severed by the tempest from its native tree, can not choose but fall to the ground, Cuba, forcibly disjoined from its own unnatural connection with Spain, and incapable of self-support, can gravitate only toward the North American Union, which, by the same law of nature, can not cast her off from its bosom.

"It will be among the primary objects requiring your most earnest and unremitting attention, to ascertain and report to us every movement of negotiation between Spain and Great Britain upon this subject. * * * * So long as the constitutional government may continue to be administered in the name of the king, your official intercourse will be with his ministers, and to them you will repeat, what Mr. Forsyth has been instructed to say, that the wishes of your government are that Cuba and Porto-Rico may continue in connection with independent and constitutional Spain."

Thirty years afterward, viz: on the 4th day of January, 1853, the senator from Michigan (Mr. Cass,) without one word of

acknowledgment of Mr. Adams's agency in instituting those measures of "progress" toward the "manifest destiny" of the country, submitted the resolutions which are under consideration, and which are in these words:—

"*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That the United States do hereby declare, that 'the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power;' and while 'existing rights should be respected,' and will be by the United States, they owe it to their own 'safety and interests' to announce, as they now do, 'that no future European colony or dominion shall, with their consent, be planted or established on any part of the North American continent;' and should the attempt be made, they thus deliberately declare that it will be viewed as an act originating in motives regardless of their 'interests and their safety,' and which will leave them free to adopt such measures as an independent nation may justly adopt in defence of its rights and its honor.

"*And be it further resolved*, That while the United States disclaim any designs upon the island of Cuba, inconsistent with the laws of nations, and with their duties to Spain, they consider it due to the vast importance of the subject to make known, in this solemn manner, that they should view all efforts on the part of any other power to procure possession, whether peaceably or forcibly, of that island, which, as a naval or military position, might, under circumstances easy to be foreseen, become dangerous to their southern coast, to the Gulf of Mexico, and to the mouth of the Mississippi, as unfriendly acts directed against them, to be resisted by all the means in their power."

In bringing together these actions of John Quincy Adams in 1822, and of the senator from Michigan in 1853, and placing them in juxtaposition in the history of the senate, I have done all that the senator from Michigan seems to have left undone, to vindicate the departed statesman from the censures heaped upon him by the living one in 1850.

I proceed to consider the resolutions thus offered by the senator from Michigan.

The honorable senator from New Hampshire offers an amendment, as a condition of his vote, in these words:

"*And be it further resolved*, That while the United States in like manner disclaim any designs upon Canada, inconsistent with the laws of nations, and with their duties to Great Britain, they consider it due to the vast importance of the subject to make known, in this solemn manner, that they should view all efforts on the part of any other power to procure possession, whether peaceably or forcibly, of that province, which, as a naval or military position, must, under circumstances easy to be foreseen, become dangerous to their northern boundary, and to the lakes, as unfriendly acts directed against them, to be resisted by all the means in their power."

I will vote for that amendment. It is not well expressed. But it implies the same policy in regard to Canada which the main resolutions assert concerning Cuba. The colonies, when they confederated in 1775, invited Canada to come in. Montgomery gave up his life in scaling the Heights of Abraham, in the same

year, to bring her in. Scott, in 1814, poured out his blood at Chippewa to bring her in. If the proposition shall fail, I shall lament it as a repudiation by the senate of a greater national interest than any other distinct one involved in this debate; but I shall, nevertheless, vote for the resolutions of the senator from Michigan. I shall do so, because—

1. The reverence I cherish for the memory of John Quincy Adams, the illustrious author of the policy which they embody, inclines me to support them.

2. While I do not desire the immediate or early annexation of Cuba, nor see how I could vote for it at all until slavery shall have ceased to counteract the workings of nature in that beautiful island, nor even then, unless it could come into the Union without injustice to Spain, without aggressive war, and without producing internal dissensions among ourselves, I nevertheless yield up my full assent to the convictions expressed by John Quincy Adams, that this nation can never safely allow the island of Cuba to pass under the dominion of any power that is already, or can become, a formidable rival or enemy; and can not safely consent to the restoration of colonial relations between any portions of this continent and the monarchies of Europe.

The re-establishment of such relations would, of course, reproduce, in a greater or less degree, the commercial and political embarrassments of our relations with other American communities, and even with European nations, from which we obtained relief only through the war of 1812, and the subsequent emancipation of the Spanish colonies on this continent, and their organization as free and independent republics. Sir, I am willing, on the demand of the senator from Michigan, or of any other leader, and without any demand from any leader, to declare myself opposed—radically opposed—opposed at all times, now, henceforth, and for ever—opposed, at the risk of all hazards and consequences, to any design of any state or states on this continent, or anywhere else, which may, by possibility, result in reproducing those evils—the greatest which could befall this country, short of that greatest of all, to which they would open the way—the subversion of our own hard-won independence, and the returning dominion of some European power over ourselves. I shall, therefore, vote for these resolutions, if it shall please the senate to come to decisive action upon them; and I shall vote for re-

affirming and maintaining the principles of John Quincy Adams, as defined in the Monroe doctrine, and in his policy in regard to Cuba, at all times, and under all circumstances whatsoever.

But while thus expressing my devotion to those principles, I can not too strongly express myself against the manner in which they have been brought in issue here on this occasion. The issue is made at a time, and under circumstances, which render it inevitable that we must fail, signally fail, in maintaining the great principles which it involves.

This issue is raised at a wrong time. We are more than half way through a session constitutionally limited to ninety days, and engaged with vast and various subjects which can not be disposed of without long and most discursive debate.

I think the issue is raised in a wrong way. Practically, and by custom, the president of the United States holds the initiative of measures affecting foreign relations. The president now in the executive house will go out in thirty days, and his sanction, even if we had it, would therefore be of no value. But even that sanction, such as it would be, is withheld—and, I must confess, rightly withheld. The people have elected a new president, who is just ready to enter on administration, and upon whom the responsibilities of the conduct of foreign relations, for four years at least, must rest. Not only do we not know what his opinions on this question are, but our action would anticipate the publication of those opinions, and embarrass—is it too strong an expression to say, factiously embarrass?—the incoming administration.

Moreover, we are not only required to advance in this matter without the light that executive exposition might throw upon our path, but we are required to proceed without the aid or advice of the committee to whom the care of foreign relations has been confided by the senate, and, as there is reason to believe, in opposition to their deliberate judgment.

Again, it results from the very nature of the case that a majority for the resolutions can not be obtained, either in the senate, or in Congress, or in the country.

The principles involved in the resolutions have become a tradition among the American people, and on acknowledged occasions they would act upon them as traditions vigorously and with unanimity. On the other hand, the Americans are a practical

people, engrossed with actual business affairs; and they will not act upon abstract principles, however approved, unless there be a necessity, or at least an occasion. So it has happened with the Monroe doctrine on re-colonization, and with the national policy concerning Cuba. They are thirty years old; they are generally accepted: and yet, not only have they never been affirmed by Congress, but Congress has refused to affirm them, solely for the reason that there was no pressing necessity, no particular occasion, for such an affirmation. Whenever a necessity or an occasion arises, it produces a popular sentiment or passion. The northern states are content now; they do not fear re-colonization, and do not want Cuba. The southern states are content; they do not now desire political excitement, and they are not prepared for anything that may involve the nation in war. It is not to be denied, also, that the recent unwise and unnecessary exposition of our diplomatic correspondence, throughout a period of thirty years, concerning the island of Cuba, is regarded as having created embarrassments which only the lapse of some time can remove.

The senator from Michigan seems to be aware of these difficulties, and therefore he labors to show that there is a *necessity*, or at least an *occasion*, for action. But he fails altogether in showing any *new* occasion — which, to the apprehension of the senate and the country, is equivalent to failing to show any necessity or occasion. What are his facts? First, in regard to Great Britain and re-colonization. The grasping spirit shown by Great Britain in the Maine border question, and in the Oregon question. The Monroe doctrine, as expounded by Monroe himself, declared that *existing* rights were to be respected: Great Britain asserted that her claims in those cases were existing rights. Those questions have been settled, rightly or wrongly, and have passed away. What more? The British claim on the Mosquito coast? That, also, is settled by treaty. The organization of the Bay of Islands as a distinct colony? That, too, falls within the subject-matter of a treaty. In each of these cases Great Britain has violated treaty stipulations, or she has not. If she has not, then there is no cause for any action: if she has, then the remedy is not an affirmance of the Monroe doctrine, but direct protest or war.

I give Great Britain small credit for moderation. I think she has just as much as we have, and no more. We are of the same stock, and have the common passion of a common race for do-

minion. But the country will be unable to discover that the recent events show any aggressions on her part which constitute an occasion for an affirmance of the Monroe doctrine by Congress. And now, secondly, as to Cuba. What has Great Britain done? Nothing but just what we have done. She has sent armed ships to prevent invaders from revolutionizing the island, and so severing it from its ancient connection with Spain. We have done the same. She has also proposed to enter into an agreement with us that neither will acquire Cuba, or suffer others to acquire it. We have declined. The natural conclusion would be, that she was more forbearing than we. But the senator avoids this by charging that the proposition was insincerely and hypocritically made on her part. British writers were before him in making that charge against us, founded on our voluntary revelations of our own diplomacy in regard to Cuba. I am too American to confess their charge to be just, and not enough American to fling it back upon Great Britain for mere retaliation.

What has France done by way of re-colonization? Nothing. A French adventurer, Count Boulbon, has attempted to revolutionize the Mexican state of Sonora, and failed. There is not a word of evidence to connect the French government or people with that movement. And for all that French newspapers here or in Paris may say, we know full well that just as fast as the Mexican states shall be severed from the Mexican stock, by whomsoever it may be effected, they will seek annexation, not to France or to any other European power, but to the United States. Nor has France interposed, in regard to Cuba, otherwise than as we have ourselves interposed — to keep it in the possession of Spain.

So much for the *acts* of European powers on the subjects of colonization and Cuba.

What remains of the senator's case seems scarcely to merit grave consideration. It consists, first, of ominous articles in newspapers. But even we, the most newspaper-loving nation in the world, make our designs and policy known, not through the newspapers, but by public acts and official agents; and France and Great Britain do the same. The press speaks on all occasions, but for itself always. No wise and calm statesman in either country feels himself compromised by what the press may assume to speak for or against him, much less does either government

acknowledge any necessity for avowing or disavowing what the press may allege. The language of the press of any country, therefore, even if it were general, would not warrant national action by any other government: much less would that language warrant such action when it was spoken by only one out of a thousand or five thousand journals.

Secondly, the senator from Michigan invokes our attention to what Lord George Bentinck has said in the British parliament. Well, sir, that is important, what an English lord has said, and said in parliament, too; that must be looked into. Well, what did Lord George Bentinck say? Sir, he said very angry things—very furious things—indeed, very ferocious things. Prepare yourself to hear them, sir. Lord George Bentinck did say, in so many words—and in parliament, too!—what I am going to repeat. His lordship did say that—

"He quite agreed with Captain Pilkington."

Ay, sir, his lordship did say that "he quite agreed with Captain Pilkington!" Ominous words—fearful conjunction: an English lord and an English captain! But this was not all, not by any means all that Lord George Bentinck said. He said, also—

"They would never put down the slave-trade, so long as it depended upon blockading ten thousand, two hundred and sixty miles of coast; and he would do what Captain Pilkington had recommended." And what do you think it was that Captain Pilkington had recommended? Be patient, I pray you, and hear Lord George Bentinck explain. What Captain Pilkington recommended was, "to strike a blow at the *head*, and not the *hand*. He would not send an army to destroy every individual hornet, but he would go to the hornet's nest at once!" Yes, sir; and Lord George Bentinck not only echoed all these severe things which had been said by Captain Pilkington, as aforesaid, but he said also on his own account: "Let us take possession of Cuba, and settle the question altogether. Let us distrain upon it for the just debt due, and too long asked in vain, from the Spanish government." As for the rest of the alarming sayings of his lordship, I forbear from repeating them. Are they not written in the "Appendix to the Congressional Globe" for the years 184[illegible] and 1848, published by Blair and Rives, printers of the debates of Congress, at page 607?

And now, sir, it may assuage the passion and abate the fear

that these threats of Lord George Bentinck to distrain upon a hornet's nest have excited, when I state, first, that they are old, and not new. They were uttered five years ago: namely, on the 3d of March, 1848. Secondly, that George Bentinck was a lord only by courtesy, and not a *real* lord. Thirdly, that Lord George Bentinck was in a very harmless minority in parliament when he uttered them, it being, indeed, unknown that he had any confederate in his wicked designs but Captain Pilkington. Fourthly, that this alleged speech was brought before the senate and the American people, in 1848, by a late member of this body, whose constitutional proclivity to wit and humor was so great as to justify the belief that the speech, like the Donaldson and Greer correspondence, was a hoax (Mr. W——). Fifthly, that Lord George Bentinck died some years ago; and Captain Pilkington not having been heard of for a long time, there is a strong presumption that the loss of his noble friend and chivalrous ally has thrown him into a decline.

The tone of the speech of the senator from Louisiana (Mr. Soulé) was one of complaint against the administration of our government, and against France and Great Britain. The administration was censured for austerity toward the associates of Lopez. But either it could have protected or vindicated them consistently with law and treaties, or it could not. If it could, then the senator's censures are too lenient; if it could not, they are altogether unjust. Since the day when the gifted, ingenuous, and gentle André was executed on a gallows as a spy, by order of Washington, we have known the painful delicacy of executing general laws upon persons whose motives and bearing justly excited our respect and compassion. The senator's sympathy in this case is right. It is only the perversion of it to awaken prejudice against the administration that I condemn. France and Great Britain are said to have menaced us by saying, in their correspondence, that a renewal of such an expedition as that of Lopez might endanger the peace of the nations. No such expedition can be undertaken of which it can be certainly affirmed that it will not in its consequences lead to a war. I think, therefore, that none but a jaundiced eye, such as does not belong to the president, or to the secretary of state, could have discovered the insult thus complained of, and that therefore they may be excused for having received it in silence.

The senator shows us that, six or seven years ago, Spain herself meditated the establishment of a monarchy in New Granada; and only one hundred and forty years ago, a proposition was made to the British ministry to privately seize the island of Cuba in a time of peace and friendship. These facts would have been pertinent, perhaps, if the senator had advised us to seize the Havana. But I understood him, on the contrary, to discountenance not only conquest, but even purchase, and to agree with those of us who propose to wait for the fruit to ripen, although he has been at some pains to show us that it may rot in the ripening. Indeed, Mr. President, the senator's argument seemed to me a meandering stream that visited and touched all the banks of controversy, but glided gracefully away from them, and especially avoided plunging into the depths of any conclusion.

Its tendency, I think, was to exasperate the American people against the European powers, and to irritate them. I can not sympathize with such a spirit. I would submit to no real wrong, and justify no oppression or tyranny committed by them. But, on the other hand, I will seek no factitious cause of controversy. I want no war with them. We are sure to grow by peace. A war between the two continents would be a war involving not merely a trial which was the strongest, but the integrity of our republic. Before such a war shall come, I want to see Canada transferred from her false position in Europe, to her true position on this continent; Texas peopled like Massachusetts; the interior of the continent cultivated like Ohio; and Oregon and California not only covered like New York with forts, and arsenals, and docks, and navy-yards, but grappled fast to New York and Washington by an iron chain that shall stretch its links through the passes of the Sierra Nevada and the Rocky mountains.

The senator tells us that the question of the acquisition of Cuba may be upon us to-morrow, and may not be upon us for twenty-five years. That is to say, it stands now, so far as we can see, where it has stood for twenty-five years past. But he advises us to be ready. That is just what I propose to do. And the way to keep ready is to keep cool. If we keep cool, we shall be none the less prepared, if the portentous question shall indeed come to-morrow; while, on the other hand, excessive heat prematurely generated will be sure to pass off before the expiration of the longer period.

Mr. President, let us survey our ground carefully and completely. Political action, like all other human action, is regulated by laws higher than the caprice or policy of princes, kings, and states. There is a time for colonization, and there is a time for independence. The colonization of the American hemisphere by European powers was the work of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; the breaking up of colonial dependence, and the rise of independent American states, is the work of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is a work that does not go on as broadly and as rapidly as we could wish, but it does not go backward. It goes faster than was to have been expected under the circumstances, for it began when the United States alone, of all the colonies, Spanish, French, and English, had attained adequate strength and sufficient preparation for successful self-government. European states can not establish new colonies here, for the same reason that they can not long retain their old ones. As for France, she surrendered all her continental American empire to Great Britain in 1763, except Louisiana and Cayenne. Napoleon sold Louisiana to us in 1803, because even *he* could not keep it for France. She keeps Cayenne only because it is not worth the cost of conquest. What does she want of more American colonies, to be severed from her as soon as matured?

Great Britain, too, lost in the American Revolution all her American possessions but a remnant. She keeps the remnant from pride, not interest, as Spain does Cuba. What does she want of more American colonies, to draw upon the home-treasury for defence and support, and to become independent as soon as they shall become strong? Canada is only a nominal colony or dependency. Great Britain yet retains Canada, only by yielding to her what she denied to us — fiscal independence.

And now, what does France or Great Britain want of Cuba? It is a slave-colony. They have abolished slavery in all their possessions. Should either of them obtain that island, the first act of government there must be the abolition of slavery. The abolition of slavery, too, must be made with compensation, and the compensation must be drawn from the home-treasury. Will either of them take Cuba at such a cost? And what would Cuba, without slavery, be worth to either of those powers? Let their experience in the West Indies answer. Cuba, without slavery, would be valueless to any European state. Cuba, with slavery,

can belong to no European state but Spain. Cuba, without slavery, would be worthless to any power but the United States, and John Quincy Adams was right: Cuba, either with or without slavery, gravitates toward, and will ultimately fall into, the American Union.

What, then! has France ceased to be ambitious, and has Great Britain adopted the policy that Augustus Cæsar bequeathed to Rome, to forbear from extending the bounds of empire? Not at all. France and England are unchanged. I do not know that as yet they have learned that their power can not be renewed or restored in America. But I do know that they will find it out when they try to renew and restore it again; and therefore all the alarms raised by the senator from Michigan pass by me like the idle winds. The Monroe doctrine was a right one—the policy was a right one, not because it would require to be enforced by arms, but because it was well-timed. It was the result of a sagacious discovery of the tendency of the age. It will prevail if you affirm it. It will equally prevail if you neglect to affirm it hereafter as you have refused to do heretofore. As a practical question, therefore, it has ceased to be. It is obsolete. You are already the great continental power of America. But does that content you? I trust it does not. You want the commerce of the world, which is the empire of the world. This is to be looked for, not on the American lakes, nor on the Atlantic coast, nor on the Caribbean sea, nor on the Mediterranean, nor on the Baltic, nor on the Atlantic ocean, but on the Pacific ocean, and its islands and continents. Be not over-confident. Disregard not France, and England, and Russia. Watch them with jealousy, and baffle their designs against you. But look for those great rivals where they are to be found—on those continents and seas in the East where the prize which you are contending with them for is to be found. Open up a highway through your country from New York to San Francisco. Put your domain under cultivation, and your ten thousand wheels of manufacture in motion. Multiply your ships, and send them forth to the East. The nation that draws most materials and provisions from the earth, and fabricates the most, and sells the most of productions and fabrics to foreign nations, must be, and will be, the great power of the earth.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON BUELL.*

JANUARY 31, 1853.

Mr. PRESIDENT: scarcely two weeks ago we arrested the debates of the house of representatives by a message announcing the death of a senator from Vermont. To-day, when we have not yet reached the subject assigned for discussion, the house of representatives appeals to us for condolence in its bereavement of a delegate from New York. So frequent are the monitions we receive, teaching us, that although we are the legislators of a great nation, we are, nevertheless, also subjects of a king who is not of this world, and of whose kingdom there shall be no end.

New York has thirty-four Congressional districts, according to the constitution of the present Congress. The seventeenth of those districts includes that part of the valley of the Mohawk river, which, in the revolutionary age, was the western border, but which is now the middle region of the state. At an early stage in the war of independence, Herkimer, a plebeian patriot general, fell in repelling a British force from that beautiful valley; and Montgomery, one of higher connections, gave up his life in the attempt to scale the heights of Abraham, which were the stronghold of the invaders. The Continental Congress decreed a monument to the memory of Herkimer, but the decree yet remains unexecuted. New York, more just, erased from the valley of the Mohawk the political name of Tryon, which it bore in honor of a British governor, and, dividing the region into two counties, bestowed the name of Herkimer upon that one within whose limits he had fallen, and on the other the name of the chivalrous hero of Quebec. These counties, as they now are, after many civil changes, constitute the seventeenth district of which the deceased, Alexander Hamilton Buell, was the representative. In the contest of organic principles which attended the establishment of the federal constitution, the people of that part of New

* Eulogium on Hon. A. H. Buell, a member of the house from the state of New York.

York followed the safe lead and guidance of Schuyler, Jay, and Hamilton. But when, without a change of party organization, that contest was followed by a new one, involving the principles of political action, that people came generally to the adoption of the benignant and comprehensive philosophy of Jefferson, and they still adhere to it as it was taught by himself. Nowhere, not even in that great statesman's native commonwealth, are his principles more highly cherished, and more firmly maintained, than in the region which I have mentioned; and not only there, but throughout the state of New York. We do, indeed, break into parties, and undergo changes of combination there as the American people do everywhere; but it is only as religious bodies divide and recombine, each sect striving to get nearer to the original and common standard of faith.

New York, so late as the beginning of the present century had very few considerable institutions of learning. But it was the good fortune of the deceased that he was born and reared in Fairfield, in Herkimer county, where some settlers from Connecticut had thus early founded an academy that has since given many eminent men to the service of the state.

Mr. Buell's father was short-lived, and his son's patrimony was exhausted in his education. With a mother and sisters thrown upon him for support, he engaged in the mercantile profession at home. Afterward, as capital and credit increased, he established, from time to time, branches in adjacent towns and counties. Ultimately, when the gold coast on the Pacific ocean was opened to American commerce, Mr. Buell, without giving up any of his domestic footholds of trade, extended his business into California, and the unpretending merchant of Fairfield, in New York, had also his crowded warehouses in San Francisco.

It is almost needless to say that he was a man of probity, of assiduity directed by keen sagacity, and of energy regulated by exemplary moderation. Nevertheless, had these been his only marked qualities, he would never have been among us here. He cultivated all domestic, and social, and public virtues, and so he won early and he steadfastly retained the respect and affection of the community in which he lived. They admired his fortunes, but they admired still more the man.

> "All who deserv'd esteem he made his own,
> And to be lov'd himself but needed to be known."

He reached his high position, however, not in a day, but through the exercise of care, activity, and energy, for many years. In 1845, he represented his fellow-citizens in the legislature of New York, and in 1850, he was advanced to the honors of a representative in the Congress of the United States. He brought to the discharge of that high trust the same faculties and virtues which had distinguished him in the occupations of private life. He was prompt, punctual, active, and assiduous; conscientious in the votes he gave with fidelity to the principles of his constituents, and yet tolerant of the opinions, and charitable in his construction of the motives of all others. He did not, indeed, debate. Debate in these halls either wins a great influence, or utterly wastes the speaker's power. He exercised that calmer influence which is felt by all, and the manner of which is seen by no one.

Two weeks ago he hastened back from his distant home by night, through an inclement storm, to assure his wife of the recovery of a child whom he had visited there. The disease which was to become mortal attended him to his chamber. He died yesterday morning; and although he had attained the ripe age of fifty-one years, yet he died without having encountered an ebb of fortune or of public favor. On the contrary, growing prosperity and higher honors seemed to be soliciting him to live on.

I know, Mr. President, that it is customary on occasions like this, to speak of the touching scenes of death, and to offer consolation to the bereaved survivors—and yet, sir, I can not do it. These subjects seem to me too sacred to be approached by one who, like myself, is habitually engaged in the affairs of life, and not in the contemplation of death; in the strifes of the world, and not in the peaceful offices of religion. I will say, therefore, of the manner of the death of my late colleague, only this: That it showed that he had acquired the fortitude which enabled him to pay, as became a Christian, the debt which, in common with us all, he owed to nature.

Of condolence with that weeping wife, on whom the care of his orphaned children is now exclusively devolved, and with that mother who has leaned on his supporting arm until she has passed her eightieth year with gladness, ever increasing with its increasing strength, I could speak only such words as human

reason would suggest. I know full well that the light which reason throws into the darkness of souls oppressed by such griefs as theirs, is only as the borrowed light of the moon and stars. They know better than I could tell them, how to look further and higher for a purer and holier illumination.

Mr. President, what belonged to others to do—all that they could do on this sad occasion—has been done. The bereaved partner of the deceased has closed his eyes with her own gentle hands, and ministering friends, with scarcely less of tenderness, have invested his perishing form with such habiliments as befit the grave. His colleagues from New York, all of them, from Manhattan island, with its towers and temples lost behind the masts of domestic and foreign commerce, to Niagara, screening his majesty in primeval forests, have attended that sad mourner and the precious burden she conveys to the place of departure from the capital. And this morning, before the sun had risen, accompanied by as many of those colleagues as could be spared from public service here, the procession was already on its way to the desolated mansion of the deceased, where sorrowing kinsmen and life-long friends will be in waiting to receive those precious remains and consign them to their final rest.

The house of representatives has paid an unaffected tribute of panegyric to his memory. All that remains for us to do, all that we can do here, is to respond to that tribute, as I know we shall do with the sincerity of sorrow and of sympathy, and then to show, not only our respect for the deceased, but also our reverence for the great Power who hath thus suddenly called him away from among us into the Divine presence, by abstaining for a day from the cares and the thoughts of this world, and devoting that brief period to meditations befitting those who have been thus touchingly admonished that they are journeying to a world where death can not enter, and where, to those who have qualified themselves for a gracious reception there, by faith and penitence for errors committed here, sorrow can never come.

I offer the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That the senate mourns the death of the Honorable Alexander H. Buell, late a member of the house of representatives from the state of New York, and tenders to his relatives a sincere sympathy in this afflicting bereavement.

Resolved (as a mark of respect for the memory of the deceased), That the senate do now adjourn.

RELATIONS WITH MEXICO, AND THE CONTINENTAL RAILROAD.

FEBRUARY, 8, 1853.

The following resolutions, submitted by the committee on foreign relations, were under consideration:—

"*Resolved* (as the judgment of the senate), That in the present posture of the question on the grant of a right of way through the territory of Mexico, at the isthmus of Tehuantepec, conceded by that republic to one of its citizens, and now the property of citizens of the United States, as the same is presented by the correspondence and documents accompanying the message of the president of the United States of the 27th July, 1852, it is not compatible with the dignity of this government to prosecute the subject further by negotiation.

"2. Should the government of Mexico propose a renewal of such negotiation, it should be acceded to only upon distinct propositions from Mexico, not inconsistent with the demands made by this government in reference to said grant.

"3. That the government of the United States stands committed to all its citizens to protect them in their rights, abroad as well as at home, within the sphere of its jurisdiction; and should Mexico, within a reasonable time, fail to reconsider her position concerning said grant, it will then become the duty of this government to review all existing relations with that republic, and to adopt such measures as will preserve the honor of the country and the rights of its citizens."

Mr. President: History will elucidate this subject, if we can adjust the lens so as to concentrate its rays. The great occupation of the nations of western Europe, from the beginning of the fifteenth century till near the close of the eighteenth century, was colonization, and the establishment of empire on the American continent. The year 1775 witnessed the opening of the first act in the great drama of the decolonization of this continent, the end of which is not yet. By the treaties of 1783, to which not only the revolting and belligerent colonies of Great Britain and Great Britain herself, but also France and Spain, were parties, Great Britain, who was the most able to keep her American possessions, resigned thirteen of her principal colonies on this continent, not so much because of her weakness, as because of their own already maturing strength, and the aid which they derived from the intervention of France.

Leaving out of view some sparse and unimportant settlements of Russia, the North American continent was now divided between Great Britain, which retained all the regions that lay between the St. Lawrence and the North Pole; the United States, which reached southwardly to the borders of Louisiana and Florida, and indefinitely westward toward the Pacific; and Spain, which retained the remainder, consisting of the provinces or colonies of the Floridas, Louisiana, and New Spain, now called Mexico. The United States were then governed by fixed, domestic, constitutional, representative systems and habits of government. They had long been in the enjoyment of them, although not of political independence; and the government they thus enjoyed rested upon the foundations of popular education, freedom of the press, toleration of conscience, and, above all, upon the sacredness of personal rights, secured by common law and statutory safeguard, borrowed from England, of the rights of trial by jury, and habeas corpus.

On the other hand, the Spanish provinces had been governed from the first by a foreign despotic power. The subjects of those provinces were ignorant of any system or principle of representative legislation, or of freedom of the press, or of toleration of religion, or of guaranties of personal liberty. The United States had no elements of wealth, except a soil of varied fertility, the more common and useful minerals, and access, on one side, to the sea. The Spanish provinces, on the other hand, had a more prolific soil, in a climate of surpassing healthfulness and beauty, with rich mines of the precious metals which Providence has so sparingly distributed, and access to two oceans. The United States were practically a homogeneous people, consisting of homogeneous states. The Spanish provinces had a population three fourths of which were native Indians, one eighth Creole, and only the remaining eighth Europeans.

The experiment of independence and self-government in the United States was completely successful; and with it came immediately a rapid progress in national wealth and prosperity, attended by an increase in the advance of population unknown in the experience of mankind — a tide formed of natural increase, and perpetually swelled by European immigration. On the other hand, the provinces of Spain remained nearly stationary. They caught from the United States the passion for liberty, without,

however, obtaining the elements by which it could be preserved. They proposed to secure for themselves the institutions of civil liberty; but they borrowed the form only, while the spirit which gave it life refused to attend it.

These were the relations, and these the conditions of the United States and of Spanish North America, at the commencement of this century. This century has thus far exhibited two political processes, continually going on upon this continent. The first, that of general decolonization; and the second, that of a decay of Spanish American power, and the aggrandizement of the United States of America. Spain ceded Louisiana to France in 1800, and in 1803 France conveyed it to the United States. Apprehensions were felt at that early day, in New Spain, that the United States might advance so as to encroach upon that territory; and those apprehensions were fearfully confirmed when the United States, having first taken possession of portions of the provinces of Florida, obtained, in 1819, a relinquishment of them by Spain. Texas was, for a time, uninhabited, and seemed to promise that it would remain a barrier for New Spain, or Mexico, against the United States. Becoming rapidly peopled, nevertheless, Texas asserted its independence; and then the hopes of Mexico, for its own security and safety, rested upon the chance that Texas might remain an independent power, or put itself under the sovereignty of some European state, which would prevent its annexation to the United States. But these expectations signally failed; and, in 1845, Texas came into the United States, with possessions then understood by most of us to reach only to the river Nueces. The war with Mexico, which grew chiefly out of that annexation, and out of the attending border question, resulted, as we all know, in the direct dismemberment of Mexico, and the annexation to the United States of what remained to Mexico of the state of Texas, together with the states of New Mexico and Upper California, by which the United States advanced to the bank of the Rio Grande, and across the continent to the shores of the Pacific ocean.

We have thus seen the action of one great American idea upon Mexico; that was the idea of national aggrandizement. But, at the same time, another great American idea was operating indirectly for the embarrassment of Mexico; and that was the idea of civil liberty, guarantied by institutions of federal republican

government. The United States, from the first, or from an early day, determined that there should be no European colonial power remaining on this continent which they could prevent or remove, and therefore they fostered a spirit of revolt in Mexico; and when Mexico, in her revolution, or after her revolution of 1821, arrived at the point where she must definitely choose her form of government, the United States recommended to her, with success, the principles of federal republicanism, which were adopted. The short-lived empire of Iturbide was abolished, and, in 1824, Mexico adopted a constitution, which, in its most important characteristics, is identical with our own. During the twenty-nine years which have since elapsed, Mexico has had no repose. She has been rent often and in every part by the struggle between the North American principle of federalism, and its antagonist, the European principle of centralism. The people will bear no government but a federal one. Some wise men in Mexico have continually maintained that no other government than a central one can be upheld there. The army has decided the contests, as bribery or caprice has swayed its chiefs. The history of Mexico, since 1824, is only a history of the contest between these organic principles. The central principle has partially prevailed, for periods amounting in the aggregate to eleven years; while the federal republican principle, and the constitution of 1824, have prevailed during the remaining nineteen years. The war between the United States and Mexico ended, as you remember, with the treaty of peace commonly called the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

I invite now the attention of the senate to two provisions contained in that treaty. In the fifth article is the following provision:—

"The boundary line established by this article shall be religiously respected by each of the two republics; and no change shall ever be made therein, except by the express and free consent of both nations, lawfully given by the general government of each, in conformity with its own constitution."

The twenty-first is in the following words, to wit:—

"If unhappily any disagreement should hereafter arise between the governments of the two republics, whether with respect to the interpretation of any stipulation in this treaty, or with respect to any other particular concerning the political or commercial relations of the two nations, the said governments, in the name of those nations, do promise to each other that they will endeavor, in the most sincere and earnest manner, to settle the differences so arising, and to preserve the state of peace and friendship in which the two countries are now placing themselves, using, for this end,

mutual representations and pacific negotiations. And if, by these means, they should not be enabled to come to an agreement, a resort shall not, on this account, be had to reprisals, aggression, or hostility of any kind, by the one republic against the other, until the government of that which deems itself aggrieved shall have maturely considered, in the spirit of peace and good neighborship, whether it would not be better that such difference should be settled by the arbitration of commissioners appointed on each side, or by that of a friendly nation. And should such course be proposed by either party, it shall be acceded to by the other, unless deemed by it altogether incompatible with the nature of the difference or the circumstances of the case."

In 1842, before the war between the United States and Mexico occurred, General Santa Anna, a brave, talented, and energetic soldier, who has, during his long and active political career, sometimes given a compelled assent to the federal principle, but who seems, nevertheless, to have been all the time a centralist at heart, had attained the provisional executive power. During his administration, Don José Garay, a citizen of Mexico, and a favorite of the dictator—for all dictators have their favorites, and I am sorry to say that Santa Anna is not the most pure of that class of magistrates—Don José Garay, and other members of his family, obtained from Santa Anna, besides the monopoly of opening the passage across the isthmus of Tehuantepec, four other monopolies—*one*, the exclusive right to navigate with steam the Rio Grande; a *second*, the exclusive right to navigate the river Panuco; a *third*, the exclusive right so to navigate the river Muscala or Zacatula; a *fourth*, the exclusive right of connecting Vera Cruz by railway with the city of Mexico; connected with a fifth, an *averia* or assessment upon the customs of the port of Vera Cruz. I am informed that the products of that *averia* have exceeded one million dollars. With that vast sum of money a railroad has been made from Vera Cruz toward the capital of Mexico to the length of thirteen miles and no more, within a period of ten years.

It was on the 1st of March, 1842, that Don José Garay approached the dictator with a precious offering of the incense of flattery. He reminded Santa Anna that he had caused the Mexican people to look to his administration as one of a new and gigantic advancement in the career of national aggrandizement. He suggested to him that the great project with which the world had been engaged for near three centuries, of opening an interoceanic communication across the continent, was yet to be undertaken, and declaring that the mind was bewildered with the difficulty of embracing in one comprehensive view the astonish-

ing consequences that must follow so great an achievement, he concluded that a great revolution would take place in the commercial, and even in the political affairs of all nations, when it should be effected; and that the epoch which should see it effected would be more memorable than that of the discovery of the continent, and the name of him under whose auspices it should be consummated would be at least as glorious as that of Columbus. And then Don José Garay proposed, of course, that he should be authorized to undertake this grand work. The execution of the work was committed by Santa Anna to his favorite, with vast concessions of land and privileges, by a contract made under the decree of the date which I have mentioned. It is claimed by the committee on foreign relations that that contract, after having passed through the hands of intermediate British assignees, has come now to be vested in the hands of American citizens, and that it is still in force; while the Mexican government refuses to allow it to be executed by them. The assignees have appealed to this government to put forth its power, to enforce upon the Mexican government the duty of carrying it into effect. The committee, in this view of the case, have submitted the resolutions which have been read.

My first remark upon these resolutions is, that the responsibility of adopting them is a very great one. They are somewhat vague in their language. But, inasmuch as they pronounce that there shall be an end to pacific negotiations, except upon a condition which it is not expected Mexico will assent to, a review of existing relations in the event of her expected refusal, and finally that such measures shall be adopted as the dignity of the country and the interests of our citizens shall require, they look toward, although they do not distinctly point at, some measure of hostility, of reprisal, or of war. It seems to me that the senate is not now in a proper condition to assume that responsibility. One third of this body will go out in less than thirty days from this time, and their places will be filled by those who are not now here. A resolution adopted when the senate is changing, may convey advice which will not remain the opinion of the senate through the next Congress. Again, the president of the United States is a co-ordinate power with the senate in the conduct of foreign relations. He has the responsibility divided with us; and we are not now in a condition to have the benefit of his

advice, and to give to the country the benefit of his share of the responsibility which is to be assumed: for the present president will go out in less than thirty days, and within that time a new one will come in, whose opinions are quite unknown.

It would be discourteous to the incoming chief-magistrate, under such circumstances, to conclude ourselves by an action like this. This discourtesy by itself would be a matter of small moment; but, in all national transactions, discourtesy between co-ordinate branches of the government is liable to result in permanent differences of opinion, in controversies; and by such controversies, in this case, we should embarrass the incoming administration. It is quite apparent that the probability of adopting any right and effective measure would be diminished by a disagreement between the president and the senate. These objections would seem to me to be conclusive for the postponement of these questions, unless those who press their consideration now can guaranty that the course which they recommend will receive the approbation of the incoming president. If they are able to give us such a guaranty, and will produce the evidence of it, this objection will be removed.

But, Mr. President, if it be the pleasure of the senate to proceed in the consideration of these questions, then I have to examine their merits as briefly as I can. In the first place, I ask the senate to take notice that all these resolutions assume—but I admit not without a fair show of argument—first, that the American assignees of Don José Garay have a complete, perfect, and absolute title to the right to open a communication across the isthmus of Tehuantepec; and, secondly, that Mexico unreasonably and unjustly refuses to permit them to do so, according to the terms of the grant which they exhibit.

My first answer to these assumptions is, that the contract under which this title is claimed, and upon which it is founded, expired by its own limitation eighteen months after the grant was made. The senate will please take notice that this grant was made by General Santa Anna on the first day of March, 1842; that the surveys were to be made by Garay within eighteen months; and that the work was to be actually commenced within twenty-eight months, which would expire on the first day of September, 1844. So the period of limitation has arrived and passed, it being admitted on all hands that that limitation was a condition of the

grant. The contract then is void, unless it has been shown by the committee on foreign relations that it has since been renewed or extended. The committee say it has been extended, and they produce a decree of General Santa Anna of the 28th December, 1843, by which it was extended to the first of July, 1845. Well, the extension is at an end, for that day also has passed. So the contract then ceased, unless it has been still further extended. The committee say that it has been further extended by a decree of Salas, the provisional president of Mexico, dated fifth November, 1846, by which the time for commencing the work was prolonged to the fifth of November, 1848, within which time the committee say the title vested in the American assignees, and the work was actually commenced. Now, it will be seen, in the first place, that the commencement of the work before the 5th of November, 1848, was indispensable to the continuance of the contract, even on the assumption of the committee. The committee *say* that the work was begun within that time. I have not been able to find proof that it was begun, in the papers which have been sent to us by the president. Indeed I think it quite clear, from all the papers submitted to us, that even the preliminary surveys, which were to be made within a period of eighteen months from the date of the grant, were never actually made. But, however this may be, on the 22d of May, 1851, near three years after the decree of Salas prolonging the contract, the constitutional congress of Mexico enacted a decree in these words: —

"The decree of November 5, 1846 [the decree of extension by Salas] is declared null and void, because the powers with which the provisional government of that period was invested were insufficient to authorize it. Accordingly the government will see that this declaration is rendered in every respect effective in regard to the privilege granted to Don Jose de Garay."

Here, then, is a grant made on the 1st day of March, 1842, by the provisional president of Mexico, and here is a law of the congress of Mexico, passed on the 22d of May, 1851, abrogating the grant. The grant, then, has been abrogated and is void, unless the contrary can be shown. The committee on foreign relations have undertaken to show the contrary; and they took three positions: first, that the congress of Mexico had no power to repeal the decree of Salas; second, that Salas was the government *de facto* of Mexico, and that his acts, as such, bound that nation, especially when an interest had become vested in a foreigner.

The third is, that Mexico has, since the decree of Salas, recognised the existence and the validity of the grant, notwithstanding the congressional decree of repeal. I shall briefly notice these replies in their order. The first position of the committee is, that the congress of Mexico had no power to repeal the decree of Salas. By the constitution of Mexico, the federal constitution of 1824, if in force at the time, not only had congress power to repeal the grant, but no power but congress had authority to make any such grant. I refer the senate to the fifth section of the constitution of Mexico, which constitution is here: —

"Sec. 4, *art.* 47. Every resolution of congress shall have the character of a law or decree."

"*Art.* 49. The laws and decrees shall be for supporting the national independence, the union of the states, and peace and order; to maintain the independence of the states; to secure an equal proportionment in the assessment of taxes.

"*Art.* 50. The exclusive powers of congress shall be the following: * * * "

"*Part.* 2. To augment the general prosperity, by decreeing the opening of roads and canals, and their improvement, without preventing the states from opening or improving their own; establishing posts and mails; and securing for a limited time to inventors, improvers, or those who introduce any branch of industry, exclusive rights to their respective inventions, improvements, or introductions."

This is the constitution of Mexico, and the exclusive power to make such a grant upon the isthmus of Tehuantepec was reposed in congress, and was never in the president, according to that constitution. But, what is more, the power of *congress* was limited. Congress, while it had an exclusive power to make canals and railroads without interfering with the states, had no power to open the isthmus so as to interfere with the rights of the states of Vera Cruz and Oaxaca, which occupied it. The provisional president, Santa Anna, who had come into power in an interregnum of the constitution of 1824, under certain conventions called the conventions of Estanzuela, and certain bases called the bases of Tacubaya, modified and adopted by those conventions, had, in 1842, given to his favorite a grant, which, for want of compliance by the grantee with its conditions, had expired and was void.

In 1846, the government established by Paredes, and administered by Bravo, was in power. A revolutionary movement, distinguished as the revolution of the citadel, deposed Bravo and recalled Santa Anna, then in exile, and *ad interim* advanced Salas, a brigadier-general, to the supreme executive power. He came into that office on the fourth of August, 1846, and limited his own powers by the terms of the plan of the citadel, and proclaimed

the re-establishment of the constitution of 1824. Here is the decree of Salas, which I have translated and copied from the book of the decrees of the Mexican republic, which lies before me: —

"*Ministry of Foreign Relations of Government and Police.*

"His excellency, the señor general-in-chief, in the exercise of the supreme executive power, has directed to me the following decree:—

"José Mariaño de Salas, general of brigade, and chief of the liberating republican army, in the exercise of the supreme executive power, to all whom these presents may come: Know ye, that in consideration of the state in which the republic is now found, he has been moved to decree the following:—

"ART. 1. Until the new constitution is published, that of 1824 shall govern in all that is not in conflict with the execution of the plan proclaimed in the citadel of this capital on the 4th of the present month, and that the present state of affairs of the republic will permit."

Thus Salas was in power, acknowledging the constitution of 1824, and self-bound to support it, when, on the fifth of November, 1846, he made a decree, extending an already expired grant, which was equivalent to making the grant itself, which grant was in direct conflict with the constitution. He exercised no absolute power, but a qualified dictatorial power, which was limited by the constitution, and by the bases of what was called the act of the citadel.

We have, then, the decree of Salas, provisional president, extending this contract for two years; and we have, in the first place, the constitution of Mexico, declaring it void. Here is one ground upon which the constitutional congress, on the 22d May, 1851, abrogated the decree of Salas.

It is now necessary to go back in the history, to bring into review another ground. Santa Anna, in 1842, was president under the bases of Tacubaya, and the conventions of Estanzuela. By the sixth basis of Tacubaya, all the decrees to be made by the president were directed to be submitted to the first congress (a central constitutional congress) that they might be approved or rescinded. The grant to Garay was made of course subject to that basis. So also was the other extension which was made previously to the one granted by Salas, in his decree of the 5th of November, 1846. Santa Anna never submitted the decree of March 1, 1842 (by which the original grant was made), to congress, and so that grant was held for that reason to be void by the congress, which abrogated it on the 22d of May, 1851.

It will be said that Santa Anna had abrogated that sixth basis of Tacubaya. The facts are, that on the 3d of October, 1843,

Santa Anna issued a decree to the effect that the responsibility of the acts of the provisional executive to congress, created by the bases of Tacubaya, and the conventions of Estanzuela, *was merely a responsibility of opinion, that none of his acts could be annulled*, and that the contracts entered into by the provisional executive were inviolate.

It will be seen that even this decree recognises the bases of Tacubaya, because it treats of the responsibility of the executive, which was established by the bases of Tacubaya. Then this decree of Santa Anna was not a subversion of the central constitution, and sixth basis of Tacubaya, but only a palpable perversion of them, for the purpose of increasing his own administrative power. Did that stand? Was that left the law of Mexico? No. On the first day of April, 1845, the first central constitutional congress of Mexico was in session; and this decree of Santa Anna, absolving the executive from responsibility to congress, came under review, and they, on that day, adopted an act revising and abrogating this decree of Santa Anna, and declared that his responsibility was a direct one, that no act of the executive was valid unless it was submitted to congress, and that no act was valid that was submitted to them and rejected, or not approved by them. So, then, the central constitution was in force on the first of April, 1845, and the executive power was limited to the making of contracts, subject to approval by congress; and the original grant to Garay was, by virtue of the bases of Tacubaya and this constitution, rendered void, by reason that it was not submitted to congress, and approved by them.

I am aware that this examination has led us through a tempestuous season, in which civil government was often overborne in that unhappy fraternal republic. But I have shown, that during the time of the extension of this grant by Salas, the legislative power was in force, and that in that respect the constitution was in absolute effect. I ask the senate now to consider two propositions. First, that every citizen and every foreigner knew, or ought to have known, of the limitations of this grant, when taking an assignment of it, and that he knew he took it at whatever hazards attached to it by virtue of the constitution and the reserved power of congress; and the second, that the constitutional government of the United States, and especially the senate of the United States, is bound to make, and will make, every

fair, and just, and liberal intendment in favor of the wounded constitution of a people who have struggled with so much fidelity and so much energy, through seasons of anarchy at home, and of aggression by a foreign power, to preserve a constitution modeled and copied after our own. It is not here that I expect to see intendments prevail in favor of dictators and usurpers, even in Mexico.

The honorable and distinguished chairman of the committee on foreign relations (Mr. Mason) has already furnished his replies to this argument. First, he says that the constitution of 1824 contained a provision that the congress should have no power to pass an *ex-post-facto* law, and that congress should have no power to pass a law impairing the obligations of contracts. I rejoin: a law of congress refusing consent, which it was stipulated that congress might give or withhold, is not an *ex-post-facto* law. A contract which, by its terms is not valid, if congress shall disapprove, is not impaired by the decree of congress refusing to approve it. Secondly, the chairman replies that Salas, nevertheless, was the government *de facto* of Mexico, and that his acts bound the republic of Mexico, especially where foreigners had obtained an interest. I rejoin, with great respect, that Salas was not an absolute president, nor even a president at all; but he was *de facto* the head of the government, subject to the constitution of 1824. He obtained power, I confess, irregularly; but he exercised it under the constitution, and was thus a limited and constitutional executive.

But the committee on foreign relations make a still further reply, which is, that the Mexican government has, since the 6th of November, 1846, the date of Salas's decree, recognised the existence of this grant, and the validity of its assignment to the American claimants. I shall examine with great deference the evidence which they give of this recognition. The committee rest their assumption, first, upon the fact that, in 1846 and 1847, the assignment of the grant to Manning & Mackintosh was duly notified to the government of Mexico, and on their complaint, President Herrera issued orders to the governors of Oaxaca and Vera Cruz, to prevent the cutting of mahogany on the granted lands, by any others than those acting under their authority. I rejoin: the notice given by Manning & Mackintosh to the government of Mexico, and relied upon by the committee on

foreign relations, is not produced. It is not here. No assignment has been produced, except that made on the 26th of July, 1847, which was an assignment by Garay to the British proprietors, Manning & Mackintosh, and Snyder & Co., and which notice was given to the Mexican government after the decree of Salas, and was an assignment expressly limited to the lands ceded by the grant of Santa Anna, and it excluded the privilege of opening the isthmus of Tehuantepec. I rejoin, secondly: the assignment was made under the conditions annexed to the grant of Salas; and the assignees took the benefit of the acceptance of the notice, with an express acknowledgment that the right to open the isthmus of Tehuantepec remained in Garay, and had not been at all ceded to the assignees; and, consequently, whoever held it after that period, held it subject to the condition prescribed in the decree of Salas—that foreigners taking the benefit of the assignment should be denationalized.

But what was the effect of these orders of Herrera, the president of Mexico, to the governors of Oaxaca and Vera Cruz? They were orders to prevent depredations and trespasses on those lands by anybody except those who claimed to have obtained them under the grant ceding the lands to Garay; but it appears that the government of Mexico at that time understood that those claimants did not claim the right to open the isthmus, and only asked protection for the enjoyment of their lands. That protection and enjoyment of their lands has never been denied by Mexico. But even if this were not conclusive, there is another point. If the president of Mexico could not make such a grant, he had no power to make an admission, the effect of which would be to establish the grant. If the president of the United States should admit that half the state of Maine, or any part of it, belonged to Great Britain, that admission would not affect the boundary-line of Maine in the least.

The committee rest their assumption, secondly, upon the fact that

"In 1847, while the treaty of peace was under negotiation, Mr. Trist, the commissioner on the part of the United States, by instruction from his government, proposed a large money consideration to Mexico for a right of way across the isthmus of Tehuantepec, and was answered 'that Mexico could not treat on this subject, because she had, several years before, made a grant to one of her own citizens, who had transferred his right, by authorization of the Mexican government, to English subjects, of whose rights Mexico could not dispose.'"

On this point the Mexican government explains, that the grant to which their commissioner alluded, in making this reply, was

the grant of Garay, and the assignment to Manning, Mackintosh, and Snyder, of which the Mexican government then had notice; which assignment, as I have before shown, was an assignment of *the lands conceded with the right*, and not of the right to open the isthmus of Tehuantepec; which last-mentioned right, according to the notice which had been served upon them, expressly remained in Garay. This is a sufficient answer, until the committee can show that the Mexican government knew that some other assignment had before that time been made, conveying the privilege, and that notice of that assignment had been received by the Mexican government. But suppose the Mexican commissioner did make a statement which was unintentionally, or even intentionally erroneous in point of fact—would that statement divest Mexico of her right? The law of *estoppel*, which prevails between individuals in conducting their own affairs, has never been, and never can be, applied to the intercourse between nations who are passive, and whose communications with each other are always carried on by agents possessing such measure of capacity and of virtue, as they may happen to obtain.

The committee rest their assumption, thirdly, upon the facts as stated by them, that—

"After the assignment of the grant to the present American holders, the minister of the United States in Mexico was instructed by his government, to apprize that of Mexico of the desire of this company to commence their work by a thorough survey of the isthmus; and the minister was further instructed to make overtures for a treaty securing to the enterprise the joint protection of the two governments. The Mexican government, as we learn from the correspondence of Mr. Letcher with the Mexican minister of foreign relations, 'made not the slightest opposition in forwarding passports, and issued orders to the departments of Oaxaca and Vera Cruz, not only to avoid interposing any obstacles in their way, but, on the contrary, to afford them aid and hospitality.' 'The engineers,' Mr. Letcher adds, 'were accordingly sent, the ports thrown open for their supplies, and more than $100,000 have been expended in surveys, opening roads, &c., besides a large sum of money in furnishing materials,' &c."

Will the senate look into these papers? They will find that, although we have the letter of John M. Clayton, secretary of state, of the date of February 20, 1850, to Mr. Letcher, our minister in Mexico, informing him that Mr. Hargous had notified the department that he was the representative of the claim in this country, and had employed engineers, whom he wished to send to Mexico for the purpose of making surveys, and requesting Mr. Clayton to give such instructions, yet we have not the letter written by Mr. Letcher to the Mexican government, asking for the passports and instructions; and so we have no evidence whatever

of what communication was made, and upon what communication by Mr. Letcher to the Mexican government it was that the passports and the orders to the governors of Oaxaca and Vera Cruz were given. Without this knowledge, unless the passports which were obtained, and the orders which were issued, recognised the validity of the grant, the transaction implied no recognition of a right. I will not trespass upon the senate by reading these Spanish passports. They are like all other passports, mere printed circular letters of protection, given by a Mexican consul at New Orleans to foreigners travelling into Mexico. They are such as any American citizen, whether engineer or any other, belonging to New Orleans or to New York, obtains from his own government whenever he sees fit to go abroad.

Here is the letter of the Mexican minster of foreign affairs to Mr. Letcher, which accompanied a copy of the orders issued to the governors:—

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
MEXICO, *April* 5, 1850.

ESTEEMED SIR: I have the honor to enclose to you a copy of the order of this day, directed to his excellency the governor of Oaxaca, for the object which it expresses; another copy of the same will be sent to the commandant-general of the said state.

I hasten to give information of the same; repeating myself your attentive servant, who kisses your hand. J. M. LACUNZA.

His Excellency R. P. LETCHER, &c., &c.

And here are the orders themselves:—

Mr. Lacunza to the Governor of Oaxaca.

MEXICO, *April* 5, 1850.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR: Several American engineers having been appointed for the purpose of examining the possibility of opening the communication between the two seas, by way of the isthmus of Tehuantepec; and desirous as is his excellency the president, during their travels in your state, that they should meet with no embarrassments, but, on the contrary, be treated with all hospitality, he has been pleased to direct that his wishes should be communicated to you, as I now have the honor to do officially; repeating, at the same time, the assurances of my esteem.

God and Liberty! LACUNZA.

His Excellency the GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF OAXACA.

There is nothing in the letter, nor in the orders, which recognises the validity of the Garay grant, or of any title of any assignees under it. It is utterly preposterous to ground upon this act of courtesy and hospitality by the Mexican minister of foreign affairs, a recognition of the validity of the grant to Garay, or the assignments to those who claim under him.

The committee rest their assumption, fourthly, upon the facts stated by them, as follows:—

"This is not all: the government of Mexico at once assented to enter into negotiations for the proposed treaty; and a convention for the joint protection of the work

thus to be executed by American citizens, as assignees of the Garay grant, was concluded at Mexico, in June, 1850, and sent to the United States. To this convention certain modifications being suggested by the secretary of state, at Washington, it was returned to our minister in Mexico, and the whole terminated by a new convention, signed at Mexico, on the 25th of January, 1851, with the approval of President Herrera. This last convention was ratified by the senate of the United States, and returned to Mexico, and finally rejected by the Mexican congress, in April, 1852."

The committee do not mean to be understood — it would be discourtesy to them, it would be unfair to suppose they meant to be understood — that the facts that the president of Mexico signed one treaty, which was sent to the United States and rejected by them, and then signed another and sent it to the United States, and it was accepted by them, and returned to Mexico, and rejected by the Mexican Congress, which had power to reject it, constituted a recognition of any fact recited in either of those incomplete treaties. That would be to draw the recognition of the validity of a claim from an attempt to negotiate a settlement of it. All pretence that Mexico has in any way compromised herself by these negotiations will disappear from the case when I shall show the history of them. The first treaty was made during the time of that good, just, and true old man, Zachary Taylor, and in the time of the administration of the state department by that distinguished and accomplished diplomatist and just negotiator, John M. Clayton. Here is the first article of the first draught of the treaty which was sent to Mexico: —

"ART. 1. Individuals upon whom the Mexican government may *have bestowed* or may *bestow* the privilege of constructing a road, railroad, or canal, across the isthmus of Tehuantepec, and those employed by them, shall be protected in their rights of person and property, from the inception to the completion of the work."

Not only is there no recognition of the American assignees of the Garay grant, and no recognition of that grant itself in this article, but there is a careful exclusion of any such statement.

Here is the fifth article of that treaty of Mr. Clayton's: —

"ART. 5. In any difference which may arise between the *undertakers, either the present or the future*, of the work, which may involve the loss of the right to the privilege, the complaining party shall draw up a statement of its pretensions and motives, and a similar statement shall be drawn up by the other party, and both statements shall be submitted to two arbiters who hold no diplomatic appointment or commission, and who reside in the Mexican territory. One of these arbiters shall be appointed by the holders of the privilege, and the other by the government of Mexico; and these two, in case of disagreement, shall appoint a third, with the qualifications above required, and from the decision of these arbiters there shall be no appeal or recourse whatsoever. Of all other questions which may arise, the Mexican tribunals shall take cognizance."

But then came into power the successors of General Taylor and Mr. Clayton; and then also reappeared Mr. Peter A. Hargous,

a merchant, claiming to be the representative of this grant; and then it began to appear that there was a speculation behind this great enterprise, more important to the government of the United States, and more objectionable to the government of Mexico, than the enterprise itself. Here is precious evidence of it: On the 26th day of August, 1850, Peter A. Hargous wrote a letter to the secretary of state, in which, after reviewing the treaty of Mr. Clayton, which had then been remitted by Mexico, duly signed by the ministers of the two governments, he said, referring to Mr. Letcher:—

"I trust, therefore, that you will pardon me for suggesting that it might be advisable that he should be officially informed of the movements above adverted to, and instructed to lose no time which can be saved in bringing his negotiation to a speedy and satisfactory close."

Mr. Webster complied with this request of Mr. Hargous, and made a new draught of a convention, carefully recognising the Garay grant. Here is the first article of it:—

"Art. 1. The person to whom the government of Mexico may have granted or may in future grant the privileges for constructing a road, railroad, or canal, across the isthmus of Tehuantepec, pursuant to the decrees of that government of the 1st of March, 1842, 9th of February, 4th of October, and 29th of December, 1843, and 5th of November, 1846; all those employed in the works of construction, and all others who may reside on the territory within the limits defined by the grant according to the terms of the grant itself, shall be protected in their persons and property from the commencement of the work until its completion, and during the period for which the privileges are granted."

The decrees here recited are those which conveyed the grant to Garay. So Mr. Webster rejected the treaty drawn by Mr. Clayton, sent to Mexico and accepted there, which did not recognise the Garay grant, and sent back a treaty which did, in express words, recognise it, and he instructed Mr. Letcher to try to get this treaty adopted by Mexico. On the 22d of October, 1850, Mr. Letcher reported his ill success in these words:—

"I submitted to the notice of the minister of foreign relations the several alterations you desired to make to the Tehuantepec treaty, expressing at the same time the confident hope that his excellency would find no difficulty in readily yielding his assent to each and all of them. In reply to this observation, he remarked, his government had been most severely and shamefully censured for agreeing to the treaty *as it now stands;* that he was sorry to say it was quite unpopular in his country; that he himself had been denounced as a vile traitor for the part he had taken in it; still he was resolutely determined, he said, fearless of all consequences, to do any and every thing he could to carry out in good faith a measure of so much importance to the two republics."

* * * * * * * * * *

"A further discussion of an hour ensued. He adhered most obstinately and fiercely to his objections. Whereupon I took the liberty to tell him, in very plain language, I was not at all satisfied with his opinions, or with his reasons; and therefore requested to be heard before the president and his cabinet upon the points in dispute."

Sir, I should like to see what answer the minister of any power on earth would receive, who should come to the secretary of state of this nation, and tell him that he was not at all satisfied with his reasons and his opinions, and demand a hearing before the president and cabinet? What is just and right for one power is just and right for another. If we exact justice or courtesy from the strong, we should concede it to the weak. Mr. Letcher obtained his hearing before the president, as will be seen from his report, in these words: —

"To this he cheerfully agreed; and the next day at 11 o'clock was the time fixed upon for this meeting by the *permission* of the president. At the appointed moment, I found the president and his cabinet all in attendance. They gave me a cordial reception, and the most attentive and respectful hearing imaginable, for an hour and a half; and, upon taking leave, I was assured, in the kindest manner, I should have everything I desired that they could possibly give me."

* * * * * * * * * *

"The chief arguments urged against the amendments in question appear to be these:

"1. That they infringe upon the sovereignty, the honor, the dignity, and national pride, of Mexico.

"2. To adopt them would be at once to paralyze, to disgrace, and in short to overthrow, the present administration.

"3. That a treaty with such provisions would be rejected by the Mexican congress (probably) without a single dissenting voice, and therefore would be of no use to the United States, while at the same time it would be the ruin of the party in power."

Mr. Letcher then appears to have tried what virtue there was in threats. Here they are: —

"Since the final decision was had, the president and every member of his cabinet have manifested the deepest concern lest you should be displeased at the result. General Arista, who is the master-spirit of the government, is exceedingly uneasy. Every day or two a message is sent by some of the members of the cabinet, expressing regrets, and hoping I am not dissatisfied. The only answer I have made is, 'Mexico has committed a great error.'

"It may also be proper to add, during the various discussions which took place in relation to the points in dispute, I availed myself of a suitable occasion to say, in the event Mexico refused to enter into a fair treaty for the protection of the enterprise, my government, in justice to her own citizens, who had made large investments in the undertaking, was determined to take the affair into her own hands."

Now, let us hear the answer of this exotic and wind-shaken branch of the ancient and chivalrous family, which, on its native peninsula, once gave laws to both hemispheres. Here it is; and it will remain imperishable, as the answer of an oppressed but high-minded and generous people: —

"Your government is strong; ours is weak. You have the power to take the whole or any portion of our territory you may think fit; we have not the *faculty* to resist. We have done all we could do to satisfy your country, and to gratify you personally. We can do no more." * * * "What is required of us we can not grant. If Mr. Webster knew our exact position—if he knew the precarious tenure by which we hold power, the violence and strength of the opposition, the refractory spirit of the states, and the peculiar prejudices of our people—*surely* he would not exact such terms."

But Mr. Webster did exact. Castilian pride gave way. Arista and his ministers succumbed; and the Tehuantepec treaty, with its odious recitals, was signed. And now for the result. Hear the report of the minister, Mr. Letcher:—

"LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
"MEXICO, *April* 8, 1851.

"SIR: The Tehuantepec treaty, I regret to say, was rejected last night by the chamber of deputies, a bare quorum being present, in a few minutes *after it was submitted by the government for consideration, by a vote of seventy-one to one.* The result, so far from being a matter of surprise to me or to any one else in this country, was most confidently anticipated. The few deputies who were favorably disposed toward the measure, knowing perfectly well that they would be instantly denounced as traitors to their country in case they voted for it, deemed it expedient to absent themselves from the chamber when the vote was taken.

"Such was the intemperate and uncompromising hostility to the Garay grant, that no Mexican in or out of the chamber, not even those who held a direct interest in it, dared to whisper a single word in its support. In fact, the *deputy who voted for the ratification declared his judgment was opposed to it in every particular, but fearing its rejection might occasion another war between the two countries, he felt compelled to vote for it.*

"It is altogether impossible to make a treaty having the least connection with the Garay grant."

That is Mr. Letcher's report. And now I ask my honorable friend from Virginia where it is in these negotiations that he finds that Mexico recognised the validity of the Garay grant?

I have no hostility to the Garay grant, or to its assignees, or to their enterprise. I therefore shall hold my own mind in reserve, to form a favorable judgment upon them in future, instead of endeavoring to bring other senators to the conclusion that the grant is invalid, or that the assignment is unavailing; and I will now present the deductions I make from the case, which I have thus traced out by history and argument, in a negative form, to wit: First, that the committee on foreign relations do not show that the American assignees have an existing title to the right to open the isthmus of Tehuantepec; and, secondly, that they do not show that the validity of the grant has been recognised by Mexico since its abrogation by the Mexican Congress.

Here I might leave the question; but in that case I should leave undone what it is the duty of some senator to do, viz: to exhaust the subject, and present fully the grounds of the votes which must be given against the resolutions before the senate.

You will perceive that hitherto I have assumed, in this argument, two things: First, that the grant to Garay was assignable; and, secondly, that an assignment was made by Garay, which has come to be vested in the hands of American citizens. Proceeding upon these assumptions, I ask you to take notice of an-

other important point in the case. It is indisputable that whatever conditions Salas attached to his decree entered into the assignments when made. Let me show you the conditions imposed by Salas:—

"ART. 13. It shall be an express condition in all contracts with colonists, that they shall renounce the privileges of their original domicil so long as they reside in the country, subjecting themselves to all the existing colonial regulations which are not in conflict with the present law.

"ART. 14. The enterprise shall submit for the approval of government all contracts which it shall make for the introduction of families and laborers, and it shall keep a public and authentic register of all its transactions in respect to all matters of colonization."

I have translated these conditions from the record of the decree, which is before me. Let me show what was the contemporaneous exposition of them given by Salas, and which accompanied the approval of the assignment. Here it is:—

"*According to the spirit of the aforesaid law, this renunciation must take place in the most positive and conclusive manner on the part of the settlers, so that, whatever circumstances may happen, and whatever measures these may require, neither the settlers aforesaid nor the proprietors may, in any case, nor for any cause, plead alien privileges, nor any other privileges except those which have been granted, or may be granted, to them by the laws of the country to which both their persons and their property must be subjected; and without this requisite they will not be admitted.*"

Here are American citizens claiming the extension of this grant, by an assignment which was made upon the express and published condition of an absolute denationalization; and yet we are interposing in their behalf, upon the ground of the very privileges of alienship, which they renounced to acquire the rights, and we are claiming rights for those who, if they have an assignment, are held by it to have renounced altogether their citizenship of the United States. We are required to make reprisals or war against Mexico, for violating their rights under that very contract. Let us see how, in point of fact, the assignees stand in regard to this assignment. You will take notice that no assignment was ever publicly known, or communicated to the Mexican government, before the decree of Salas, extending the grant; but after the decrees of Salas, Garay made known to the Mexican government that before the decree he had made an assignment to Manning & Mackintosh, and Snyder & Co. They have never produced that previous assignment, to this day. It is not among the papers before us. Whether such a one was ever made, and whether it was fraudulent; whether it contained what they said of it or not, there is no evidence; but the only

evidence they have is a title by an assignment subsequent, reciting that they had a transfer made before the decree. Here is the notice which Garay gave to the Mexican government of the assignment which he had made to those parties:—

"With these views [those concerning colonization], I succeeded in concluding a contract with the house of Messrs. Manning & Mackintosh, and Snyder & Co., *independent of that for constructing a way of communication between the two seas*, by which [contract] those gentlemen are to introduce settlers on the lands."

The fifth article in that very deed of assignment recited that Garay did not convey to them, but actually reserved to himself, the right to open the isthmus, in these words:—

"*That by this transfer on the part of the covenanter, Don José Garay, it is not to be understood that he confers upon Messrs. Manning & Mackintosh, and upon Snyder & Co., any right whatever to carry* ON NAVIGATION FROM ONE SEA TO THE OTHER;",

And then grants them the navigation of the little river on this side of the isthmus (Coatzacoalcos), so far as may be necessary to the enjoyment of their lands; and then adds, as a further and superlative precaution, an additional reservation of non-interference with his privilege of interoceanic communication. On the 13th of January, 1849—to wit: two months after the expiration of the two years of extension allowed by the decree of Salas—Manning & Mackintosh announced to the Mexican government, "*that Don José Garay had transferred to their house the privilege of constructing a way of communication between the two seas, by the way of the isthmus of Tehuantepec.*" *On receiving this note, the Mexican government acted decidedly and promptly, reminding the assignees that that part of the grant was untransferable, and also that the whole grant was extinct; the last extension granted by Salas, like all the preceding ones, having expired without commencing the work.*

It remains on this point only to say, that whatever title any American citizens may have, they have only the same title which Manning & Mackintosh, and Snyder & Co., had, with all its imperfections on its head.

I shall omit the question whether the original grant of Santa Anna to his favorite, Don José Garay, of the privilege of opening the isthmus, was assignable. The Mexican government say that it was not; that Garay was intrusted to execute a great national work as a mere agent. If such a question as that should arise in the United States, what should we say? The

president of the United States every day issues commissions to individuals to perform certain duties. Congress every day pass laws authorizing individuals to build custom-houses, &c. I would like to know who there is, in Congress or out of it, that would admit that an administrative officer, or an architect upon a public building, has a contract which he can assign to a foreigner, and thereby convey to a foreign power the right to tell us that we must execute the contract with its subjects.

[Mr. Downs: I would ask the senator to state, if this contract be not assignable, why it was that the Mexican government declared to Mr. Trist that it was assignable, and that it had been assigned? Is not the Mexican government as competent to decide that question as the senate of the United States?]

If my honorable and very esteemed friend from Louisiana, who argued this case with great ability the other day, had not had his attention diverted, he would have seen that I have already anticipated the question which he has propounded to me. I threw out this view of the subject to show that what Mexico insists upon has at least the merit of plausibility. I ask only that it be so considered. It is enough for my purpose that, according to the view which I have taken, the committee have not shown the validity of the assignment, and the validity of the title of the claimants.

I ask you now to consider what are the unreasonable demands which Mexico makes, and which it is supposed that we can not allow; and I shall take that in the words of the honorable chairman of the committee on foreign relations [Mr. Mason]:—

"In all the propositions which have since emanated from the Mexican government, in their proposals inviting new companies to construct this work, they have imposed limitations and restrictions which must discourage all from attempting it, or which would have the effect, if complied with, of leaving that work exclusively in the charge of the Mexican government. The propositions are of this character: the contractors are required, in the first place, to acknowledge the unqualified sovereignty of Mexico over the transit, and her right to impose any political charges whatever upon persons or property passing over it. They are required to acknowledge a concurrent right in the government of Mexico to fix the corporate charges. They are required to agree to place their mail-steamers under the national flag of Mexico, and all their vessels are to be subject to tonnage and lighterage duties. They are required to agree to transport no troops or munitions of war across the isthmus, except with the express permission of Mexico. They are required to discriminate in favor of such nations as shall guaranty this monopoly, by deducting twenty-five per cent. from the corporate charges in their favor; they are required to transfer the work at cost to Mexico, and, more than all, those who are there constructing this work are required to renounce their right to the protection of their own governments, and become *de facto* Mexican citizens."

Now, sir, you see what the whole difficulty is; that what is claimed for these American proprietors is that they shall not be

obliged to denationalize themselves, but that Mexico shall be obliged to denationalize herself; that the Congress of the United States, or the citizens of the United States, shall have control over the commerce of the isthmus in all the particulars which have been read from the speech of the honorable senator. Now, consider the condition of the United States, which I will not portray; consider the present condition of Mexico, which I need not describe; consider the character of the population of the United States and of Mexico, which I need not illustrate; consider the extent of the franchises thus insisted upon, and tell me what result can happen to Mexico, by her conceding what is demanded of her, short of a dismemberment, sooner or later, of the Mexican nation, a dissolution of the federal union of the states, and the extinction of the republic of Mexico, even if, while we are here, that extinction has not already come about. Sir, in that case, Mexico will not be a self-sustaining power. She must be sustained by somebody. Except the United States, there is no American power that can guaranty the maintenance of a government in Mexico. The United States will not consent that any European power shall guaranty the preservation of a government there. The Monroe doctrine, and the traditions cherished by us, prohibit that. What then? As a consequence of making these concessions, Mexico must fall into the United States.

Mr. President, I began this examination, if not in favor of the propositions of the committee, at least favorable to a result which would enable me to support these claimants. The result is not satisfactory. I am obliged, therefore, to say that I can not vote to sustain the resolutions. I will now briefly review the points made by the committee, in my own order. And first, this point is made by the committee:—

"That the United States stands committed to all of its citizens, to protect them in all their rights abroad as well as at home, within the sphere of its jurisdiction."

I hope the senate has considered the length and the breadth of this proposition. I am obliged to ask some modification of it. I am glad to know that I have the support of Mr. Hargous, who has charge of this claim, and also of the late distinguished secretary of state. What is the opinion of the New Orleans company upon that subject? Mr. Hargous tells us, in his letter to the late secretary of state, Mr. Webster, when invoking the intervention of the government:—

"They are aware that, in ordinary cases, it is not the practice of the United States government officially to interfere in behalf of citizens of the United States, who may complain of the violation of a contract which they may have entered into with a foreign government; but, inasmuch as all general rules have their exceptions, and as the interest of the American government and public, and especially those of the citizens of the west and southwest, are largely involved in the success of the Tehuantepec enterprise, they flatter themselves that in any just complaint they may have cause to prefer against the Mexican government, they shall receive the hearty protection of their own.

"Your answer upon this point especially is respectfully solicited, and will be anxiously awaited."

Here are these proprietors, telling the government of the United States that they know that what they ask for is *an exception* to the law of nations, as practised by this government. There is the honorable committee on foreign relations, telling us that the rule is universal. I shall subscribe to this rule with some qualifications, which I will submit to the consideration of the senate. The first qualification is, that the rights of a citizen, which the government is bound to protect, are just rights, not unjust ones; that they are not unjust, unconscientious, or immoral rights. [Mr. Mason: What is a just right?]

I say just rights, in distinction from legal rights. According to the honorable senator's notions and mine, there are things that are right because they are declared by law. There are things that are right whether they are declared by law or not. The second qualification is, that the rights which the government is bound to protect must be certain and absolute, not uncertain or doubtful. Third, that the right of the individual to the protection of his government is subordinate to the general welfare and interest of the state. Upon this point, as the honorable chairman of the committee will give some authority, I will repose myself on Mr. Webster's reply to the letter of Mr. Hargous, which I have already submitted:—

"Should the event prove otherwise, however, it can not be doubted that in such a case, in which *the interests of individuals would be obviously subordinate to those of the public*, any other means which might be necessary for your protection would be authorized and employed."

The protection which a government owes to its citizens is a protection according to circumstances — a protection consistent with public justice and the public welfare. The government may discharge itself of its obligations in some cases, by leaving the individual to maintain his domestic rights in the domestic courts, and it may leave the citizen who has rights under a for-

eign government to seek redress from that government in its courts or otherwise. There never was and never will be a government which can be under an obligation to its citizens, by which one of them, having, for the purpose of commerce or speculation, made a contract with the subjects of another country, or with the government of another country, can, *ipso facto*, involve the nation to which he belongs in reprisals or war, to compel that government to execute its contract. That would be to enable one citizen, at the suggestion of his own interest or caprice, to put in jeopardy the interest, welfare, happiness, or safety, of all other citizens. Least of all can there be any such principle of the law of nations applied in a case where the contract is disputed, or of doubtful morality or validity. This disposes of the first proposition of the committee.

Their second proposition is: —

"That should Mexico, within a reasonable time, fail to reconsider her position concerning said grant, it will then become the duty of this government to review the existing relations with that republic, and to demand such measures as will preserve the honor of the country and the rights of its citizens."

This is a corollary from the first proposition, and falls with it. Their third proposition is: —

"That, in the present posture of the question, it is not compatible with the dignity of this government to prosecute the subject further by negotiation. If Mexico, therefore, shall offer further negotiation, it shall be declined, unless it shall be offered based upon our own terms."

This, also, is a corollary from the first proposition, and falls with it. Moreover, if it be consistent with the dignity and honor of this nation to abide by its treaties — treaties solemnly and sacredly made — then it is consistent with the duty of the United States, and it is their bounden duty, either to tender to Mexico, or to wait for Mexico to tender to them, a proposal to submit this dispute to an arbitration consisting of two persons, one of whom shall be named by each power, or to the arbitration of a foreign nation. This disposes of the resolutions of the committee.

Mr. President, I am approaching the end of this long discussion, and I shall now dismiss Don José Garay, his grant, his assignment, his assignees, and their grievances. I come to a second ground, which has been assumed, not so much in the report as in the speeches of the honorable senators who support these resolutions, viz.: That the United States have a public

interest in opening the Tehuantepec communication as an oceanic connection, which renders it the duty of the United States on this occasion to adopt the resolutions submitted to us upon this subject. I have to say, in the first place, that as any defect in the Garay claim, or in the assignments of it, can not be cured by the existence of a coincident public interest on the part of the nation, so also this public interest which is thus brought before us is not aided at all by the Garay claim. If it is the right of the United States to compel Mexico to enter into a stipulation to open the way, that right is absolute and independent of the Garay grant, whether that grant be valid or otherwise. Upon what ground is it that the committee on foreign relations claim this right? Hear the honorable chairman of that committee:—

"I come now to look at this question in another point of view. I lay it down, without hesitancy and without fear, that we have a right to a way across Tehuantepec. According to public law, this government may demand of Mexico a way across Tehuantepec; and Mexico can not refuse it unless she becomes disloyal to the general compact of nations. What is a right of way? Every one is familiar with that. It pertains to individuals in life, as it pertains to nations. I understand that writers upon public law derive it from that primitive state, when the entire earth was common to all men, and passage over it was free to all, according to their varied necessities. Such was the nature of this right before government was formed, or their institution of separate property ordained. By these, the right in question was only limited in its exercise; it was not destroyed: and it revives and resuscitates whenever there is a necessity making the way indispensable. It is illustrated in familiar life every day. If I purchase a piece of land so surrounded by the possessions of him from whom it is derived that I have no way out to mill or to market, I may take it, as a right incident to the acquisition. It is a principle resulting from necessity, and is modified as circumstances may require. A way impracticable in its use is the same thing as no way at all; and such is the exact posture of our present way across the northern continent. We purchased California from Mexico, paid a large equivalent for it, and we have in fact no way across our own continent to get to it."

That is, the law of nations gives us the right to cross the isthmus of Tehuantepec, and it is an absolute right. As it is by virtue of the higher law, higher than treaties, higher than the constitutions of the United States and of Mexico, the law of God, which is the law of necessity, it is a perfect right. I have to say on this argument, in the first place, that when we had such a right, one so perfect, and descending to us so directly from Almighty power and Divine justice, it was most bungling diplomacy to rest that right upon the grant of the Mexican government to Don José Garay. I have to say, in the second place, that while I might not deny that we have the right to a way across Mexico, there is still another question which the honorable senator has not disposed of. I remember a comedy which I saw acted once, in which the parents of two lovers sought to

prevent their union under a mutual mistake. It resulted in their flight and marriage; and when they presented themselves for forgiveness, the parents found that just exactly the union which they had desired and studied to bring about was what had taken place, and which they had opposed, under the supposition that each had some other party in view. The father of the groom was obdurate. The father of the bride said: "Well, now, will you not forgive your son? Have you not got your own way, after all?" The inflexible parent replied: "Yes, I have got my own way, but I have not got my own way of having it." Now, I ask the honorable chairman of the committee, whether besides having an absolute right, by the higher law, to the road across Mexico, we have a right to our own way of having it? I think not.

But, sir, the honorable senator supposes that this right of way over Tehuantepec inures to us by virtue of a higher law, upon the ground that a portion of our territory is behind Mexico and another portion before Mexico, and it is necessary for us to pass through Mexico in order to go from one part of our possessions to another, like a farmer who has a right to go to another part of his own farm over another man's lands. I remind the senator that we voluntarily placed ourselves behind Mexico; and I think that if I go and take a farm behind another man's farm, or the soil under his farm, I have no right to reach that new possession by going across and over, or upward and through, his farm.

Fourthly. At the time we acquired our possessions on the Pacific, we applied to Mexico to give us this very right of way across the isthmus of Tehuantepec, and she gave us good reasons why she thought she would rather not. We assented and waived the demand, and permitted her to rise from the earth, upon which we had prostrated her, without surrendering this right. Now, I think it is too late to insist upon it.

Fifthly. If our real object in obtaining the right of way across the isthmus of Tehuantepec is to open an interoceanic communication for our own benefit, and for the welfare and benefit of mankind, the right has already been offered for our acceptance, and the offer is still open. What has been already quoted proves this. But, for greater certainty, hear your minister, Mr. Letcher: —

"Recently I have had several earnest conversations with Mr. Ramirez, regarding the treaty of Tehuantepec. Our interview, two nights ago, lasted upward of four

hours. His excellency, upon each occasion, manifested great concern upon the subject, and was evidently very much surprised at my *apparent* indifference. It is quite obvious he *now* feels sensibly the responsibility of his position. I listened calmly and patiently to all he had to say. He reiterated, in strong language, what he had often previously declared, that the treaty, in its present form, could never be ratified by the Mexican congress; that any attempt on the part of the government to favor its approval, would end in nothing but its own immediate downfall; that he was sorry to say the feeling of his country, at the present time, against the United States, was exceedingly strong; so much so, that no one in power could venture to advocate a more intimate association with that country; that he was altogether satisfied the interest of Mexico, and in fact that of the whole commercial world, demanded the contemplated connection between the two oceans; that, so far from throwing obstacles in the way of that connection, Mexico was fully prepared to go every reasonable length to secure that great object; that Mexico was poor and oppressed, but, so far as he had it in his power to guard and protect her honor, he was determined she should not only be free from just reproach, but should stand upon elevated grounds before the world, in every particular, in reference to a matter of so much importance; that although she had been, and was at this moment, badly treated by many of my countrymen, still, from motives of sound policy, she was disposed—and such was his own sincere wish—to concede to the United States, in preference to any other power, all the privileges which might be necessary to accomplish the greatest enterprise of the age; but that, in the event of such concessions, no allusion must be made to the Garay grant.

"'Leave out that grant, say nothing about it, and I am ready,' said he, 'to enter into a treaty with you which I think will be satisfactory to both countries.'"

Hear, also, the letter of President Arista, of the 15th of April last, to President Fillmore:—

"Among the differences enumerated by your excellency, there is no one which can produce any serious difficulties between the two republics: for Mexico has always been disposed to consent to the opening of a communication through the isthmus of Tehuantepec, for the free and untrammeled commerce of the whole world; in this respect she agrees entirely with the ideas and principles expressed by your excellency in your last message to Congress. Her government has given assurance of this in all its official acts; the explicit and full confirmation of this intention your excellency will have remarked in the *projet* for a treaty, which the minister of foreign relations presented on the 3d of January last, to the minister plenipotentiary of the United States, as a substitute for the treaty then pending, but which presented insuperable difficulties in the way of its being approved. The same feeling now exists—for even after this sentiment had been misunderstood by Mr. Letcher on the one side, and reproved by Congress on the other (as shown by rejection of treaty), as late as yesterday, a bill was introduced into the house of deputies, imposing on the government the obligation to proceed immediately to open the communication by Tehuantepec, and authorizing it, at the same time, to make use of all the means that it may judge proper and necessary for the attainment of the object. These facts, presented in an authentic form, prove most indisputably that Mexico, far from opposing this great work, encourages it as much as possible; and must conclusively shows that *it* can not be a cause for disagreement between her and the United States.

"But by the side of this merely apparent difficulty there is one, which is so in reality, not from its own intrinsic character, but from the circumstances which are connected with it. These are found in the pretensions advanced by the agents of the New Orleans company, who appear to be determined that the opening of the communication shall take place *in no other way*, except under the privilege granted to Don José Garay. This pretension (which Mr. Letcher believes himself bound resolutely to uphold) has caused the utter failure of all pending negotiations, by blocking up all the doors to a prudent compromise; it is altogether incompatible with the decree of Congress, which declares the privilege of Garay to have become extinct, in consequence of the illegality of its extension; under such circumstances it was impossible to negotiate a satisfactory treaty, and if negotiated, nothing would have been gained by it; for Congress was determined to reject it."

Now, sir, you have only to contemplate one more grade in the humiliation to which you have brought Mexico, to bring compunction to your heart. Here it is: Mexico has not only offered you this very right, on the condition that you would relinquish the Garay grant, but she has offered to indemnify—ay, to indemnify the assignees of the Garay grant, for pecuniary losses.

"In answer to a suggestion or two I had the honor to offer, I understood his excellency to say, in so many words, in order to avoid all difficulties that may probably arise, in case the treaty shall be rejected, Mexico is willing to indemnify the holders of the Garay grant, and also the New Orleans company, for the money they have heretofore expended in the enterprise.

"In my despatch of the 29th of October, I mentioned that the minister had used this remark, in substance: 'Mexico is prepared to stand all the consequences that may result from a rejection of the treaty.' I am now pretty well satisfied he meant *pecuniary consequences*, and nothing more."—*Letter to Mr. Letcher.*

Senators, behold here the fundamental error in all these transactions—the error which might have been, and ought to have been, perceived—a private speculation, with which the government had nothing to do, combined, mingled, confounded with a great national enterprise—a private speculation, undertaken on public account. A great national interest brought down to the mire, and polluted by contamination in an association with private speculation. Now, I ask, is it not high time to separate this private speculation from this great national world-wide important concern? Sir, our dignity as well as our interest requires us to review our own position, and not to ask Mexico to reconsider hers—to retrace our own steps—to dissolve our connection with this New Orleans company; to dissolve the connection of our government with speculators—speculators, whether upon the levee on the Mississippi, or upon South street on the East river—to dismiss them to the remedies afforded by the nation with which they have contracted—which remedies are the only ones they have a right to expect, or, in making their contract, could have contemplated. Then prosecute this great design of interoceanic communication across Mexico, by fair, open, single-handed, single-hearted diplomacy. The isthmus of Tehuantepec will be opened in good time. It can not long remain closed against the spirit of the age. The advance of our country, and of civilization throughout this continent, assures that it will be opened.

But you want it opened now—you can not wait. There is no urgency, there is no haste for Tehuantepec. You want, first and

most, a communication which shall bind New Orleans, and Washington, and New York, on the Atlantic, with San Francisco, on the Pacific. The safety of your country, the safety of its Pacific possessions, demands such a communication—not over oceans exposed to all nations, and through a foreign territory occupied by a discontented, aggrieved, and probably hostile people, but inland, and altogether through your own country. You want, for your own use, for your own commerce, and for the commerce of Asia, a road which shall have the advantage of the best Atlantic and Pacific harbors which can be obtained, with one continuous connection by land, so that there shall be no necessity for reshipment between the Atlantic and Pacific ports—not a way between ports yet to be artificially made, on the Caribbean sea, and on the Pacific coast, with changes from land to water-carriage requiring breaking of bulk at least twice in the course of transit.

If you aim to erect a high commercial structure, you must lay your foundations broadly in agriculture, in mining, and manufacture; and all these within your own domain; and use the resources which God and nature have given to you, and not those which Providence has bestowed upon your neighbors. And you want, for the same reason, a passage across the continent of your own, not shared with any foreign power, and through your own domain, and not through a foreign domain. If you will be the carriers of Europe and of Asia, if you will be the carriers in even your own interoceanic commerce, you must receive, you must convey, you must deliver merchandise, within your own temperate zone, not within that torrid zone whose heats are noxious to animal and vegetable productions, and, while so deleterious to the articles most abundant and most essential to the subsistence of man, pestilential also to human life itself. This is the communication across this continent which you want.

But I shall be told, as I have been told by the advocates of these ill-starred resolutions, that a railroad across our own domain is not feasible. I shall give but a brief answer to that—an answer in the letter of an illiterate man, whose experience enables him to bear conclusive testimony:—

WASHINGTON, *February*, 1853.

SIR: I have the honor of replying as follows to your note of the 2d instant, making certain inquiries regarding the practicability of building, and the best location for the

proposed Pacific railroad, that I think it is perfectly practicable, and the best route will be found by going into the valley of the Rio Grande at Albuquerque, and thence crossing over by the Moqui villages, and Little Colorado river to Walker's Pass in the Sierra Nevada, and from there down the San Joaquin valley to San Francisco.

I have crossed from New Mexico to California by four different routes, namely: Cook's Sonora route, the Salt river route, that recently followed by Captain Sitgreaves's party, and the old Spanish trail; and the one I have before described (Captain Sitgreaves's) is, in my opinion, decidedly the best. It is shorter, more direct, and has more timber and level country, fewer mountains, more cultivated, and perhaps more cultivable land than any other route.

I have trapped on nearly every stream between Cook's route and the Great Salt lake, and am well acquainted with the region of country between these places.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant.

ANTOINE LEROUX.

Hon. William H. Seward.

I shall be told, that if it be feasible, the length of the road is so great as to deter us from attempting it. What is it? Two thousand miles. What are two thousand miles of railroad for the people of the United States to make, who within eighteen years past, have made twelve thousand miles? The railroads which have been made in the state of New York alone, have an aggregate length of two thousand three hundred and one miles, exceeding the distance from Lake Erie to the Pacific ocean. And if you add the canals, the chain would reach from the banks of the Hudson river to the shores of the Pacific ocean. The railroads already made in the United States, if drawn out into one lengthened chain, would reach from Liverpool to Canton. The railroads which have been made and are now being made in the United States, if stretched continuously along, would more than encircle the globe. Again, I shall be told of the cost of this railroad. And what will be its cost? One hundred millions of dollars. A cost not exceeding the revenue of the government of the United States for two years only—a cost not exceeding the revenue of the federal and state governments for one year. One hundred millions of dollars; why, we have offered that sum for one island in the Caribbean sea! One hundred millions of dollars; why, New York city spent one sixth of that sum in supplying itself with water, and grew all the while! One hundred millions of dollars; the state of New York has already spent, in making canals and railroads, one hundred and thirteen millions, and prospered while spending it as never state or nation prospered before. That one hundred millions of dollars, if it should never be directly reimbursed, will be indirectly replaced within ten years, by the economy which it would enable us to practise in the transportation of the army, and of the supplies of the army

and navy over it, not to speak of the still more important benefits of bringing the public domain into cultivation, and into increased value, and developing rapidly the mineral wealth of California, which can be only imperfectly realized now, because labor on that side of the continent is worth four dollars a day, while it is worth but one here.

I shall be told there are constitutional difficulties, and political dangers attending the opening of this railroad, stretching across our own country to San Francisco. Does, then, our constitution authorize us to make a canal or a railroad through a foreign country, and inhibit such a work in our own? If there is a right under the constitution for that, why is there not for this? What new gloss of the constitution, or the resolutions of 1798, invests us with the one power, and deprives us of the other? Political danger! Is there less political danger in opening a passage through a foreign country, exposed to the hostilities of an armed people, and of rival nations, than in peaceably opening a passage through our own possessions, beyond the reach of foreign powers, and even unobserved by them? But grant that a railroad can be made through the isthmus of Tehuantepec—can you manage and control that road, as you demand that Mexico shall permit you to do, without overturning, sooner or later, the states of Vera Cruz and Oaxaca, through which it will pass? Can you do that, without breaking your treaty obligations to Mexico? No, sir; the national power which controls and manages that road, with only the small states of Vera Cruz and Oaxaca on the route, will soon overcome them. If you take those two states, will you leave the remaining twenty states of Mexico? Will the other twenty consent to remain out of the American nation, when you have taken the two principal states, and have cut off their communications with the Caribbean sea and the Pacific ocean? Not a day. Will you consent that anybody else shall have them? Not you. Will they consent that anybody else shall have them? Not they. So you will have Mexico.

Well, before you conclude upon this important matter, consider well whether you have settled the preliminaries, and prepared the way for receiving the twenty-two states of Mexico. If you have, pray enlighten *me*. Will they come in slave-states, or will they come in free-states? Can you admit them as slave-states? Can you take them in as free-states? Can you adjust the balance

between slavery and freedom? If not, can you save the Union from convulsion? And if you plunge the Union into convulsion, can you tell me whether you can bring us out in safety? Well, suppose that these preliminaries are all settled. Those states can not govern themselves now; can they govern themselves better after they are annexed to the United States? No. Will you govern them? Pray, tell me how. By admitting them as equals, or by proconsular power? If the one, you must have an army perpetually there to suppress insurrection. If the other, still you must have a standing army in the provinces, ultimately to come back and open the same disastrous drama of anarchy, civil war, desolation, and ruin at home, which the armies of Mexico have enacted there. If you bring them in as states, have you settled the question whether you are to govern them, or whether they are to exercise self-government, and so govern you? Have you reached that point in your charity that you will be willing to be governed by five millions of Indians in Mexico?

These are no idle questions. They are coming upon us, and they will be here when Mexico, exhausted by internal factions, and by resistance to your own aggressions, shall implore you to give her rest, and peace, and safety, by admitting her to your confederacy, as before long, in any event, she surely must and will do. That time is coming soon enough without hastening it. Why hasten it? You answer that you want a passage across the continent by way of Tehuantepec. Have you not more passages already across your own domain to open, than you can open in twenty-five years? Have you not more land already than you can people in fifty years? Have you not more gold and silver than you can dig in a hundred years? These dangers are real, but only real if precipitated. Time will speedily fill the regions which you already possess with a homogeneous population, and homogeneous states; yet even long before that event, so soon to arrive, shall have come, this nation will have acquired such magnitude, such consistency, such strength, such unity, such empire, that Mexico, with her one million of whites, her two millions of mixed races, and her five millions of Aztecs and other aboriginals, can be received and absorbed without disturbing the national harmony, impairing the national vigor, or even checking, for a day, the national progress.

Wisdom, justice, and magnanimity, combine in recommending

to us the moderation, the forbearance, the pity, which Mexico, exhausted by efforts, simple, sincere, and earnest, at once to imitate our political virtues, and to defend herself against our hostile encroachments, so touchingly implores, and which our faith, plighted amid the ruin of her most precious hopes, and with compunctions on our part, never before, and nowhere else betrayed in our diplomacy, so solemnly enjoins.

I submit the following as a substitute for the resolutions:—

Strike out all after the word "*Resolved*," and insert:—
That the United States can not suspend diplomatic negotiations with Mexico without tendering to that power, or waiting a reasonable time to receive from it, an offer of arbitration, according to the terms of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

DUTY ON RAILROAD IRON.*

FEBRUARY 24, 1853.

Mr. President: I regard the propositions submitted by the senators from Illinois and Virginia as synonymous. I think it requires no prophet to foresee that, to suspend the duty on railroad iron for three years, will be virtually to suspend it indefinitely—that is, to repeal it altogether.

When I consider the magnitude of this subject, I am struck with surprise at the circumstances under which it is presented. It amounts to no less than this—to a derangement of the entire fiscal system of the government of the United States, and a disturbance of the industry of the country, shaking the credit and bringing into confusion the very resources of the government. And under what circumstances does this grave question come before the senate? Has it been recommended by the executive administration? No. Has there been a complaint brought before Congress, by any portion of the American people, that the present system is erroneous, and requires to be revised or modified? Not at all. Has any committee of this senate recommended such a change? Not one. On the other hand, the finance committee, which had recommended it, has retreated and abandoned the ground. Who is it that brings this proposition here? And

* Speech against the proposal to abolish or suspend the duty on foreign railroad iron.

under what circumstances and in what manner is it done? It is brought before the senate by a member from the state of Virginia, on the sole ground that the state of Virginia has instructed him—Virginia alone, one of the thirty-one states—Virginia not seconded, and alone. And at what time? Why, in the very last week, and in the very last hours of the session of Congress, when the health, the patience, and the capacity of the members have been taxed to extreme endurance, we are brought to the consideration of a question which can not be disposed of safely, not to say wisely, without carefully examining the whole fiscal system of the government. The measure before us proceeds upon the ground that we have gold to send to England and to Russia for iron; that we are rich, and can afford to ship gold to buy railroad iron, leaving our own iron and coal, inexhaustible as they are, to rest in our own mines. Sir, there was a king once who was as rich in proportion, and as independent, and as proud, as we are. Crœsus was that king; and when a barbarian chief came to see him in his court, he displayed his treasures before the amazed savage—glittering heaps of bright yellow gold. The barbarian looked upon the treasure, and said: "It is all very well; but whoever comes upon you with better iron than you have, will be master of all this gold." We shall find it so in the end.

Sir, I think my votes have shown that I have a correct appreciation of the great advantages to the United States which have resulted from the acquisition of the gold of California. But if I were required to choose to-day between the wealth that slumbers in the Sierra Nevada, and colors the sands in the bottoms of the streams of California, and the iron that lies in the unopened mines of Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey, I should decide, promptly decide, at once, to renounce the gold and save the iron. But when I have enumerated these states, I am conscious that I am only on the verge of the iron region of this broad continent. It extends through Vermont, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and Nebraska. Sir, we are making iron roads across this continent. And what is now proposed? It is to bring the iron from England to make roads over the iron and coal beds of the Alleganies, and of Missouri, and our western territories. There must be an urgent necessity for this, or the senate would not, under such circumstances as these, listen to a proposition so novel and extraordinary, so contrary to all our settled principles

of political economy. What, then, is the need for such a measure? Is it that your revenues are already too great, and must be diminished? It can not be that, because you have never before either appropriated so liberally, or had occasion to appropriate so liberally, for the great objects of the government. You have an unpaid debt of one hundred millions of dollars. You have got a new and vast territory to fortify, to secure, to make fast. It is the whole Pacific shore, as yet not knit fast, not even connected with the middle and Atlantic regions of our country. You have not only to build customhouses and mints there, but you want also docks, fortifications, and increase of your naval forces, harbor defences, and everything that belongs to national power, in California and Oregon. And you want not only this, but also an increase of the strength of the military arm to fulfil your treaty stipulations with Mexico, and protect that unfortunate country from the depredations of savages within our own unexplored wilderness. And while you want all these things exterior to the defences of the old states, what are you doing elsewhere? You are exploring the rivers of South America and the shoals of the Pacific ocean, and opening the ports of China and Japan. And, together with these mighty enterprises, what are you doing here? You are enlarging to twice their present capacity the dimensions of the capitol and the patent-office — laying out streets and squares, and building statues and monuments. You are supplying the capital, as you ought to do, with pure and wholesome water, and with light; and are embellishing it to render it worthy a great nation and a refined people. No one has proposed — indeed, it is the furthest possible from the idea of any gentleman in this chamber to propose — to reduce the appropriations. You even multiply and increase salaries and pensions. The appropriations ought not to be reduced, and can not be reduced. But, strange to say, while you are increasing appropriations largely — profusely — many will think wantonly — you are at the same moment diminishing the revenue which supplies them. Well, have you ascertained whether this diminution will bear a just and proper proportion to your expenses, so that you will be able to carry on the great and munificent enterprises of the government? If you have, I pray you to enlighten me. Who will tell me how much this remission of the duties on railroad iron will diminish the revenues of the government? No

man can answer whether it will reduce them one, two, or three, or five millions a year. According to the best judgment I can form, and according to the experience we have had heretofore, we are to have a reduction of the revenue of the government, by an amount of three millions a year, for so long a period as this remission of duties shall continue. If you can dispense with three millions of revenue, come up to the actual relief of the people, and surrender the public domain from which you exclude actual settlers, except they pay a dollar and a quarter an acre, and which yet even with that tax yields less than the three millions which you are striking off by this measure.

Now, unless you are going to diminish the amount of appropriations also—and I have shown that you are not going to do it—you can not wisely adopt this proposition, unless you have some other source of revenue to replace what has been dispensed with. And what will you tax in the place of foreign iron? What else can you tax if you can not tax that manufacture and that mineral production of a foreign country which is at once most abundant and most necessary in your own?

I agree with the senator from Pennsylvania. I can understand the proposition of *free-trade*. It is an intelligible theory, and at some future period down the vista of years, it is probable that the world will come to understand that universal *free-trade* is the wisest and most beneficent system of fiscal administration for any government and for all governments; and so far as that forms the principle upon which this measure proceeds, I hail the introduction [illegible]. But free trade involves not one only but two principles, not only absence of imports, but direct taxation to support the government. I call, then, upon those who support this measure of free-trade, to defend it upon that principle [illegible] upon that principle, by bringing in a bill for direct taxation [illegible] which will replace revenues surrendered. They will not do that thing. I say, then, that it is a spurious measure [illegible] to relinquish the duties upon the introduction of [illegible] and yet supply no equivalent by either retrenchment or [illegible] must result in one of two things—in the creation [illegible] debt, or the impairing of the strength and vigor [illegible] government.

I [illegible] to remit the duty on railroad iron. It seems [illegible] objectionable, on the principle to which I have al-

luded, that it disturbs the general adjustment of the revenues upon all the business interests of the country. In other words it is unequal—therefore partial and unjust. The burden of the measure must fall upon a few states, and upon a few citizens in those states—upon a single class of laborers, and upon capital invested in a single enterprise. What! Are you going to strike off three millions of the sixty millions of revenue at the cost of two or three states, and at the cost of one class of laborers, and at the cost of capital invested in a single enterprise. Who will justify that? To me this question is as indifferent as to any other senator here; for, whatever you do to favor railroad capital and enterprise, will benefit my constituents on Manhattan island, and throughout all the commercial towns and cities, and more directly in New York. Whatever you do to stifle manufacture, and quicken commerce at its expense, that will inure more directly to the benefit of the state which I represent, than to the benefit of any one of the states of other senators who may vote for it. The city of New York will bring in all your iron, and will have all the profits upon the purchase, and the shipping of it, and not one of the hundred dealings and transactions in foreign iron, which will intervene before it is fastened down on the railroad, will fail to pay a profit to the New York capitalist, broker, carman, or merchant. We, therefore, with but little capital invested in iron production and manufacture, and with our capital chiefly invested in commerce, will have the first and greatest benefit of this measure. But although this consideration occurs to me to reconcile me as readily as any one to what is proposed, I can not conceive it possible that any man would ask me to vote to strike off three millions of revenue, at the cost of the manufacturer of railroad iron, without expecting that I would in reply ask him why not strike it off from other iron, from iron imported in some other form or for other useful purposes, from iron used in the manufacture of spades, hoes, ploughs, nails, ship-building, cotton, woollen, and sugar manufactories, bridges, and public as well as private architecture.

Sir, no one will propose to strike off the duty which is imposed upon the iron that is imported for such purposes as I have mentioned, as well as for making those articles, with which the ingenious mechanic and the plain country smith supplies the family and farming wants of society. Every one here would be ashamed

to propose that, for the same reason that I am ashamed and mortified when a foreigner comes to my table and I am obliged to own that the shovel and tongs, and the andirons at my fireplace, and the knives and forks on my table, and everything else he sees and touches, whether for use or ornament, is made by the foreign mechanic and artisan, to the prejudice of labor, industry, and art, in my own country. But I think it is far deeper reproach against our national pride, spirit, and patriotism, that we should bring iron from abroad to make roads over our own ore beds; and thus with plenty of labor, plenty of money, plenty of iron, and plenty of coal, yield ourselves up to dependence, not only upon foreign money, but foreign enterprise, genius, and skill. I am shocked by such a want of nationality. What is the reason of it? We want cheap iron. Well, what is the reason that iron is dear? Because the demand is great and supply small. Why is the supply small? Because you have suspended manufacture here for seven years. Now, the manufacture is recovering in spite of you. Leave it alone. It will regulate itself. Capital and labor and genius are erecting the forges and kindling the fires, the ore and coal-beds are giving up their treasures. You will soon enough have railroad iron abundant and cheap. It is only a question whether capital shall build the workshops and employ the laborers and artisans in Pennsylvania, in Maryland, in New Jersey, in Tennessee, in New York, or whether the workshop shall be erected and employ laborers and artisans on the other side of the ocean. All your legislation is entirely unnecessary, for where there is an incessant demand there will be a repletion, and repletion will be followed by the exhaustion which will result in an increase of the manufacture until the supply is adequate to the consumption.

I have adverted to the circumstance that you discriminate against the capitalists and laborers who are engaged in producing and manufacturing railroad iron, while you leave untouched the capital and the labor which are employed in the production and manufacture of iron for other articles of consumption. But can any man tell me what reason there is why Pennsylvania, and Missouri, and New Jersey, and Tennessee, should bear the cost of this great reduction of $3,000,000 in your revenue, while Louisiana shall remain protected in her sugar production and manufacture. But I will not be invidious toward a production of

agriculture in southern states. Can you tell me the reason why you still keep up your duty upon the manufacture of wool and cotton, and single out this one iron interest and iron labor? The reason is, that just now the railroad kings want iron. Ironmongers have rights, indeed, but these rights must give way. They are the weaker power.

The manufacture of railroad iron is exceedingly expensive. Large investments are necessarily made. Vast establishments, but, nevertheless, such as were necessary, were built some years ago, and were just put into successful operation when the plethora in the iron-market in Europe made such a reduction in the price, as to deprive the American capitalists and American laborers of fair rewards. That has continued until just now. During all this period the capitalists and the laborers who have been engaged in this business, have been appealing to Congress at every session, and at every day of every session, to give them protection against the foreign manufacturers. A deaf ear has been constantly turned to them by Congress, and they have been left to struggle with the foreign manufacturers, as they could until now, when, without the interposition of Congress, a favorable change of prices has come, and they have just now begun to repair their forges, to open anew their mines, to begin anew the process of mining industry. It is at this juncture, and just as the cup, which by their own efforts they have grasped and borne upward, has reached their lips, that Congress is invoked to interpose and dash it to the ground. What is there in the character of these miners, and these capitalists, and these laborers, that they, of all others, should be singled out for such peculiar, such severe, such discriminating injustice? I see nothing. Look at what this branch of industry contributes to the public wealth. It is, next after agriculture, the most essential element of wealth. Sir, there have been many countries which have been impoverished by mining in gold and silver, because they ran a rapid career of commerce, passing through improvidence and luxury into national decline: but from the beginning of the world to this day, there never was a nation that was not strong, energetic, prosperous, and long-lived, that drew its wealth from its iron mines.

I wish now to address a word of caution to those who think they have no particular interest in this question, but who have an interest in other departments of the national industry. We

all know the history of the tariffs of 1842 and 1846; the history of the system of revenue upon imports in this country. We know that it requires the co-operation, the concerted action of all the industrial classes, and of capitalists of every description, to adjust and render equal, and to procure the establishment of a system of imposts, with any view whatever, direct or indirect, to the protection and encouragement of American industry. We who were for protecting iron, have stood by the Vermont farmer in protecting wool, and the Massachusetts manufacturer in protecting the manufacture of cotton and wool. We have stood by the cotton-planter in the manufacture of cotton, and we have stood by the sugar-producer in protecting him against the competition of other sugar-growing regions.

Mr. President, the whole manufacturing interest of the country is in danger; and it is in danger because we, who are its friends, are demoralized and divided. Your railroad-men have come and whispered in the ear of the cotton-producer, and cotton and woollen manufacturer, "We will just make a small sacrifice of the iron in the mines in Pennsylvania and New York, and it will not affect you in the least; but on the other hand, you will be all the better, and all the stronger. Duties on other imports must continue." Mr. President, if this is what they do in "the green tree," under the auspices of the specious doctrines of free-trade just coming in with the next administration, I will tell you what they will do in "the dry." In the very next session of Congress they will come with arguments equally insidious, and equally forcible, and then the manufacturers of Lowell may look to the safety of their spindles, and the sugar and the cotton growers of the south may look to the safety of their sugar and their cotton fields; and the wheat-grower of Maryland, and the corn-grower of Ohio and Illinois, may look to the safety of their respective interests. We have no monopoly of iron; therefore, gentlemen may think we can import iron. Why, sir, we have no monopoly of gold; and it is yet to be seen whether gold will not be produced more abundantly and more cheaply in Australia than in California; and then, as labor is cheaper there, and society is organized there upon principles of greater economy, and there is access from Australia more directly to India and China, than there is from the shores of California, I ask, who is there here who would be willing to let the gold remain undisturbed in

California, because gold will be purchased cheaper in Australia? The principle is precisely the same. The sacrifice of golden revenue would be even less ruinous than that of our wealth in iron.

Mr. President, it is hard, at least for the capitalist and the laborer, to pay for the support of this great and expensive government—a government which extends itself broader and broader, and at an ever-increasing expense, across this continent, and grasps, if not domain, influence and power throughout both hemispheres. It is only just to them that they should be consulted, and have notice that you are going to adopt any measures which may seriously affect their interests; and what do we say here? Has any notice been given? Has any alarm been sounded from this capitol during the three months we have been in session here, to the miner in Pennsylvania and Maryland, and in New Jersey and Tennessee, giving him notice that the government was going, by one speedy, direct act, to suppress the branch of industry in which he is engaged? So, I say that the country is taken by surprise by this measure; all the persons engaged in this branch of industry are to be taken by surprise.

But again, do we suppose that we can disturb so great an interest as this, and leave other interests unaffected? I am sure that I am as liberal to the new states as any one, but I warn gentlemen of the old states that this is the beginning of a system which is, if pursued, to result relatively in depopulating the old states, in depriving them of their capital and industry, and building up the intermediate and western communities at their expense. It will discharge I do not know how many thousands of the manufacturers of Pennsylvania and Maryland, and what will they do? Where will they go? Will they stay in Pennsylvania to till the rugged surface of the mountain, when they are excluded from the mines which lie beneath that surface? No, sir. They must go west to make railroads, and to dig for gold in California; and when they have gone, their places will not be supplied. The foreign laborer comes here, and he only touches at the gate, and then marches on to make railroads, and to dig gold on the shore of the Pacific; and when the foreign and domestic laborer, and their capital, have been put in motion, making railroads, and digging gold in California, the farmers follow them, and the prices of agricultural productions diminish. You build

up the west to an unnatural growth. Every vote which I have given here upon western interests, has shown that it has been given upon the principle of encouraging the speediest possible settlement of the great western domain, at every hazard and cost, common to the whole country, not prejudicial to any one part. But that growth, desirable as it is, must be one that is regulated in harmony with the interests of the Atlantic states; and it is certain, that just as sure as you stimulate it to an excessive and more rapid growth, by affecting the vigor of the old states, just so sure that growth becomes sickly, and will result in the decline, not only of the east, but also of the west, and throughout the nation. The Atlantic states are the base upon which we must erect this great superstructure of empire in the west. We must make the base firm, solid, broad, perpetual, if we would have a structure which shall be endurable.

I ask, now, what is the apology for this extraordinary measure? It is that it will encourage the making of railroads. Sir, I have spent my life, what there has been of it spent in public action, in encouraging the making of canals and railroads. I am a friend to canals and railroads; but I show my fidelity to them in adhering to them when they are unpopular and need help, and support, and patronage, and not when they have patronage so great as to be alarming for its effect, not only upon enterprises of that class, but upon the country itself. Do you know how many railroads you are making? You are making twelve thousand miles of railroads in the United States already. You are making them so fast, that you do not rely upon your own resources for making them at all, but you are selling the credit of individuals, towns, counties, and states, throughout the Union, in untold amounts, and constituting an aggregate debt greater than any amount which any man ever presumed it would be safe for this country to owe to foreign countries. Your railroads are not now made chiefly by subscriptions to their stock. There are small substratum subscriptions, then mortgages on the road, then second mortgages, then third mortgages, until the credit of whole communities is pledged, and pledged to English capitalists.

We are pledged in London for the cost of nearly all our railroads. Our capital is being diverted, so that there is no place in the United States where there is not a railroad being made.

There are already half a dozen railroads from the point of Lake

Erie to the city of New York, all converging there, because railroads have become popular and profitable. So it is throughout New England and throughout the west. Now it is not possible that the railroad enterprise in this country can absorb capital in an exclusive degree without producing an injury, not only to that enterprise and those subservient to it, but also injurious to other enterprises which increase the vigor and promote the progress of the country. Does any man doubt it? What did we do ten years ago, when we embarked in building canals and railroads so deeply, and pledged our credit so far, that the construction of every canal and railroad had to be suspended? What happened in England on a like occasion, but that a great railroad-king projected railroads all over the island, and so much capital was invested in them, that all at once the bubble was pricked, and the whole enterprise collapsed, bringing on general stagnation and bankruptcy? This is the tendency of things here now. I am not by habit a croaker; but I can see that, unless the national government shall act so as to restrain rather than encourage and stimulate this excessive spirit of speculation in railroad investments, just such a collapse will happen here. Railroads do not need protection; iron-manufacturers do need it. Through the town in which I live, and the towns adjacent, the people, carried away by railroad enthusiasm, have applied to the legislature for permission to mortgage their whole property for the making of railroads; and yet there is not one railroad which they are thus making, in which foreign capitalists will invest a dollar, except they have collateral, personal, or public security. But you will tell me that Congress has not encouraged railroads. Congress has already encouraged railroads by donations of duties on foreign railroad iron exceeding the sum of three millions of dollars. Congress has already, with almost a unanimous vote in this chamber, given to every western state land enough from the public domain — as much as they said was necessary — to construct a web of railroads now in progress and advancing to its completion, covering over the whole of the territories of the United States from the shores of the Atlantic to the Mississippi river, and even crossing that broad line, and advancing precisely upon the same system and same policy toward the base of the Rocky mountains. We have done enough, unless we have some other resources — some other revenues which we can apply to this great

and beneficent enterprise of the age; and we have no other, if the only other one is the sacrifice of the mining interest of iron in the old Atlantic states. Sir, I have voted land by the square league across the continent, and twenty millions of dollars out of the public treasury for railroads. I will not vote one dollar out of the iron-mines of my country, at the cost of the owner, and of the miner who is engaged in drawing its wealth to the surface.

TEXAS AND HER CREDITORS.

MARCH 2, 1853.

Mr. President: At the epoch of annexation, 1845, the republic of Texas possessed some property in public defences, a large domain of unappropriated land, and revenues derived from customs. It owed a considerable debt which had been incurred in establishing independence and organizing civil government. That debt was divided into two classes: first, what has been called a domestic debt, not distinctly charged on the revenues from customs; second, what was secured to creditors by a pledge of those revenues.

Texas came into the Union as a state, under stipulations concerning her property and debts, namely: She ceded to the United States all public edifices, fortifications, and other property, pertaining to the public defence. She retained all her funds, and all of her public domain, but under a covenant that it should be applied to the payment of her debts, with the absolute right to any surplus; and it was agreed that in no event should those debts become a charge on the government of the United States. Thus did the United States, in the very act of union with Texas, bind her to pay her creditors, at least as far as her domain would furnish resources for that purpose.

In 1850, five years after the annexation of Texas to the United States, all those debts remained unpaid; and, adding interest thereto, they stood, on the 1st of July in that year, as follows:—

Domestic debt	$4,138,733 80
Debts secured by customs pledged	8,293,947 52
Total	$12,432,681 32

During that intervening period, there had been war between the United States and Mexico, which had resulted in the annexation, by conquest and purchase, of New Mexico, a state adjacent to Texas. A border dispute existed between those states, and it was supposed by Congress necessary to adjust that dispute, in order to restore civil government in New Mexico, and even to prevent armed collision between Texas and the military force of the United States, which, it was apprehended, might terminate in a general civil war, subversive even of the union of the states.

In the midst of this dispute the creditors of Texas appeared here, and urged the settlement of their claims as a condition of the proposed adjustment. They pleaded that the United States had become liable for those debts, by absorbing the sovereignty of Texas, and that at least they had become liable for them to the extent of the value of the revenues accruing from imposts which, although they had been specifically pledged to the creditors, had been diverted into the treasury of the United States by the act of annexation. Thus the debt of Texas became an element of the controversy which Congress undertook to settle in 1850. Congress settled it by compromise:—

1. Texas ceded her claim to some of the lands before insisted on, and accommodated her boundary to the demands of the United States.

2. Texas relinquished all claim upon the United States for the *debts* of Texas, and all other claims for indemnity.

3. In consideration of these concessions, the United States stipulated to pay ten millions of dollars to Texas, in five per cent. stock of fourteen years. But—

4. It was stipulated that the United States should not pay to Texas more than five millions of dollars of said ten millions until the creditors, who had taken pledges of her revenues from customs, should have filed releases of all their claims against Texas with the secretary of the treasury of the United States.

Thus it appears that there were three parties to this compromise—the United States, Texas, and the creditors of Texas. The United States and Texas bound themselves *then*. The consent of creditors, whose debts were secured by customs, although postponed, was nevertheless necessary; and so they were a third party, whose consent was afterward to be given by releases. The

domestic creditors, who had no specific lien, and in whose behalf the United States made no stipulation, were dismissed to the justice of Texas alone, and they disappeared at once and for ever from this capital.

This is the starting-point in the present case. It is manifest that it was a cardinal object and design of that compromise that the creditors of Texas, whose debts were secured by pledges of the customs, should be satisfied by the extinguishment of their claims. The way in which it was to be done was by making that extinguishment, through the agency of Texas, a condition precedent of the payment to her of the last half of the ten millions of dollars.

It is manifest also, now, that the compromise had inherent defects, which were these, viz.: —

1. That it did not ascertain and fix the amount which was to be paid to the creditors.

2. That it left that amount open to dispute between Texas and the creditors thus preferred.

Nevertheless, the ascertaining and establishing this amount was indispensable to the execution of the compromise. The United States were obliged to ascertain it before they could pay the five millions; and Texas was obliged to ascertain it, and see it extinguished, before she could demand the last five millions.

Each party, therefore, undertook to ascertain and fix the amount.

Texas has ascertained and fixed it at	$3,355,360 25
Which would leave to Texas of the five millions	1,644,639 75
On the other hand, the United States have ascertained and fixed the amount at	8,293,947 52
A sum exceeding the five millions reserved for those creditors by	3,293,947 52
And exceeding the sum at which it is fixed by Texas by	4,938,587 27

It is manifest, also, that Texas holds the initiative in the action necessary to carry the compromise into effect. She must see that her creditors release herself and the United States. Moreover, not only can not the United States pay all the creditors thus secured, but they can not pay any until all of them shall, by the agency of Texas, have been brought to file releases. This dispute, full of loss and damage to the creditors, and of irritation between the United States and Texas, is now two years old. The debt to the creditors grows chiefly at the rate of ten per cent.,

while the fund is in the treasury, drawing an interest against the United States of five per cent. It is manifest now that it is time, high time, that the controversy should be settled, and the compromise carried into effect. It is equally clear that unless Congress shall intervene, it will not be settled for an indefinite period.

The committee on finance proposes a plan of settlement, which is, that in lieu of the five millions of five per cent. of fourteen years, the United States shall issue stock to the amount of $8,333,333 33, at three per cent., redeemable in twenty years, and deliver it to the creditors, taking assignments for their claims (the small excess of their claims being paid in money at the treasury), and that the United States shall hold the assigned claims as a bar to the claim of Texas for these five millions.

I. I consider this plan commended by its *convenience.*

1. In the first place, the creditors of Texas, for whose protection the United States, with her own consent, has intervened, will be promptly paid. Their claims will be extinguished, and this is a cardinal point.

2. The whole claim of Texas on the United States, under the compromise of 1850, will be virtually paid, which is another cardinal point.

In any event, and by her own showing, Texas will be paid to within the sum of $1,164,639 75. The difference which will remain to be adjusted, if any, will be one between the United States and Texas, which will involve no injustice to individuals—another cardinal point.

3. The expense to the United States will not be materially increased. The interest of five millions at five per cent., and of $8,333,333 at three per cent., are equal. There will be still the difference of $3,333,333 between the principal sums, to be borne by the treasury. But we have now, and, for some time to come, are likely to have, a surplus in the treasury, and so can buy up this eight millions; or, if you please, the whole thirteen millions in one or two years, and so indemnify ourselves, in a great measure, for the additional sum advanced to settle the controversy.

II. *I consider the plan, in the next place, commended by its harmony with the principles of the compromise of* 1850.

The United States, by that compromise, assumed to guaranty ample satisfaction to the creditors in question. The sum appropriated (five millions of dollars) was appropriated because it was

thought adequate to that object. The United States would then have appropriated eight millions of dollars, if it had been understood that the debts in question amounted to that sum; and there is no reason to doubt that Texas would have as promptly agreed to that sum as to the lesser one. However this may be, the fact now is that the compromise of 1850 has failed, for the reason that the sum assigned for the indemnity of the creditors was too small by the difference of $3,333,333. I am sure that the sum would have been fixed at what now is proposed, if it had been understood that otherwise the compromise would fail of effect for the reason that it has failed.

III. *I consider that the plan of the committee is recommended by justice:*

Justice is the basis of moral obligation. Whether there is a moral obligation between the United States and these creditors, is a question concluded by the act of annexation of 1845, and the compromise act of 1850. On what ground, other than such an obligation, did the United States, in 1845, leave to Texas a peculiar national fund, and bind her to use it to pay her creditors generally, and stipulate with her for the indemnity of the United States against those debts. On what other ground did the United States, in 1850, reserve in their own treasury five millions of the sum to be paid to Texas, until her creditors should file their releases in the federal treasury. It is clear, then, that it is just, and the United States are bound to the creditors by a moral obligation, to see their debts extinguished, at least as far as the sum of five millions would go. Under just such circumstances, a court of equity would, on a bill of interpleader, direct the United States to pay that fund to those creditors.

But the moral obligation under which the United States assumed to indemnify the creditors for five millions, equally holds for their indemnity to the whole amount of their claims; that is, for $8,293,947 50. If we were under no moral obligation to pay that sum, then the stipulation to pay five millions was a wanton waste of that sum without adequate consideration — a position which no one here will assume.

Such are the grounds on which the plan of the committee is defended. I proceed to consider the objections raised against it. The honorable senator from Virginia, Mr. Hunter, says that we are under no obligations to pay these creditors, because, in the

act of annexation, Texas agreed that we should not be liable, and that she would pay them, and that the creditors had notice of that annexation on those terms, and did not protest, and therefore impliedly consented. But the honorable senator was understood to waive this point of implied consent by the creditors.

I take the objection, however, in whatever form, and say in reply:—

1. That all the world knows that a protest by the creditors against the act of annexation, would have been not more impertinent than unavailing.

2. That it may well be supposed that the creditors concerned may, in 1845, have foreseen that although the United States then refused, yet in 1850 they would assume the debts of Texas, to the amount supposed to be received by the revenues of Texas, diverted into the federal treasury.

The senator from Virginia objects, secondly, that the sovereignty of Texas was not, by the act of annexation, merged in the United States; but that, on the contrary, she still remains a sovereign state, and in the enjoyment of adequate and ample resources, viz.: her public domain and capacity for direct taxation, to pay the creditors.

I reply, first, that while the public domain of Texas, like our own, and her capacity for direct taxation, like our own, are valuable resources for credit, and to some extent for expenses of current administration, they are practically unavailing for the payment of a large funded debt. The resources of Texas for that purpose were their customs, which we have diverted, and so annexation, instead of increasing, has impaired the practical ability of Texas to pay her debts.

2. This objection is foreclosed by the compromise of 1850.

The senator from Virginia objects, thirdly, that the plan proposed is a departure from the theory of annexation, which theory was that Texas should pay her own debt. And the senator insists that the compromise of 1850 adhered to that supposed theory of the act of annexation, because it directed the five millions to be paid, not to the creditors, but to Texas herself.

I reply, that the imagined adherence in the compromise of 1850 to the theory of annexation, is an adherence in form only and not in fact, because the five millions of dollars are to be paid to Texas when she procures releases from her creditors, and never to

be paid if they will never give the releases. So the stipulation is exactly the same thing as would have been a stipulation for paying the five millions, or so much as should be due directly to the creditors. The departure from the supposed theory, then, was made in 1850, and is not to be made in 1853. We must keep on in the course of 1850 till we reach the goal.

The honorable senator objects further that this plan of the committee to pay $8,333,333 at three per cent., being less than the usual rate of interest on public stocks, is a scaling of the debts, so that creditors will not get dollar for dollar, and is therefore objectionable on the same ground that Texas is complaining of. Grant this to be true, still I reply that we scale less deeply than Texas. Secondly, that we are mediating between the proper parties; and thirdly, who can complain? Not Texas, for we take nothing from her, and do not divert any fund in which she has a claim. Not the creditors, for they assent.

The honorable senator further objects that Texas will nevertheless come back for the five millions, and will be entitled to it. I reply that Texas has already declared, by an act of January 31, 1852, that $3,355,360 25 of this same five millions is justly due to these creditors, and shall be paid to them. At the very worst, Texas will not come back for that sum. Will Texas come back for the remaining $1,644,639 75? She must produce releases from the creditors for it. They will have already released, upon a just consideration paid, not by Texas but by the United States, and after Texas had had ample time to obtain releases, and had failed, because she exacted what the creditors were neither legally nor equitably bound to yield.

The senator from Virginia objects further that the $8,333,333 at three per cent., will cost the treasury more than the five millions at five per cent. It will cost exactly $3,333,333 more. But that is no good objection, if, first, it is necessary to pay that sum to discharge these debts; and if, secondly, it is just, both of which points have been demonstrated.

The senator at last falls back on his original ground, that the United States are not liable for the debt of Texas, according to the law of nature or of nations. It is quite too late to raise the question after the act of annexation of 1845, and the compromise of 1850.

Nevertheless, I will briefly consider the senator's argument.

The United States derived advantages from the annexation of Texas, and creditors had aided Texas to rise to the condition in which her union was thus advantageous. They did not give her a dowry, but they enabled her to assume her own. The union of Texas with the United States and of her revenues was a division of her sovereignty, rendering her less fully and exclusively approachable by creditors. Was there not in these circumstances sufficient consideration to sustain the agreements between Texas and the United States for the benefit of the creditors?

Bynkershock teaches us so (p. 191).

Again, Texas by annexation became subject to the debts of the United States. How is it then that the United States could acquire Texas without coming under some moral obligation to guaranty the debts of Texas?

It remains only to notice the argument of the honorable senator from Texas, Mr. Houston, which seems to result in this: that Texas had a right to ascertain and fix the amount of her liabilities, and she has fixed it at $3,355,360 25 and the United States and the creditors are concluded by that decision.

I reply, that was not the agreement in the compromise. It was that the creditors should release their claims. If they will release for the $3,355,360 22 it is enough. But they have not released for that sum, and they will not.

Then the senator insists that Texas is just and they unreasonable. I do not think so. The principle assumed by Texas is that she owes her creditors not what she agreed to pay, but the value of what she received from them. It needs only that this proposition should be stated to secure its rejection. It can be no more just in the case of Texas in regard to these debts than in any other case of public and even private indebtednesss.

The argument, however, is attempted to be sustained by precedents. I reply, if sound it needs no aid from precedents. If unsound, then no precedents can make it sound.

There is only one ground on which a government can justly scale its debts — that is the ground of absolute inability or bankruptcy, and then there must be a devotion of all its wealth. Neither Texas nor the United States can adopt that ground. Each of the parties is prosperous, each is rich, and they can neither assume the condition nor interpose the plea of insol vency.

INDEX TO VOL. III.

A.

PAGE.

Adams, John Quincy, Oration on, 1848 75
Address to, 1843 236
Eulogy on, in Court 281
Letters to 433, 454
And the Monroe Doctrine 605
Addresses (See Speeches).
Address of a Republican Convention, 1824 335
Minority of Legislature, 1831 ... 338
" " 1834 ... 349
" " 1844 ... 363
Adopted Citizens of Philadelphia, Letter to 468
Agricultural State Fair, Albany, Address 164
" " Rutland ... 176
Albany Regency, The, in 1824 335
Albany, Citizens of, Letter to 382
Colored Citizens of, Address to .. 438
Irishmen of, Address to 220
Meeting, 1848, Letter on 412
American Bible Society, Address 323
Ashmun, George, Letter to 401

B.

B—— S——, 1840, Letter to 386
Babcock, George R., Letter to 392
Barber, Edgar A., Letter to 420
Bar of New York, Letter to 505
Barbecue at Cherry Valley, Letter on 501
Berdan, David, Eulogium on 117
Bible Society, American, Address 223
Birdsall Benjamin, Letter to 488
Bliss, George, Letter to 421
Bowen, James, Letter to 422
Brackett, James, Letter to 501
Bradish, Luther, Letter to 390
Brooks, James, Letter to 406
Brown, William, Letters to 472, 475
Buell, Hon. A. H., Eulogium on 619

C.

PAGE.

Cahoone, Benjamin, Letter to 477
Cartmen's Meeting, Address 303
Catholics of Ogdensburgh, Address ... 214
Centennial at Cherry Valley, Address 224
Chautauque Citizens, Letter to 407
Chase, Salmon P., Letter to 440
Citizens, Adopted, of Phila., Letter to 468
Of Cherry Valley, Letter to 501
" Ogdensburgh, Address to 214
" Philadelphia, Letter to 505
" Steuben, Letter to 216
" Tioga, Letter to 417
Clark, John C., Letter to 391
Louis Gaylord, Letter to 487
Clarkson, Thomas, England, Letter to 436
Clay, Henry, Eulogy on 104
And Mr. Seward in 1844 253
Cleveland Speech, 1848 291
Clinton, De Witt, Letter on 471
Colored Citizens of Albany, Address to 438
Of New York, Letter to 437
Condolence, Letter of, L. G. C. 487
Continental Rights and Relations, Speech, 1853 605
Continental Railroad, Speech, 1853 .. 623
CORRESPONDENCE, GENERAL 375
(See, also, Letters.)
Credits, State, Letter on 472, 475
Croton Celebration, Address 231
Cunard Steamers, Letter on 478

D.

Delavan, Edward C., Letter to 471
Deputies, Chamber of, French 584
Derry, Edmund S., Letter to 490
De Witt Clinton, Letter on 471
Dickens's Notes, Letter on 492
Discipline, Prison, Letters on 473, 503
Downing, B. H., Letter to 476
Dublin, Letter from 518
Duties on Railroad Iron, Speech 656

PAGE.

E.

Education and Internal Improvements 128
Education, Discourse on, 1837..... 135
Of Females commended..... 148
Election of 1844, Speech..... 246
Of 1844 " 260
Of 1848 " 286
Of 1848 " 291
Of 1848 " 303
Erie Railroad, Address, 1837..... 306
1851..... 321
History of..... 306
Jubilee..... 321
Eulogy on John Q. Adams, at Albany 75
In Court. 281
On David Berdan..... 117
" A. H. Buell, in Senate..... 619
" Henry Clay, in Senate..... 104
" Lafayette..... 25
" O'Connell..... 44
" Daniel Webster, in Senate... 111
Ewing, Thomas, Letter to..... 450
Executive Speeches..... 325
To an Onondaga Chief..... 325
" Oneida Chief..... 328
At the Western Railroad Jubilee 330
Extradition of Fugitives from Justice 469

F.

Fair, Agricultural, Albany, Address.. 164
Rutland..... 176
Horticultural, Boston..... 283
Farms and Farmers, Improvement of 176
Female Education advocated..... 148
Fowle, E. J., Letter to..... 412
Freedom and Slavery, Position of the two Parties on, 246, 260, 286, 295, 303
Fugitives from Justice, Letter on..... 469

G.

Greece, Speech for, 1824..... 197

H.

Hammond, Jabez D., Letter to..... 434
Harrison, General, Letter to..... 381
Harvey, Jacob, Letter to..... 484
Holland Land Company, Letter on.. 457
Horticultural Fair, Address..... 283
Hughes, Bishop, D.D., Letter to..... 482
Hunt, Washington Letter to..... 404

I.

Internal Improvements, Address.... 128
Letters on..... 417
And the Whigs.....246, 260, 303
Intelligencer, National, Letter to.... 443

PAGE.

Ireland and Irishmen, Oration..... 153
Letter on..... 494
Ireland, its History..... 45
And Native Americans..... 254
Irishmen of Albany, Address to..... 220
Of Auburn, Letter to..... 493
Irish Testimonial, Letter on..... 465
Repeal, Letter on..... 490
Iron, Railroad, Duty on, Speech..... 656
Issue, the True, 1837, Address..... 356

J.

Jubilee of the New York and Railroad, 1851..... 321
Of the Western Railroad, Massachusetts, 1842..... 330

K.

Kossuth, Letters on.....504, 505, 506

L.

Lafayette, Oration on..... 25
Letters on.....584, 588
Lake, Jarvis N., Letter to..... 402
Law Reform, Letter on..... 477
Le Fort, Abraham, Address to..... 325
Legislative Addresses..... 338
Letters, General Correspondence—
Political..... 375
To Adonijah Moody..... 377
" H. C. W., 1840..... 378
" General Harrison..... 381
" Citizens of Albany..... 382
" B. S., 1840..... 386
" B. S., 1840..... 389
" Hon. L. Bradish..... 390
" John C. Clark..... 391
" George R. Babcock..... 392
" Whigs of Orleans..... 394
" Benjamin Squire..... 396
" Whigs of Michigan..... 399
" Calvin Townsley..... 400
" George Ashmun..... 401
" Jarvis N. Lake..... 402
" Washington Hunt..... 404
" James Brooks..... 406
" Chautauque Convention..... 407
" Orleans Whig Convention.... 410
" E. J. Fowle, on Albany Meeting 412
" James Watson Webb..... 414
" James B. Taylor..... 416
Internal Improvements..... 417
To Citizens of Tioga..... 417
" Samuel P. Lyman..... 419
" Edgar A. Barber..... 420
" George Bliss..... 421
" James Bowen..... 422
" Pacific Railroad Convention.. 424

LETTERS ON SLAVERY— PAGE.
To Wm. Jay and Gerrit Smith.. 426
" John Sears..... 432
" John Quincy Adams..... 433
" Jabez D. Hammond..... 434
" Austin Pray..... 435
" Thomas Clarkson..... 436
" Colored Citizens of New York 437
" " " Albany .. 438
" Gerrit Smith..... 439
" S. P. Chase..... 440
" National Intelligencer..... 443
" Massachusetts Convention ... 445
LETTERS ON THE M'LEOD CASE—
To Peter B. Porter..... 449
" Thomas Ewing..... 450
" Lovell G. Mickle..... 451
" E. Nott, D.D..... 453
" John Quincy Adams..... 454
MISCELLANEOUS—
On Holland Land Company, to Citizens of Chautauque..... 457
" St. Nicholas Society..... 464
" Irish Testimonial, to W. J. MacNeven..... 465
" St. Andrew's Society..... 467
" Adopted Citizens of Philadelphia, to Stephen Edw. Rice. 468
" Extradition of Fugitives from Justice, to H. W. Rogers... 469
" De Witt Clinton..... 471
" State Credits, to Wm. Brown. 472
" Prison Discipline, to J. Luckey 473
" Religious Liberty, to J. D. S... 474
" State Credits, to Wm. Brown 475
" St. George's Society..... 476
" Law Reform, to Benj. Cahoone 477
" Cunard Steamers..... 478
" Schools, to William Palmer.. 480
" Militia Duty, to S. Parsons... 481
" Schools, to Bishop Hughes, D.D 482
" Seneca Indians, to J. Harvey 484
" Condolence, to L. G. Clark... 487
" Schools, to Benjamin Birdsall 488
" Irish Repeal, to E. S. Derry.. 490
" Dickens's Notes, to H. L. Webb 492
" Irishmen of Auburn..... 493
" Ireland and Irishmen, to J. Maher..... 494
" Barbecue at Cherry Valley, to James Brackett..... 501
" Prison Discipline, to New York Prison Association.... 503
" Kossuth, to Citizens of Phila.. 504
" " " New York Bar.. 505
" " " Pittsburgh Printers 506
LETTERS FROM EUROPE—
Introductory Note..... 508
Letter I. Liverpool, Theatre, &c..... 509
II. Chester, the Cathedral..... 515
III. Dublin, Parliament..... 518
IV. Dublin, Robert Emmett.... 526
LETTERS FROM EUROPE— PAGE.
V. Belfast, Drogheda..... 536
VI. Glasgow, Moore, Watt..... 542
VII. Edinburgh, Burns, Hume.. 549
VIII. York, London, Windsor.. 559
IX. Cobbett, Peel, O'Connell.... 564
X. Hull and Rotterdam..... 574
XI. From Sens to Paris..... 579
XII. Paris, Chamber of Deputies 584
XIII. Lafayette in Paris..... 588
XIV. Lafayette at La Grange... 595
Luckey, Rev. John, Letter to..... 473
Lyman, Samuel P., Letter to..... 419

M.

MacNeven, W. J., Letter to..... 465
Maher, James, Letter to..... 494
Massachusetts Convention, Letter to. 445
M'LEOD CASE, Letters on the..... 449
Mexico and the Continental Railroad 623
Michigan Whigs, Letter to..... 399
Mickles, Lovell G., Letter to..... 451
Militia Duty, Letter on..... 481
Minority of Legislature, Address 1831 338
" " " 1834 349
" " " 1844 363
MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS 457
Monroe Doctrine, Discussed..... 605
Moody, Adonijah, Letter to..... 377

N.

Native Americanism, 246, 254, 378, 386, 468
New York and Erie Railroad....306, 321
Nott, Eliphalet, D.D., Letter to.....453

O.

Occasional Speeches and Addresses.. 191
O'Connell, Oration on..... 44
His Death and Consequences.... 72
Ogdensburgh, Citizens of, Address to 211
Catholics, Address to..... 214
Oneida Chief, Speech to..... 328
Onondaga Chief, Speech of..... 325
ORATIONS AND DISCOURSES—
The True Greatness of our Country 11
Death of Lafayette..... 25
" O'Connell. 44
" John Q. Adams..... 75
" Henry Clay..... 104
" Daniel Webster..... 111
" David Berdan..... 117
Internal Improvements and Education..... 128
Education at Westfield, 1837... 136
Ireland and Irishmen..... 153
Agriculture, Albany..... 164
Improvement of Farms and Farmers..... 176

P.

PAGE.

Pacific Railroad Convention, Letter to 424
Pacific Railroad, 1853, Speech..... 623
Patriotism, Syracuse, Address..... 200
Palmer, Wm., Letter to..... 480
Parsons, Samuel, Letter to..... 481
Political Writings—
Address of a Republican Convention, 1824..... 335
Address of Minority of Leg., 1831 338
" " Of Legislature, 1834 349
" " " 1844 363
The True Issue, 1838..... 356
Political History..... 335
Political Letters..... 377
Porter, Peter B., Letter to..... 449
Pray, Austin, Letter to..... 435
Printers of Pittsburgh, Letter to..... 506
Prison Association, Letter to..... 503
Prison Discipline, Letters on.....473, 503
Pruyn, Robert H., Letter to..... 464

R.

Railroad, Erie, Address, at Elmira... 306
" " Dunkirk.. 321
Western, Springfield, Mass..... 330
Continental or Pacific, Speech .. 623
Iron, Duty on, Speech..... 656
Reform, Law, Letter on..... 477
Regency, the Albany, in 1824..... 335
Repeal Meeting, Address at.....153, 254
Rice, Stephen Edward, Letter to.... 468
Rogers, Henry W., Letter to..... 469

S.

Schools, Letters on.....480, 482, 488
Schuyler, Moses, Speech to..... 328
Sears, John, Letter to..... 432
Seneca Indians, Letter to..... 484
Slavery, Relations of the Whig Party to { 246, 260, 286, 291, 303
Speech on, at Cleveland, Ohio... 291
Letters on..... 426
Smith, G. & Wm. Jay, Letters to..426, 439
Smith, John Dillon, Letter to..... 474
Speeches and Addresses, Occasional.. 191
The Union, Auburn..... 193
For Greece, Auburn..... 197
Patriotism, Syracuse..... 200
Typographical Society..... 206
Sunday School Celebration..... 208
To the Citizens of Ogdensburgh. 211
" Catholics of Ogdensburgh 214
" Citizens of Steuben..... 216
" Irishmen of Albany..... 220
American Bible Society..... 223
Centennial, Cherry Valley..... 224
St. Patrick's Dinner..... 229
Croton Celebration..... 231

Speeches and Addresses— PAGE.
John Quincy Adams..... 236
Whig Mass Meeting, Auburn.... 239
Election of 1844, Syracuse..... 246
Ireland and Native Americans... 254
Whig Mass Meeting, Yates Co... 260
St. Patrick's Dinner, 1846..... 275
Eulogy on J. Q. Adams, in Court 281
Horticultural Festival, Boston... 283
Whig Mass Meeting, Boston, 1848 286
Meeting at Cleveland, Ohio, 1848 291
Cartmen's Meeting, N. Y., 1843. 303
New York and Erie Railroad, 1837 306
" " 1851 321
Abraham Le Fort, Indian Chief.. 325
Moses Schuyler, Indian Chief... 388
Western Railroad, Massachusetts 330
Speeches, Executive..... 325
Speeches in the United States Senate 603
Continental Rights and Relations 605
Eulogium on Hon. A. H. Buell.. 619
Mexico and Continental Railroad 623
Duty on Foreign Railroad Iron.. 656
Texas and her Creditors..... 667
Squire, Benjamin, Letter to..... 396
State Credits, Letters on.....472, 475
Steuben, Citizens of, Letter to..... 216
St. Andrew's Society, Letter to..... 467
St. George's Society, Letter to..... 476
St. Nicholas Society, Letter to..... 464
St. Patrick's Society, Letter to ...229, 275
Sunday School Celebration, Address.. 208

T.

Taylor, James B., Letter to..... 416
Testimonial, Irish, Letter on..... 465
Texas and her Creditors..... 667
Townsley, Calvin, Letter to..... 400
True Greatness of our Country, Oration 11
True Issue, The, Address..... 356
Typographical Society, Address..... 206

W.

Webb, Henry L., Letter to..... 492
Webb, James Watson, Letter to..... 414
Webster, Daniel, Eulogium on..... 111
Western Railroad Celebration, Address 330
W. H. C., Letter to, 1840..... 378
Whig Party and Freedom { 246, 260, 286, 291, 303
Whig Party and Internal Improvements.....246, 260, 303
Whig Party and Native Americans 378, 386
Whigs of Auburn, &c., Address..... 239
" Boston, Mass., Address..... 286
" Cleveland, Ohio, Address... 291
" Michigan, Letter to..... 399
" New York, Address..... 303
" Orleans, Letter to.....394, 410
" Syracuse, Address..... 246
" Yates County, Address..... 260

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